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THE HISTORY OF FRANCE,

FROM THE ACCESSION OF

HENRY THE THIRD,

TO THE DEATH OF

LOUIS THE FOURTEENTH.

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PRECEDED BY

A VIEW

OF THE

CIVIL, MILITARY, AND POLITICAL

STATE OF EUROPE,

BETWEEN THE MIDDLE, AND THE CLOSE, OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

By NATHANIEL WILLIAM WRAXALL.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

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PREFACE.

IN compoſing the Hiſtory of France, I have not had it ſo much in my intention, to relate the ſeries of political facts under the reigns of Henry the Third and Fourth; as to delineate the genius, ſpirit, and character of the French nation, during that period. The nature and limits of the work itſelf, did not permit me, in the firſt volume, to do more than to ſketch, in nineteen chapters, the general ſtate of the European ſyſtem, between the middle and the concluſion of the ſixteenth century. In the ſecond and third volumes, I have minutely and accurately ſhaded the picture. The ſources from which information upon national manners, and the progreſs of the human mind, are derived, may be pronounced to be neither obvious, nor ſuperficial. They can only be found in the moſt patient and laborious peruſal, or inveſtigation of almoſt all the contemporary writers, in every branch of ſcience, or polite letters. To that merit, and to that only, I can lay claim.

It may, perhaps, be objected, that at the preſent moment, when men are univerſally agitated with apprehen-

ſions relative to the deareſt objects of perſonal concern, and for the very preſervation of civil order and ſociety itſelf; few perſons will have leiſure or inclination to read the hiſtory of a period, which, though not in itſelf remote, is yet comparatively diſtant. But, may I not be allowed to aſſert, that to thoſe who philoſophize upon the nature of man, it cannot be either deſtitute of amuſement or of inſtruction, to contemplate the ſame nation, as it exiſted two hundred years ago, which engroſſes at preſent ſo much attention? We ſhall find, that at the extinction of the family of Valois, and at the elevation of the houſe of Bourbon to the throne, the French people were under the influence of a delirium, neither leſs ferocious, nor leſs ſanguinary, than at this moment. So extraordinary a renewal of the ſame anarchy, and the ſame enormities, preciſely at the termination of two centuries, might almoſt induce us to adopt the ſentiment of their own hiſtorian de Thou; who ſeems to think, that "nations, like individuals, are "ſubject to paroxyſms of frenzy, which viſit them pe-"riodically, at ſtated intervals."

If the work now preſented to the world, ſhould never exceed its preſent limits, it is complete in itſelf; as containing, beſides the ſketch of Europe, in the firſt volume, a Hiſtory of France, in its moſt comprehenſive ſenſe, from 1574, to 1610. At the ſame time, it is my inten-

tion, if the public approbation ſhould be extended to the work, to continue it through three additional volumes. The firſt of theſe, would contain the reign and age of Louis the Thirteenth; and the two laſt, the reign and age of Louis the Fourteenth, down to the death of that monarch, in 1715. The ſeverity of truth, which is demanded from hiſtory, as well as the want of a number of lights and documents of various kinds, which time alone can furniſh; would prevent me, even if there were no perſonal impediments in the way, from ever attempting to bring it down to a later period. That taſk muſt be the province of future hiſtorians, and the work of another century.

N. W. WRAXALL.

LONDON,
March, 1795.

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CHAP.

INTRODUCTION.

THE principal object of Hiſtory, which is to expand and elevate, while it informs the mind, can never be ſo effectually attained, as by aſcending an eminence at certain periods; and taking from thence a comprehenſive view of man, as he exiſts under the various forms, into which force, policy, or accident have moulded ſociety. Before the termination of the fifteenth century, Europe, ſcarcely emerged from barbariſm, and deſtitute of all the facilities of mutual communication, was little connected by any general ties of policy or commerce. But, after the acceſſion of Francis the Firſt to the crown of France, and the elevation of Charles the Fifth to the Imperial throne, a new order of events aroſe. The obſtinate conteſts of thoſe princes for pre-eminence and power, called into action ſtates previouſly unknown; and eventually produced that ſyſtematic attention to prevent the aggrandizement of any one ſtate, which has blended the intereſts of all. Letters, hitherto confined to the banks of the Arno or the Tyber, and only foſtered by the protecting care of the Medicis, or the ſovereign pontiffs, began to penetrate beyond the Appennines and the Alps. They were patronized by ſovereigns, cultivated by the nobility, and gradually diffuſed through

the inferior ranks of mankind. Trade, which had been excluſively limited to the Mediterranean, embraced the Baltic and the Atlantic. The extremities of Europe became in ſome meaſure approximated, and the mutual wants of various countries united them by a common chain. It is from this period that a liberal curioſity is juſtly excited; and that hiſtory, liberated from fable or ſuperſtition, becomes the guide, and the beſt inſtructor to which we can have recourſe.

France, from its central poſition, from the magnitude and variety of its reſources, as well as from the ſpirit of enterprize and turbulence which has frequently characterized its counſels, has, in every age, had great influence on the general repoſe of the ſurrounding ſtates. During the whole courſe of the ſixteenth century, that kingdom may be conſidered as the maſter-ſpring, by which all the inferior movements were affected or regulated. Charles the Fifth and Philip the Second, although poſſeſſed of far more extenſive dominions, and maſters of the treaſures remitted from the new world; yet in real power were, perhaps, not ſuperior to the French princes, their cotemporaries. All Europe was implicated in the quarrels of Francis the Firſt. England and Scotland, either as allies or enemies, took the moſt active part. Italy was the great theatre of action, and the perpetual ſcene of hoſtility. The German empire, convulſed in its interior by political and religious diſſenſions, was agitated by the intrigues of Francis, and openly invaded by his ſucceſſor, Henry the Second, who diſmembered from it Metz, Toul, and Verdun. Even beyond the ſhore of the Baltic, their enmity oppoſed new barriers to the ambition of the houſe of Auſtria. Chriſtian the Second, king of Denmark, and Guſtavus Vaſa, king of Sweden, entered into connexions of offenſive policy with the crown of France. Not ſatisfied with appealing to all the Chriſtian ſtates, they introduced an Aſiatic and a Mahometan upon the ſtage of Europe. Soliman the Second, ſultan of the Turks, and maſter of the capital of the Greek empire,

was their ally and confederate. The Mediterranean was covered with the French and Ottoman fleets, who beſieged Nice in concert, laid waſte the coaſts of Italy, and ſpread terror from the mouth of the Adriatic, to the Straits of Gibraltar.

Even after the deceaſe of Henry the Second, and the commencement of the civil wars, which plunged the kingdom of France into a temporary anarchy, the reſtleſs ambition of Catherine of Medicis, or the efforts of the two factions which contended for ſuperiority, perpetuated the general fermentation. Scotland, by the marriage of its young queen to Francis the Second, became for a ſhort period annexed to, and incorporated with, the French monarchy. The Netherlands were on the point of paſſing permanently into the houſe of Valois, in the perſon of the duke of Alenſon, the youngeſt of the ſons of Henry the Second. Catherine herſelf laid claim to the vacant ſceptre of Portugal, after the death of the Cardinal king, in 1580; and endeavoured, though vainly, to place on the throne an illegitimate deſcendant of its ancient monarchs. Her intrigues pervaded the moſt remote countries, and, by a ſingular caprice of fortune, raiſed to the Poliſh crown one of her ſons, the duke of Anjou, after the extinction of the family of Jagellon. Elizabeth, queen of England, notwithſtanding the numerous reaſons which ſhould have induced her to dread a French alliance, ſeemed to be inclined towards accepting the hand of the duke of Alenſon. Germany, Spain, and Switzerland, as well as many of the Italian ſtates, were active participators in all the troubles of France, and lent their aſſiſtance to one or the other of the contending parties.

In order, therefore, to read the French hiſtory with information, and to derive from its peruſal that enlarged inſtruction which it is peculiarly calculated to convey, it becomes indiſpenſable to ſurvey previouſly the ſtate of Europe. By comparing the relative ſituation, force, and progreſs of the reſpective countries which compoſe it, we ſhall be aſſiſted in forming thoſe deductions, without which the

mere narration of events is neither productive of utility nor benefit. The preſent age, which has produced ſo many illuſtrious writers, and which is illuminated by a variety of knowledge on every ſubject, expects from an hiſtorian a comprehenſive view of the time and period, not the dull recapitulation of battles, treaties, and alliances. Such is the avowed object of the work now undertaken. In contemplating the European ſyſtem, as it exiſted at the death of Charles the Ninth of France, in 1574, it is natural to begin with England.

A

VIEW

OF THE

CIVIL, POLITICAL, AND SOCIAL STATE

OF

EUROPE,

AT THE

DEATH of CHARLES the NINTH,

in 1574.

CHAP. I.

ENGLAND.

Review of the Engliſh Hiſtory from the death of Henry the Eighth to the acceſſion of Elizabeth.—Survey of the principal events of Elizabeth's reign to the year 1574.—State of England at that period.—Foreign and domeſtic policy of the Queen.—Miniſters and favourites.—Government and conſtitution.—Revenues.—Military force.—Navy.—Commerce.—Navigation.—Manufactures.—Population.—Police.—Letters.

CHAP. I.

General review of the Engliſh hiſtory.

SINCE the æra of the Norman conqueſt, which had transferred the Engliſh ſceptre to a race of foreign princes, and which was ſucceeded by a general change of the private property of the kingdom, no reign, during near five centuries, had been productive of alterations ſo vaſt, or ſo permanent in their conſequences, as that of Henry

CHAP. I.

Henry the Eighth. The ſucceſsful wars, waged by the barons and great vaſſals of the crown, againſt John and Henry the Third, had rather tended to ſecure the independence of the nobility, than to emancipate the people; who in that age were, from a multiplicity of cauſes, equally incapable of comprehending and of enjoying the advantages of a free conſtitution, and a limited monarchy. The victorious inroads of Edward the Firſt upon Scotland, and the final reduction of that country, which he appeared to have nearly atchieved a ſhort time before his deceaſe, were as rapidly overturned under his ſucceſſor. Even the brilliant career of Edward the Third, and Henry the Fifth, in France, though calculated to dazzle their ſubjects, and to ornament the page of hiſtory, had neither produced any beneficial nor laſting effect. The victories of Creſſy, Poitiers, and Agincourt; the captivity of John, and the marriage of Henry the Fifth with Catherine daughter of Charles the Sixth, which was deſigned to cement the union of the two crowns; had been ſucceſſively rendered abortive by the deſperate valour, or wiſdom and policy, of the French princes. Debility, languor, and civil commotions had followed theſe violent efforts, which ſeemed to have exceeded the ſtrength, and exhauſted the reſources, of England.

The long conteſt and alternate triumphs of the two houſes of York and Lancaſter, had deluged the kingdom with blood, and terminated in the extinction of the family of Plantagenet; while, at the ſame time, they impeded the introduction of order, ſcience, and civilization. At the acceſſion of Henry the Seventh, England was depopulated; the inhabitants were rendered ferocious, from their familiarity with ſcenes of anarchy and violence; and the connexion with foreign ſtates, commercial or political, was almoſt annihilated, under the preſſure of domeſtic calamities.

Reign of Henry the Eighth.

The ſlow and ſagacious policy of that artful monarch, by permitting and encouraging the alienation of the eſtates of the nobility, had begun to ſap the edifice of the feudal ſyſtem, and to open the

proſpect

proſpect of wealth and conſideration to the commons. But it was reſerved for his ſon, Henry the Eighth, to effect changes equally ſalutary, and far more comprehenſive. The abolition of the monaſtic orders; the confiſcation and ſeizure of their property; the renunciation of the papal ſupremacy; and the ſubverſion of ſo many tenets or uſages, ſanctified by preſcription, and enjoined by ſuperſtition: theſe mighty innovations, civil and religious, had not been equalled, or paralleled, in any preceding age; and though they originated in the furious paſſions, or inſatiable rapacity, of the king, yet they were eventually productive of the happieſt conſequences to his people. A ſpirit of inquiry and diſquiſition, favourable to the progreſs of learning, ſucceeded to the torpid indolence of the cloyſter; while the unlimited tyranny, which Henry had acquired and exerciſed over the minds and perſons of his ſubjects, enabled him, in his wars, or negotiations with other princes, to call into action, and to direct, with energy and effect, all the vigour of the ſtate.

If we ſurvey the condition of England towards the termination of his life and reign, we ſhall find, notwithſtanding the political errors which he committed from caprice or impetuoſity; notwithſtanding his prodigality of the public treaſure, and the unrelenting barbarity of temper, which, in its paroxyſms of rage or jealouſy, ſpared neither his wives, his miniſters, nor his favourites; yet, that the monarchy occupied a rank in the ſcale of Europe, only inferior to thoſe of France and Spain. His ſevere adminiſtration had eſtabliſhed a profound repoſe throughout his own dominions, in an age of theological controverſy, when the minds of men were heated to the greateſt degree of mutual virulence and animoſity. Coercing equally the catholic and the proteſtant part of his ſubjects, he impoſed his own rule of faith, and religious dogmas, upon the followers of both perſuaſions. In the laſt rupture with France, though he had been abandoned by his ally, the emperor Charles the Fifth, and had been left alone in the conteſt, he had, notwithſtanding, effected the

1540—1547.

reduction

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1540—1547.

reduction of Boulogne, and retained poſſeſſion of it at the ſubſequent treaty of peace. Ireland had given him no diſturbance, nor excited any commotion againſt his government, during the laſt thirteen years of his reign. The premature death of James the Fifth; the ſtruggles for power which enſued; the minority of the young queen, afterwards the unfortunate Mary; and, more than all theſe cauſes combined, the internal convulſions excited by the introduction and rapid progreſs of the reformation; had diſabled the Scots from ſuſtaining the repeated inroads, or repelling the invaſions, made by Henry on their frontiers. Though, from his characteriſtic violence, he failed in the only wiſe and rational object of policy; that of uniting the two kingdoms, by the marriage of his ſon Edward with Mary; yet his arms had obtained the moſt decided ſuperiority over Scotland, and left him nothing to apprehend from that dangerous quarter. The emperor Charles the Fifth, notwithſtanding numerous domeſtic and political ſubjects of diſguſt, was anxious to maintain an amicable correſpondence with a ſovereign who had already extended, and was competent to lend at any future time, the moſt effectual aſſiſtance to the Smalcaldic league, compoſed of the proteſtant princes of the empire. The thunders of the Vatican, vainly levelled at Henry, had loſt their force, and excited neither terror nor attention [a].

1547—1553. Reign of Edward the Sixth.

In this ſtate of things, the crown devolved to Edward the Sixth; but, during the ſhort period of ſix years, within which his reign is compriſed, many of the advantages derived from the vigour of his father's government, were ſucceſſively loſt or ſacrificed. The royal power, diminiſhed in the unſkilful hands of the duke of Somerſet, uncle to the young king, and protector of the realm, no longer inſpired the dread, or excited the reſpect, which it had ſo long been accuſtomed to produce. Internal diſſenſions divided the counſels,

[a] Rapin. Hume, paſſim.

and

CHAP. I. 1547—1553.

and enfeeble the exertions of England. The protector, after reluctantly bringing his own brother, lord Seymour, to the block, for his criminal and dangerous intrigues, was himself in a short time deprived of his office, and eventually conducted to the scaffold, by the arts of the duke of Northumberland. Somerset, in the beginning of his administration, had obtained a signal victory over the Scots, at Pinkey, which, if it had been pursued, might have enabled him to dictate conditions to that country; but, his apprehension of the influence, which his brother attempted to establish during his absence, prevented his reaping any solid advantage from his success. It was even injurious to his sovereign and to England, by affording a pretext and an occasion for transporting the young queen, Mary, then in a state of childhood, to the court of France, where she was educated, and betrothed to the dauphin: an event equally productive of misfortunes to herself and to Scotland. Though the reformation had been adopted in England, and zealously supported by the government, yet the German princes of that persuasion were abandoned to their fate, and finally overpowered by the emperor. Boulogne, acquired at an immense expence, was tamely surrendered to the French, for an inconsiderable sum; and the young king, whose extraordinary endowments of understanding and qualities of heart, had excited the most flattering expectations in his subjects, was snatched away at a period, when his virtues might soon have been actively exerted for their protection and benefit. He was even induced, during the progress of the distemper which conducted him to the grave, to entail a civil war upon his dominions, by invading the natural order of succession, and by calling to the throne a princess, who could claim no right to it from proximity of blood or descent. The lady Jane Gray was proclaimed queen, and expiated her momentary and unwilling acceptance of the crown, by an early death [z].

[z] Hume, Rapin, passim.

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1553—1558. Reign of Mary.

All thoſe, to whom either the honour of their country, or the general rights of humanity are dear, muſt turn with diſguſt from the reign of Mary. The firſt act of her government, which was the puniſhment of the ambition and crimes of Northumberland, is almoſt the only one which excites approbation. Her narrow and furious bigotry, combined with the inhumanity and aſperity of her temper, impelled her to attempt the extirpation of hereſy by every cruel and ſanguinary mode, which inquiſitorial rancour could deviſe. Born with all the hereditary ſuperſtition of the houſe of Auſtria, and of her mother, Catherine of Arragon, ſhe wanted capacity to moderate and direct its violence. She completed the unpopularity of her adminiſtration, by contracting a marriage with Philip, prince of Spain, to whom the leading features of her mind and character bore a ſtriking ſimilarity. To the gratification of his animoſity or ambition, ſhe deliberately ſacrificed the glory and the intereſts of her own kingdom. In contradiction equally to the dictates of policy, and to the ties of faith between nations, ſhe violated the peace ſubſiſting with France; and took an active part in the war then carrying on between Philip and Henry the Second. By a retribution, as ſingular as it was juſt, ſhe became the victim of this infraction of treaties: at a moment when her huſband and ally had obtained the memorable victory of Saint Quintin, and ſeemed on the point of dictating, at the gates of Paris, his own terms to the French monarch, Mary received the moſt humiliating blow. From the criminal neglect and parſimony of the court, as much as by the well-directed enterprize of the duke of Guiſe, Calais was unexpectedly attacked and taken. This place, which the circumſtances of its original capture, the poſſeſſion of more than two hundred years, and the facility which it afforded to invade the dominions of Franee, had rendered dear to the pride and prejudices of the Engliſh nation, was irrecoverably loſt. One only benefit might be ſaid to have reſulted from the misfortune; as the agitation of mind which the queen underwent at ſo diſgraceful an event, aided and accelerated the progreſs of thoſe diſtempers, under

der which her frame was already haſtening to decay. She expired towards the cloſe of the ſame year; leaving an exhauſted exchequer, an enfeebled country, and a memory deſervedly odious to the lateſt poſterity [3].

CHAP. I. 1553—1558.

Such were the circumſtances of national depreſſion, under which Elizabeth aſcended the Engliſh throne; and the firſt meaſures which ſhe embraced, evinced to her ſubjects, and to all Europe, that the ſceptre had paſſed into hands, capable of ſwaying it with energy and effect. The enlargement of her mind, and her ſuperiority to the dictates of perſonal revenge, induced her to receive with benignity even thoſe, who, during the late reign, had ſtimulated the bigotry of Mary, to acts of violence againſt her; and who, not content with endeavouring to exclude her from the ſucceſſion, had meditated to bring her to the ſcaffold. This contempt of injuries was not leſs the effect of an enlightened and liberal policy, than of magnanimity. Though attached to the reformed religion from education and conviction, yet in this, as in almoſt every other feature of her public character, the precautions of a wiſe and cautious government repreſſed the indiſcreet zeal or enthuſiaſm, ſo characteriſtic of that age of innovation. The change of the national worſhip and profeſſion of faith was conducted with temper, exempt from every unneceſſary violence, and even accommodated, in ſome degree, to the prejudices of her catholic ſubjects [4]. The popularity of her manners, and graciouſneſs of her demeanour, acquired the affections of the people; and in theſe commendable arts, ſhe has ſcarcely been exceeded by any prince.

1558. November. Reign of Elizabeth.

While ſhe betrayed qualities ſo beneficial in her domeſtic adminiſtration, her ſituation with reſpect to foreign powers demanded equal ſagacity to diſcern, and ability to conduct, the intereſts of her

1559. Her foreign policy.

[3] Rapin, Hume, paſſim.

[4] Hume's Hiſt. of England, vol. v. p. 5—8. Camden's Annals of Elizabeth, p. 5, 6.

CHAP. I.

1559—1560.

crown. Two powerful princes, Philip and Henry, occupied the thrones of Spain and of France. The former, after the death of Mary, anxious to perpetuate his nominal ſovereignty of England, offered her his friendſhip, and ſolicited her hand in marriage. The latter, already in poſſeſſion of Calais, refuſed to cede, or to reſtore, ſo valuable an acquiſition. Her addreſs and the wiſdom of her counſels, were equally conſpicuous towards both theſe monarchs. She prudently temporiſed with Philip, and even allured him with hopes, until ſhe had effected the important changes, religious and civil, which were indiſpenſible on her acceſſion. She then tempered her refuſal with every profeſſion of perſonal regard, calculated to diminiſh its effect, and to retain the good will, at the ſame time that ſhe rejected the propoſal, of the king of Spain[5].

Conſcious that the juncture was unfavourable for the recovery of Calais, by open force; and that, in the exhauſted ſtate of the kingdom, repoſe and frugality were requiſite to eſtabliſh the foundation of her throne, and of the national grandeur; ſhe prudently yielded to the neceſſity which theſe circumſtances impoſed: yet, in the treaty of peace, ſhe not only retained her pretenſions to Calais, but ſupported her own dignity, while ſhe flattered the pride of the Engliſh nation, by ſtipulating for its reſtitution at the end of eight years. She knew how to appreciate, and how to deſpiſe this poſſeſſion, when oppoſed to more important intereſts of ſtate; and only a few months afterwards, when the court of France affected to offer the immediate reſtoration of the place and its dependant territory, if ſhe would withdraw her troops from Scotland, ſhe rejected the propoſal with diſdain[6].

1560—1568. Her policy towards Scotland.

The maſculine underſtanding and vigilant policy of Elizabeth, were never ſo fully exerted or manifeſted, as in her conduct towards

[5] Camden, p. 4. [6] Ibid. p. 11—14. Rapin's Hiſt. of England, octavo, vol. vii. p. 195—197. Hume, vol. v. p. 16—18.

the

the laſt mentioned kingdom; it occupied her whole reign, and formed the moſt eſſential object of her unremitting attention. The crown of Scotland had devolved, like that of England, to a woman. Mary, queen of Scots, was a princeſs peculiarly formed to excite the compaſſion, as well as to conciliate the affection, of the age in which ſhe lived, and of poſterity. Her perſonal beauty, her addreſs, her accompliſhments, and her undaunted ſpirit under circumſtances the moſt diſtreſsful, claim our admiration. Her errors, or rather her crimes, challenge our deteſtation; but they are, in ſome meaſure, effaced by her misfortunes, and expiated by her impriſonment and death. In the ſcience of reigning, and in all the arts of rendering her people happy and herſelf reſpected, ſhe was far inferior to her illuſtrious rival. Elizabeth, actuated by the perſonal jealouſy of a woman, as well as impelled by her apprehenſion of Mary's deſigns againſt her crown, exhauſted all the ſubtle refinements of an inſidious and unprincipled policy, in exciting ſuch domeſtic diſturbances againſt the queen of Scots, as might effectually reſtrain her from carrying into execution her plans of aggrandizement. She ſucceeded in this endeavour; and even againſt the wiſhes of her own ſubjects, and in defiance of the addreſſes of both houſes of parliament, ſhe ultimately prevented Mary from being acknowledged as preſumptive heir to the crown of England.

The fatal imprudence and miſconduct of the latter princeſs; her acquieſcence, or participation, in the murder of her huſband, lord Darnley; her ſubſequent marriage with the earl of Bothwell; in a word, that ſeries of infatuation and enormities, which ſtains and degrades her character, gave to Elizabeth advantages, that no ſuperiority of power or capacity could ever have procured. Mary, precipitated into infamy and ruin, impriſoned and dethroned by her own rebellious ſubjects, defeated in her attempts to re-aſcend the throne, and dreading the laſt degree of violence if ſhe fell alive into their hands, embraced the moſt fatal and irremediable of all expedients; that of

flying

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flying for refuge and protection to Elizabeth, whom ſhe had injured, and by whom ſhe was deteſted. The queen of England improved to its utmoſt extent this extraordinary interpoſition of fortune, which laid at her feet the object of her hatred and terror. Every profeſſion of ſympathy and concern, every blandiſhment of generous friendſhip, were at firſt aſſumed and expreſſed, to deceive the captive queen, and induce her to ſubmit the arbitration of her cauſe to the juſtice of Elizabeth. Anxious only to expoſe to the eyes of all Europe, the crimes of the unfortunate princeſs, and firmly determined never to releaſe her, or permit her to reſume the crown of Scotland, expedients were not wanting to prolong the final deciſion. Mary, transferred ſucceſſively to different priſons, and denied all acceſs to the queen of England, ſaw her youth paſs away in vain attempts, on the part of her numerous partizans, to procure her freedom and revenge[7].

1569. Her domeſtic policy.

The vigilant adminiſtration of Elizabeth continually diſcovered, and rendered ineffectual, the intrigues or conſpiracies ſet on foot to reſtore the queen of Scots. Her uncles, the duke of Guiſe and cardinal of Lorrain, though ſtill diſpoſed to exert their unwearied efforts to place her on the throne of England, no longer poſſeſſed that unlimited influence over the counſels of France, which they had enjoyed during the reign of Francis the Second. The duke of Norfolk, after having embarked in her cauſe, and even ſtipulated to marry her, loſt his head for theſe criminal and reiterated plots. The earls of Northumberland and Weſtmoreland, who commenced a premature inſurrection in the northern counties, were defeated, and compelled to fly for ſafety into foreign kingdoms. Similar enterprizes, undertaken by the zealous catholics, met with the ſame ſucceſs. Nor were the interpoſitions and exertions of France and Spain attended with better conſequences. The former country, plunged in civil diſſenſions; governed by a minor king (Charles the Ninth);

[7] Camden, Rapin, Hume, paſſim.

and

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and torn by oppoſite factions; was little able to interpoſe with vigour and effect, by force of arms. The expoſtulations of ſucceſſive French ambaſſadors, in behalf of Mary, affectedly made rather to ſave appearances, than with any ſerious wiſh or expectation of extricating her, were eaſily eluded, or anſwered by complaints on the part of Elizabeth. Philip, the moſt powerful ſovereign in Europe, bigotted to the catholic faith, and the determined enemy of England, might have employed more deciſive means to enforce his demands. But the revolt of his ſubjects in the Netherlands, and the employment which his arms found in endeavouring to conquer thoſe provinces, incapacitated him, during a conſiderable part of his reign, from making any hoſtile invaſion of Elizabeth's dominions; though the duke of Alva, aiding the wiſhes of Philip, repeatedly attempted to excite rebellions in the kingdom. From Scotland itſelf, ſhe was ſtill liable to inroads the moſt ruinous and frequent, if Mary's adherents had been in a condition to annoy her upon that vulnerable quarter; but after the flight of the Scottiſh queen, and the depreſſion of her party, it was not difficult for ſo able a princeſs as Elizabeth, to procure a decided ſuperiority for her friends. A regent, (the earl of Murray,) devoted to her intereſts, ſupported by her forces, and almoſt ſubſiſting on her bounty, retained Scotland in obedience, and governed, under the infant ſon of Mary, who was declared king [s]. By theſe wiſe and active meaſures, Elizabeth maintained England in peace, and excited reſpect or terror in every court of Europe. 1569.

If, after the review of her conduct towards the captive queen of Scots, we ſurvey the great outlines of her policy with reſpect to France and Spain, we ſhall be compelled to own that it was equally maſculine and ſucceſsful. The time was paſt, when her father, Henry the Eighth, could hold the balance between Charles the Fifth and Francis the Firſt, and decide as his intereſts or caprice dictated, in favour of 1569—1574. Conduct of Elizabeth towards Spain and France.

[s] Hume, vol. v. p. 124—126.

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one or the other of thoſe princes. Elizabeth reigned by a queſtionable title and a diſputed claim. Her mother's marriage and death had caſt a doubt over the legitimacy of her birth; and many of her own ſubjects held the pretenſions of Mary to be ſuperior in validity. Nor was this the only circumſtance which rendered her liable to danger and attack. She was the head and the protectreſs of the reformed religion; and though ſhe appears rather to have been driven to the neceſſity of placing herſelf in the ſituation, than to have adopted it from any enthuſiaſm for the tenets of the proteſtant faith; yet ſhe could derive little advantage from her moderation or liberality upon that article.

Theological diſputes and a ſanguinary zeal had, in a great meaſure, ſuperſeded or ſuſpended the intereſts, which for half a century involved the monarchies of France and Spain in perpetual hoſtilities. Philip the Second and Charles the Ninth, ſacrificing to their mutual bigotry and deteſtation of the reformers, all the ſubjects of conteſt between the two crowns, had recently entered into the cloſeſt alliance. The conferences held at Bayonne, between Catherine of Medicis and the duke of Alva, were univerſally ſuppoſed to have, for their principal object, the extirpation of the hugonots. An attack upon England would have been regarded as a cruſade, meriting the immediate benediction of Heaven. Elizabeth lay under a papal excommunication; and ſucceſſive pontiffs had abſolved her ſubjects from all allegiance to her perſon or government. The enmity of France was faintly concealed through the veil of exterior regard and profeſſions of amity; nor did that profligate court heſitate to exert the moſt perfidious duplicity, in order to lull the circumſpection of Elizabeth, and diminiſh her vigilance. Philip, though, during the life of Francis the Second, he had been reſtrained from acting in a hoſtile manner towards the Queen, by the dread of ſeeing the crown of England united to thoſe of France and Scotland under one head; was no ſooner releaſed from his apprehenſions,

by

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by the death of the French king, than he threw off the maſk. The queen endeavoured, by every mark of perſonal reſpect, but in vain, to preſerve his friendſhip; or, at all events, to deprecate the reſentment of ſo powerful a prince. He ſullenly refuſed the order of the garter, which ſhe tendered him, and declined renewing the ancient league between the houſes of England and Burgundy. Theſe firſt demonſtrations of alienation, were followed by more unequivocal proofs of anger. The Engliſh ambaſſadors in Spain were wantonly inſulted; and no ſatisfaction was made for the capture of three ſhips, commanded by ſir John Hawkins, on the coaſt of Mexico. Elizabeth, yielding to the neceſſity of the time, embarraſſed with the queen of Scots, and aware of the inſidious duplicity of the French court, prudently diſſembled her ſenſe of theſe injuries, and waited for a more favourable moment, in which to take vengeance on Philip. The troubles that aroſe in the Netherlands, ſoon afforded her an occaſion, of which ſhe availed herſelf. Without violating the peace ſubſiſting with Spain, or involving herſelf in open hoſtilities with that monarchy, ſhe effectually defeated the ſchemes of the duke of Alva, by ſeizing and retaining, at a moſt critical juncture, a very large ſum, which ſome Genoeſe merchants were remitting to Antwerp. Though ſhe accompanied this act with excuſes, and aſſurances of reſtitution, the conſequences to Spain were fatal and irremediable.

Towards France, of whoſe power ſhe ſtood leſs in awe, her conduct was more decided, and her interference clearly avowed. At a very early period of her reign, when the civil wars commenced in that country, ſhe ſent a powerful ſuccour to the prince of Condé and the hugonots; who, as a pledge for the repayment of the aſſiſtance, delivered Havre de Grace into her poſſeſſion. At the pacification which ſhortly afterwards took place between Charles the Ninth and his ſubjects, they jointly inveſted Havre, and the plague cooperating with famine, it was ſurrendered by capitulation. So ungrateful a return for her protection, did not prevent the queen from

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renewing her ſupport, when the diſſenſions revived in France; and ſhe extended, after Condé's defeat and death at Jarnac, the ſame aid to Coligni, who ſucceeded to the command of the proteſtant forces. Yet even this open act of interference, ſhe qualified by her ambaſſador at the court of France, and avoided carefully involving her kingdom in war, while it was poſſible to attain the ſame object by indirect means.

Charles, on the other hand, who had already determined to maſſacre the rebels whom he could not ſubdue, and who, with that reſolution, had granted them an advantageous peace, diſſembled his indignation at Elizabeth's conduct. He went further, and, in order to extinguiſh the remembrance of paſt miſunderſtandings, made every flattering advance to obtain her friendſhip and alliance. He had long been inveſted with the order of the garter: he now propoſed to enter into the cloſeſt connections with England, and ſet on foot a negociation for the marriage of his brother Henry, duke of Anjou, with the queen. She affected to liſten with apparent complacency, to the offer, which flattered her perſonal vanity; and, conſcious that on the pretext of religion, ſhe could at any time break off the concluſion of the treaty, ſhe permitted it to be diſcuſſed, and the leading articles to be agitated. The maſſacre of Paris, that quickly followed, evinced to her the deep and perfidious deſigns of the French court, which were not only levelled at Coligni and his adherents, but had for their object, the extermination of the proteſtant religion in every country of Europe. She dreaded the union of Charles and Philip, and ſaw her own inevitable ruin, in ſo unequal a combination againſt England. Happily, the new commotions which immediately aroſe in the dominions of the former prince, where the hugonots, more exaſperated than ſubdued, exerted the moſt ſucceſsful efforts againſt the crown, in a conſiderable degree calmed her apprehenſions from that quarter.

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The armies and revenues of Spain were drained by the wars in the Low Countries, which reluctantly compelled Philip to poſtpone, though not finally to lay aſide, his projects of conqueſt and revenge againſt the Engliſh. Yet, conſcious of the delicacy and danger of her ſituation, which required not only vigilance, but diſſimulation, ſhe adapted her conduct to it with wonderful ſkill and verſatility. To Philip, ſhe continued, even when ſending ſecret aſſiſtance to his ſubjects in the Netherlands, to make profeſſions of neutrality and amity. She admitted the ambaſſador of Charles to pronounce the apology, and to ſtate the pretended reaſons of his ſovereign, for exterminating his unarmed and unſuſpecting ſubjects. She moderated the expreſſions of her indignation at this act of ſanguinary treachery, and ſhe affected to ſuppoſe that it had not been premeditated on the part of the king. Though well aware of the little reliance to be placed upon the oaths or treaties made with ſuch a prince, ſhe permitted the negociation for her marriage with the duke of Alenſon, Charles's ſecond brother, to be renewed. Elizabeth even ſent one of the firſt noblemen of her court, to aſſiſt as her repreſentative at the baptiſm of the infant daughter of the king of France, and appeared to cultivate that monarch's friendſhip with the utmoſt ſincerity [9].

Arts and precautions of Elizabeth.

While ſhe made ſo many ſacrifices to policy, and to her perſonal ſafety, ſhe neglected no precaution that might enable her to meet and to overcome the dangers, which menaced her tranquillity. She redoubled her vigilance in diſcovering and repreſſing the plots of her catholic ſubjects in favour of Mary. She wiſely courted all the arts of popularity, augmented her navy, exerciſed her people to arms, and renewed her alliance with the German princes of the proteſtant perſuaſion. By theſe efforts, ſhe ſaw herſelf in a condition to ſuſtain any attack, which her inveterate enemies might make; and the affectionate zeal of her parliament and people, grateful for the bleſſing of her government, ſeconded the exertions of their ſovereign.

[9] Camden's Annals, p. 103—178. Rapin, vol. vii. p. 344—396. Hume, vol. v. p. 167.—210.

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Such was the ſituation of affairs, when the death of Charles the Ninth took place, and Henry the Third aſcended the throne of France.

Character of Elizabeth.

The queen had nearly completed her forty-firſt year, and was in the plenitude of her vigour and talents. Though, conſidered as a woman, ſhe appears to have laboured under many of the characteriſtic weakneſſes or defects of her ſex; yet, as a monarch, ſhe united almoſt every great endowment which could conciliate love, or inſpire reſpect. The violence, caprice, and tyranny of Henry the Eighth, are certainly to be traced in many of her actions. The vanity, coquetry, and inordinate paſſion for admiration, that diſtinguiſhed Anna Bullen, and which conduced to her ruin, were carried to a much more inexcuſable heighth by her daughter. Her conduct to Mary, queen of Scots, however palliated by neceſſity, excites diſapprobation, and even abhorrence. The malignity with which ſhe perſecuted the unfortunate counteſs of Hertford, ſiſter to lady Jane Gray, and whoſe only crime ſeems to have been her deſcent from the blood-royal of England, cannot be too ſtrongly reprobated. Perhaps more than either of theſe, her ſelection of Robert Dudley for her favourite, and the continued protection which ſhe extended to ſo dangerous and profligate a man, during almoſt the whole courſe of his life; in a public point of view, calls for the greateſt condemnation. But theſe vices or faults were eclipſed by her frugality, vigilance, magnanimity, wiſdom, and unwearied attention to the happineſs and proſperity of her people. They repaid her care with the warmeſt attachment, and were fully ſenſible of their felicity in being governed by ſo great a princeſs.

State of the kingdom at this period.

In 1574, the internal troubles and commotions, which had ſo frequently diſturbed her tranquillity, were in a great meaſure extinct, and their cauſes removed. Her priſoner, the queen of Scots, languiſhing in confinement, and transferred ſucceſſively to various places

of

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of ſecurity, was detained in the caſtle of Tutbury, under the guard of the earls of Shrewſbury and Huntingdon. The party attached to that princeſs, wearied with vain efforts for her releaſe and reeſtabliſhment, was ſunk into deſpondency. With the duke of Norfolk, their hopes had been extinguiſhed. Elizabeth, after a delay of ſome months, and a reluctance, which ſeems to have been real, ſigned an order for his execution; and his head was ſtruck off upon Tower-hill [10]. The rebellion, raſhly commenced in the northern counties, had left ſcarcely any traces. No part of the queen's dominions, during her whole reign, cauſed her more diſquietude, or occaſioned her more expence, than Ireland. The unſettled nature of the iſland; the feuds continually ſubſiſting between the chiefs; their bigotted adherence to the catholic faith; and the effect produced among ſo uncivilized a people, by the bull of Pius the Fifth, excommunicating Elizabeth: theſe cauſes gave birth to perpetual revolts; and though ſpeedily quelled or repreſſed by the lord-deputies, they drained the royal coffers, and painfully exerciſed the unremitting attention of the government. In Scotland, the laſt remaining adherents of Mary had either ſubmitted themſelves voluntarily to the eſtabliſhed government, or were reduced to obedience, and the leaders capitally puniſhed, by force of arms. The caſtle of Edinburgh, which ſtill held out for the impriſoned queen, was taken by the Engliſh, and her partizans were finally vanquiſhed. The earl of Morton, choſen regent, depended upon Elizabeth, and looked up to her for ſupport and protection [11]. In the Low Countries, her implacable and powerful adverſary, the duke of Alva, who had aided every attempt againſt her perſon and government, was at length recalled by the king of Spain. His ſucceſſor, Requeſens, a man of milder diſpoſition, rather endeavoured to cultivate her friendſhip, than to widen the breach. The revolted

[10] Hume, vol. v. p. 199.

[11] Rapin, vol. vii. p. 386—392.

ſubjects

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ſubjects of Philip, in the provinces of Holland and Zealand, already regarded her as their protectreſs, and ſued for her aſſiſtance [12].

From the power of France, ſhe had no immediate cauſe for alarm. The deceaſe of Charles; the abſence and diſtance of Henry, who was in Poland, at the time of his brother's death; the diſtracted ſtate of the country; the weakneſs of the crown; and the diverſion which might at any moment be made in her favour, by the hugonots: all theſe circumſtances guaranteed her ſecurity. Spain was a more formidable enemy; and ſhe conſtantly, during her whole reign, kept her eye fixed upon that bigotted and vindictive court. But neither had ſhe hitherto altogether ceaſed to obſerve ſome meaſures with Philip, nor had he leiſure and ability to bend the force of his monarchy againſt England. With Sebaſtian, the young king of Portugal, ſhe had recently contracted an alliance, and terminated ſome differences relative to commerce, which had ſubſiſted between the ſubjects of the two crowns ſince the time of Edward the Sixth [13]. The emperor Maximilian the Second had always profeſſed for her the moſt partial eſteem, and had even exerted his intereſt at the court of Rome, to prevent the excommunication with which ſhe was menaced. Elizabeth repaid his attention, by every act of regard, and treated him on all occaſions, as her father. When his daughter, the archducheſs Anne, was married to Philip the Second, ſhe ſent a fleet, commanded by lord Howard, to eſcort her from Zealand into Spain. At the nuptials of another of the emperor's daughters, Elizabeth, who eſpouſed Charles the Ninth of France, ſhe, from the ſame motives, diſpatched a ſplendid embaſſy to aſſiſt at the ceremony [14]. The proteſtant princes of the German empire courted her friendſhip; and even from the extremities of Europe, John Baſilowitz, czar of Muſcovy, not only granted peculiar commercial immunities to her ſubjects, but ſolicited her alliance, and warmly

[12] Camden, p. 173. [13] Ibid. p. 147.
[14] Ibid. p. 129, 130. Hume, vol. v. p. 208. Rapin, vol. vii. p. 388.

urged

urged her to enter into the cloſeſt ſtipulations for their mutual ſafety.

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The high conſideration to which the queen had attained in the eſtimation of foreign courts, was the reſult of that energy and vigilance, which diſtinguiſhed her domeſtic counſels and government. Though many of the greateſt names which adorn her annals, appeared at a later period of her reign, yet, the perſons employed at this time in the higheſt offices of truſt, have merited the applauſes of poſterity, and may be reckoned among the moſt illuſtrious men whom England has produced. At their head, muſt be placed ſir William Cecil, ſecretary of ſtate; and whom ſhe raiſed, after thirteen years of ſervice, to the dignity of a baron, by the name of lord Burleigh [15]. His ſagacity, application, and devotion to the intereſts of his miſtreſs, induced her ſoon afterwards to nominate him lord high treaſurer, in which employment he continued to his death. Though accuſed by his enemies, of too great a diſpoſition to parſimony, and of repreſſing the bounty of the queen towards thoſe, who had impoveriſhed themſelves in the ſervice of the ſtate; he nevertheleſs ſtands deſervedly in the firſt rank of wiſe and able miniſters. He even ventured, more than once, to oppoſe the indiſcreet profuſion of dignities and honours, which ſhe heaped upon the earl of Leiceſter; and, in ſuch a contradiction to her avowed partiality, he evinced the higheſt elevation of mind, and regard to the public intereſts.

Miniſters and favourites of Elizabeth.

Cecil.

The talents of ſir Francis Walſingham were ſcarcely inferior, and his virtue was more pure, than that of Cecil. At this period of Elizabeth's reign, he was her ambaſſador at the court of France, where his vigilance gave her timely intimation of many of the treacherous meaſures, deſigned to invade her repoſe. His diſintereſtedneſs and active precautions diminiſhed his private fortune, and reduced

Walſingham.

[15] Camden, p. 163.

him

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him to ſuch poverty, as to leave his daughter to be portioned by the queen.

1574. Throckmorton.

Throckmorton was endowed with extraordinary abilities, which he had evinced in many arduous, and delicate ſituations; but, having offended lord Burleigh, he had met with a return from Elizabeth, inadequate to his faithful ſervices; and he died, a ſhort time before the elevation of that nobleman to the poſt of treaſurer [16]. Sir Nicholas Bacon, lord keeper of the great ſeal, was not more eminent for his capacity, than for having given birth to a ſon, whoſe genius eclipſed the talents of his father. Drake, ſprung from an obſcure family, but deſtined to the moſt glorious naval atchievements, had already ſignalized himſelf by a bold and ſucceſsful attack upon the Spaniards in America; and was preparing to carry his depredations into the Pacific Ocean, where none of his countrymen had hitherto ventured. Raleigh, afterwards ſo renowned and ſo unfortunate, firſt appeared in the ſuccours, ſent by Elizabeth to Coligni, where his courage and capacity rendered him diſtinguiſhed.

Leiceſter.

This liſt is diſgraced by the earl of Leiceſter; whoſe influence, founded only on exterior graces of perſon or manners, and whoſe character, compoſed of the moſt odious vices, reflect diſhonour on his miſtreſs's choice. The truth of hiſtory will not, however, permit the omiſſion of a man, whoſe aſcendency over the mind of Elizabeth, can only be compared to that of Bothwell over Mary, queen of Scots, and whoſe crimes ſcarcely appear to have merited a milder fate. Like him, Leiceſter aſpired to his ſovereign's bed; and though Elizabeth's jealouſy of any participation of her authority, or other more unaſcertained cauſes, prevented her from giving to her favourite this laſt proof of his empire, and of her weakneſs; he nevertheleſs attained to ſo exorbitant a heighth of power as to ſhake

[16] Camden, p. 130.

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1574. Conſtitution of England.

the queen's popularity, and conſiderably to diminiſh the reſpect paid to her perſon and government.

If, after this ſurvey of Elizabeth's perſonal character, her miniſters, and meaſures, we permit ourſelves, diveſted of prejudice, to contemplate the conſtitution of England under her reign, we muſt be compelled to admit, that, notwithſtanding the forms of a limited monarchy, it approached, in many eſſential points, to the genius of deſpotiſm. The throne was not only intrenched behind numberleſs branches of prerogative, the moſt inimical to liberty; but it was ſurrounded by tribunals, ſubverſive of freedom, civil or religious. The diſpenſing power alone, which was acknowledged to reſide in the crown, rendered its poſſeſſor paramount to all laws. The right of arbitrary impriſonment ſubjected every individual to arreſt and detention. Monopolies, granted at pleaſure, impoſed the moſt ruinous fetters, or reſtrictions, on general induſtry. Benevolences and *loans, arbitrarily exacted,* rendered property inſecure [17]. As if ſo many oppreſſive claims or powers were not ſufficient to retain the people in ſubjection, and to awe the moſt enterprizing and ſeditious, courts of criminal juſtice, armed with indefinite authority, were likewiſe added. At the head of them may be ranked the Star Chamber, ſo celebrated, and ſo odious, in the Engliſh hiſtory. Its juriſdiction extended to almoſt every ſpecies of crimes, not cognizable in the ordinary progreſs of law: the members who compoſed it, were removable at pleaſure; and their ſentences might inflict corporal puniſhment, fines, and impriſonment [18]. The High Commiſſion Court was a ſcourge, if poſſible, more ſevere; becauſe it tyrannized over the opinions and the conſciences of men. It was inſtituted ſoon after the queen's acceſſion, on her aſſumption of the ſpiritual ſupremacy, and exerciſed the ſame powers, which Henry the Eighth had delegated to a vicegerent, or vicar-general, in 1536. If, to the two tribunals already mentioned, we add Courts Martial,

[17] Hume, vol. v. Appendix, iii. p. 452.

[18] Ibid. p. 453, 454.

which

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1574. Extenſive prerogative.

which the ſovereign might authorize, and before whoſe juriſdiction all treaſonable offences might be brought, we ſhall need little additional proof of the boundleſs pretenſions and exerciſes of the prerogative, or of the feeble barriers by which the ſubject was then defended from its invaſion [19].

Parliaments.

The parliaments, though frequently convoked, were neither free in their deliberations, nor did they poſſeſs the independence, courage, and ſenſe of dignity, indiſpenſible to impel, and ſuſtain them, in a conteſt with the crown. It was not among the peers, that the flame of liberty could be naturally expected to take birth; and the other houſe had not as yet made ſufficient advances in opulence, or knowledge, to feel, in its full force, the ineſtimable value of equal laws, impartial juſtice, and civil liberty. Elizabeth repreſſed, throughout her whole reign, every attempt, on their part, to emancipate either themſelves or their conſtituents, with the moſt vigilant attention; and ſhe did not ſcruple to order into cuſtody, or to detain in confinement, any member, who preſumed to paſs the limits which ſhe thought proper to affix, to the freedom of debate. The reprehenſion, accompanied with menaces, which ſhe uſed towards both houſes of parliament, at the cloſe of the ſeſſion in 1566; becauſe they had ventured, with indiſcreet loyalty and zeal for their country, to preſs her marriage, or the nomination of the eventual ſucceſſor, if ſhe perſiſted in remaining ſingle; may evince how ſeverely ſhe checked the firſt dawnings of popular invaſion [20]. In 1571, the lord-keeper admoniſhed the parliament, at its meeting, not to meddle with affairs of ſtate; and a member of the lower houſe was ſummoned before the privy council, and prohibited from appearing again in his place, for having made a motion relative to the reformation of the liturgy. The queen afterwards ſignified to him her permiſſion to return to the houſe of commons. Another member, in the courſe of the ſeſſion,

[19] Hume, vol. v. Appendix, iii. p. 454—456.

[20] Camden, p. 68—70.

was reprimanded by the council, for daring to cenſure a ruinous patent, granted by the crown. At the prorogation, the lord-keeper again reminded them of their audacity, inſolence, and preſumption, in offering to call into doubt the prerogatives, inherent in, and exerciſed by, Elizabeth[21].

It is indiſputable, that in her able hands, the royal prerogatives were preſerved, and prolonged beyond the term at which, with leſs ſkilful management, they muſt have arrived, from the rapid progreſs of true ſcience, wealth, and liberality, among the people. Her natural diſpoſition to economy, confirmed by the neceſſity of maintaining her independence on the parliament, or of bartering prerogative for ſupplies, made her not only ſparing of the public treaſure, but induced her rather to refuſe the pecuniary aids offered her by the commons, than to purchaſe them by the ſlighteſt ſacrifice of power. It is difficult to commend too highly, as a virtue, the *frugality of Elizabeth*, ſince it neither partook of an illiberal parſimony, nor degenerated into avarice. The want of it in her two immediate ſucceſſors, expoſed them to all the inroads of democratic violence, and accelerated the deſtruction of royalty itſelf.

Numerous claims of the crown.

Beſides the great features of prerogative enumerated, many inferior, but, very onerous rights or claims, exiſted under this reign. The court of wards was a ſevere and humiliating one, which ſubjected the heirs of all landed eſtates, during their non-age, to the guardianſhip of the crown: great abuſes were committed in its adminiſtration. The right of purveyance, or pre-emption, was a ſtill more extenſive grievance in its operation. The prohibition of the nobility to marry, without previouſly obtaining the royal conſent; ſimilar reſtraints on their leaving the kingdom; exemptions from proſecution, and ſeizure of effects; embargoes on particular articles of trade; preſents, exacted to an indefinite amount: all theſe acts of interference tended to plunder, oppreſs, or trample on the

[21] D'Ewes, p. 141. and p. 175, 176.—and p. 151.

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ſubject, and continued to be exerciſed, without oppoſition, till a much later period[22]. The extent of her power may be, perhaps, ſtill more ſtrongly evinced, by obſerving, that it extended even to manners, dreſs, and faſhion; objects, which have ever been found by legiſlators and ſovereigns, harder to regulate, than matters of a graver nature. Elizabeth, in 1574, iſſued a proclamation, enjoining all perſons to conform to the modes worn in her own court, within fourteen days; and to enforce the obſervance of ſo ſingular a command, ſhe ſent out her officers to break the ſwords, or clip the ruffs, which exceeded the dimenſions ſpecified in her prohibition. Nothing can convey a livelier idea of the ſubmiſſion which ſhe exacted, even in things unconnected with government and policy[23].

Revenues.

The revenues of the crown bore, however, no proportion to the magnitude of its prerogatives. They were as limited and ſlender, as the latter were ample and comprehenſive. When we conſider with how inadequate reſources, Elizabeth, during four-and-forty years, conducted the internal government; fed the diſſenſions in Scotland; defended, or ſubjected Ireland; aided the Hugonots in France; repelled the attacks of Spain, the moſt formidable monarchy in Europe; and even carried her arms or inroads into the remote colonies and provinces of Philip the Second; we are penetrated with admiration, and no longer wonder at the high applauſes beſtowed by her cotemporaries, on her wiſdom and capacity. No effort of economy, the moſt vigilant and unremitted, could, however, have enabled her to compaſs objects ſo vaſt, and many of which demanded large pecuniary ſupplies, unleſs ſhe had availed herſelf of the power of alienating and ſelling the royal domain[24]. Her dread of the encroachments of parliament, induced her to have recourſe to an expedient, which, though it liberated her from preſent embarraſſments, effectually impoveriſhed the crown, and involved the princes of the family of Stuart in accumulated diſtreſs. To this re-

[22] Hume, vol. v. p. 460—462.

[23] Camden, p. 179. Strype, vol. 2. p. 603. Townſend's Journals, p. 250.

[24] Hume, vol. v. p. 472—476.

ſource

ſource muſt be added, the energy and ſpirit of enterprize, exhibited by her ſubjects; who, when their country was to be defended, or foreign expeditions of glory undertaken, did not wait for the ſanction of law, but anticipated the wants of government, by equipping ſhips, and arming them at their private expence. Incredible exertions of the nature alluded to, were made, at different periods of Elizabeth's reign. CHAP. I. 1574.

No regular troops, properly ſo denominated, exiſted in England at this period; and the only body of military forces, capable of being called out on a ſudden emergency, was the militia. They were computed, in 1574, not to fall very ſhort of two hundred thouſand in number; but their diſcipline was by no means ſuch as to permit of a reliance on them for defence; and the coaſts were frequently plundered by ſmall bodies of Spaniards, ſent over from Flanders for that purpoſe[25]. The greateſt ſecurity of Elizabeth conſiſted in the general attachment of all ranks of her ſubjects, produced by her attention to their welfare, and the wiſdom of her meaſures. Even the catholics, conſcious of the lenity and beneficence of her adminiſtration, gave her the moſt unequivocal teſtimonies of loyalty, during the Northern rebellion, in 1569[26]. Military force.

The Engliſh navy can ſcarcely be ſaid to have had any permanent exiſtence before the year 1574. After the Spaniſh invaſion of 1588, it began to aſſume a more ſettled form, and continued annually to receive augmentations; but, at the commencement of this reign, the whole number of ſeamen in Elizabeth's dominions, was not eſtimated at more than twelve thouſand. Trading veſſels, on occaſions of danger, were converted into ſhips of war; and the queen gradually emancipated herſelf from the neceſſity, under which her father, Henry the Eighth, had found himſelf, of applying to the Hanſe towns for aſſiſtance, when obliged to equip a fleet. The royal navy might be reckoned at about twenty large ſhips, and three gallies, which gene- Navy.

[25] Hume, vol. v. p. 481 and 482.

[26] Camden, p. 115.

rally

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rally lay in the river Medway, near Gillingham-caſtle. They appear to have been conſtantly ready for ſervice[27].

1574. Commerce.

The true principles of commerce were not ſufficiently underſtood, at the period which we are reviewing, to receive from the government an effectual protection: monopolies, patents, and excluſive grants of various kinds, continually emanating from the crown, oppreſſed the genius of trade, and checked its progreſs; but the ſpirit of diſcovery and enterprize, which characteriſed the ſixteenth century, made ample amends for every impediment. The recent exploits and conqueſts of the Spaniards in the new world, and of the Portugueſe in India, excited the emulation and exertions of England. The moſt important enterprizes were undertaken by individuals, who attempted to navigate the frozen ocean, and to find a paſſage round the northern pole, to America, and to China. However unſucceſsful were theſe endeavours, new adventurers appeared, and channels of trade, hitherto unknown, were explored. That to Muſcovy, was peculiarly beneficial, and received the greateſt encouragement from the czar, John Baſilowitz. It is ſcarcely credible, that as early as 1570, when commerce muſt ſtill be regarded as in its infancy, the Engliſh undertook and executed plans ſo bold and hazardous, as ſcarcely to be exceeded in the preſent age. Beſides the voyages of Frobiſher, Davis, Hawkins, and many others, which were partly intended to diſcover, or colonize diſtant parts of the earth; the traders to Ruſſia aſcended the river Duna, to Wologda; tranſported their commodities by land, through the interior provinces, to Jaroſlau; and deſcending the Wolga, arrived at Aſtracan. They afterwards croſſed the Caſpian Sea, entered Perſia; and, notwithſtanding the obſtacles ariſing from the unſettled ſtate of the country, as well as the deſerts which they were compelled to paſs, penetrated to the cities of Caſbin, Teverin, and others, where they ſold their goods. It was owing to the perpetual wars, which, under

[27] Hume, vol. v. p. 480.

Amurath

Amurath the Third, were made by the Turks, upon Perſia, that ſo extraordinary and beneficial a mart was loſt to the Engliſh nation; but, the very attempt evinces the ardor and ſpirit, which then pervaded the middle ranks of ſociety[28]. The gold trade with the negroes of the coaſt of Guinea, had exiſted ever ſince the end of the reign of Edward the Sixth, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the court of Portugal, which pretended to the ſole and excluſive dominion of that part of the globe. Elizabeth adjuſted the differences, in 1571, by a commercial treaty, which ſtill left her ſubjects at liberty to carry on their traffic to Africa[29]. CHAP. I. 1574.

In 1563, Cardinal Granvelle, who conducted the affairs of the Spaniſh Netherlands, under Margaret of Parma, had induced her to prohibit the importation of the Engliſh cloths. In this predicament, the city of Emden, in Eaſt Friezland, was choſen for the mart or ſtaple, to which the woollen manufactures of England were ſent. But ſoon afterwards, the original treaty, denominated "the great intercourſe," was revived, by the mutual neceſſities of the two countries[30]. It was again completely ſuſpended by the quarrel, which took place in 1568, between the courts of London and Madrid, on occaſion of the ſeizure and detention of the Genoeſe veſſels, deſtined to carry pecuniary remittances to the duke of Alva. Hamburgh then became, for ſome years, the channel of trade to Germany, inſtead of Bruges and Antwerp; but, early in 1573, Philip the Second, whoſe Flemiſh ſubjects ſeverely felt the privation of the Engliſh commerce, conſented to renew the ancient treaty between the two crowns[31]. The oppreſſions of that tyrannical prince had already driven great numbers of his moſt induſtrious people to abandon Flanders, and take refuge under Elizabeth's protection. They ſettled, principally, in the eaſtern and ſouthern counties, where they introduced the art of manufacturing bays, as well as various ſpecies of linen and woollen cloths, unknown before in England[32].

[28] Camden, p. 105, 106.—and p. 86.
[29] Ibid. p. 147.
[30] Rapin, vol. vii. p. 248 and 249.
[31] Rapin, vol. vii. p. 322 and 323. Camden, p. 181 and 182.
[32] Hume, vol. v. p. 483.

As

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1574.

As early as 1565, the parliament appears to have made the article of wool, an object of the moſt ſerious attention. An act paſſed, prohibiting, under penalty of forfeiture and impriſonment for the firſt offence, and on pain of felony for the ſecond, the exportation of ſheep. The annual amount of the woollen trade to Flanders was immenſe, and continued to be progreſſive, during all the reign of Elizabeth. The whole number of veſſels, employed by the Engliſh, in trade, before 1574, ſeems not to have exceeded twelve hundred; and the greater part of theſe fell ſhort of eighty tons burden[33]. Commerce itſelf muſt have been very precarious and inſecure, ſince the Engliſh channel was infeſted with pirates, particularly French.

Manufactures.

If we except the woollen manufacture, moſt of the others appear to have been only in their infancy; and articles of elegance or luxury were fabricated in a much ſuperior manner, by the Flemings and Italians, from whom they were principally procured. The knowledge of the proceſs of making gunpowder, was recent; before 1561, it was imported from foreign countries. That of brimſtone took place four years later[34]. Silk ſtockings were worn by Elizabeth, very early in her reign: it is to be obſerved, that they were knit, and of the colour of black[35]. Watches, coaches, and many other appendages of dreſs or ſplendor, were totally unknown among the Engliſh, till a later period than that which we are reviewing.

Population.

London, like the other principal cities of the kingdom, was compoſed of very mean buildings, conſtructed with wood, and faced with clay of various colours. Brick and ſtone edifices ſcarcely began to be known, among the higheſt nobility; and the uſe of glaſs for windows, was limited to the ſame claſs[36]. The foundation of the Royal Exchange, conſtructed by the celebrated Sir Thomas Greſham, was laid in 1566, and it was completed in the following year. Elizabeth evinced her protection of trade, by viſiting it in

[33] Hume, vol. v. p. 480.
[34] Rymer's Fœdera, tom. xv. p. 650.
[35] Howell's Hiſt. of the World, vol. ii. p. 222.
[36] Harriſon, book ii. ch. 12.

1571, and giving it, by proclamation, the name which it ſtill bears[37]. We may judge, however, of the ſlender intercourſe between the Engliſh and other nations, by the ſmall number of foreigners found in the metropolis. On an accurate inqueſt, taken in 1567, there were not ſo many as five thouſand in London, from every country in Europe; and the majority of thoſe were Flemings, either compelled to fly for refuge to Elizabeth, by the perſecutions of Philip the Second, or induced to viſit England from commercial motives[38]. 1574.

It was to Greſham, one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed characters of his time, that the crown was indebted for its emancipation from the neceſſity of recurring to Antwerp for loans, whenever money was wanted, on ſudden or extraordinary emergencies. That opulent city, the greateſt mart in the northern ſeas, could alone ſupply funds; and intereſt was exacted at the rate of ten or twelve per cent. By Greſham's example and exertions, London began to make theſe pecuniary advances; and parliament fixed the rate of legal intereſt, in 1571, at ten per cent.[39]

Scarcely any of thoſe obvious and neceſſary precautions for the ſalubrity and cleanlineſs of the capital, or the ſafety and protection of its inhabitants, which we denominate police, were known at this period. London was infeſted with riotous, diſſolute, and tumultuous vagabonds, againſt whom it was frequently neceſſary to proceed with the utmoſt rigour and promptitude of juſtice[40]. Similar, and even greater diſorders, were common in the provinces, where troops of profligate and lawleſs perſons frequently aſſembled, committed depredations, and ſet the laws at defiance. More than three hundred were executed every year, for theft and robbery only, in the various parts of the kingdom, during the commencement of Elizabeth's reign; a circumſtance very unfavourable to the idea of ſimplicity or purity of manners, among the inferior orders of the people[41]. Internal police.

[37] Hume, vol. v. p. 483.
[38] Haynes, p. 461 and 462.
[39] Hume, vol. vii. p. 476 and 483.
[40] Rymer, tom. xvi. p. 279.
[41] Hume, vol. v. p. 469.

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1574.

Gypſies were another nuiſance, of an aſtoniſhing magnitude: their numbers, throughout England, were ſuppoſed to exceed ten thouſand; and parliament, as early as 1563, rendered it felony to be ſeen or found for one month in their company [42]. The plague committed continual and terrible ravages; nor were any wholeſome regulations adopted, to prevent its entrance. The garriſon, which, under the earl of Warwick, had defended Havre-de-Grace, brought it to England in the ſummer of 1563; and more than twenty thouſand perſons were carried off by its attacks, in the city of London alone [43]. The uſe of coals, as an article of fuel, ſeems to have been almoſt totally unknown in the metropolis, before 1574. Wood was univerſally uſed for fires. It was not till the reign of James the Firſt, that, from the immenſe and increaſing conſumption of wood, coals began to be ſubſtituted in its place.

Contagious diſtempers.

Feudal grandeur.

Notwithſtanding the progreſſive ſtate of opulence and conſideration among the commons, ſtrong traces of the feudal grandeur and ancient magnificence of the barons, exiſted after Elizabeth's acceſſion [44]. The earl of Leiceſter, her unworthy favourite, is ſaid to have laid up arms for near ten thouſand men, in Kennelworth-caſtle. Ramparts, moats, artillery, and dependants, ready to appear on the firſt ſummons, ſtill diſtinguiſhed the reſidence of the nobility. In 1569, the earls of Northumberland and Weſtmoreland drew together an army, amounting to four thouſand foot, and ſix hundred horſe, at a very ſhort notice, compoſed almoſt wholly of their catholic tenants, vaſſals, and retainers [45]. Perſonal ſervitude was not extinct till towards the cloſe of this reign.

Learning.

It muſt be admitted, that the age was very learned; and that erudition was even more generally poſſeſſed, or diffuſed, eſpecially among the higheſt claſſes of ſociety, than in the preſent century. The enthuſiaſm, and almoſt idolatry, with which the great writers of

[42] Rapin, vol. vii. p. 248, note.
[43] Camden, p. 51, 52.
[44] Hume, vol. v. p. 486, 487.
[45] Camden, p. 115.

antiquity

antiquity were received, on the revival of letters, had not yet totally ſubſided, or exhauſted itſelf, before the middle of the ſixteenth century. Elizabeth, her miniſters, favourites, and even the ladies of the court, were familiar with the Greek philoſophers, and Roman hiſtorians [46]. The queen, on many public occaſions, evinced the facility which ſhe poſſeſſed in the dead languages; and learning eminently conduced to preferment, or public employment [47]. But, pedantry infected the ſchools, the univerſities, and the palace. Taſte had not yet manifeſted itſelf: the Engliſh language was far from having fixed its ſtandard, or attained its perfection. Hiſtory, poetry, philoſophy, and all the delicate productions of refined and cultivated genius, were either unknown, or in their commencement. Bacon and Shakſpeare had not paſſed the limits of childhood; nor had Spenſer yet compoſed a ſtanza of his "Fairy Queen."

1574.

Ireland, before the year 1574, can only be regarded as a barbarous province, *nominally* conſtituting a dependency of the Engliſh crown; but, in reality, productive neither of revenue, nor eſſential benefit of any kind, to Elizabeth. The fierce nature of its inhabitants; their ignorance, ſuperſtition, and ſervile reverence for the Romiſh ſee; the want of arts, manufactures, trade, and civilization; above all, the unlimited authority exerciſed by the great barons and nobility, over their vaſſals: theſe cauſes conſpired to bereave the Engliſh princes of any advantage, from their titular ſupremacy over the iſland. It was, in fact, from the period of Elizabeth's acceſſion to her death, in a ſtate of perpetual revolt and commotion, open, or concealed. The province of Ulſter gave her the moſt copious matter of alarm, occupied her attention, exhauſted her finances, and frequently emancipated itſelf from her obedience. The queen exerted, in vain, her clemency, and her ſeverity, by turns: no permanent tranquillity was eſtabliſhed. Shan O'Neal, who had been created earl of Tyrone, by Henry the Eighth, and who denominated himſelf King of Ulſter,

State of Ireland.

[46] Hume, vol. v. p. 490.

[47] Aſcham, p. 242.

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was a barbarian of no common ſpecies, and inacceſſible to pity, generoſity, or forgiveneſs. He was ſurnamed Bacco, or the Lame[48]. The deſcription left us by Camden of his appearance and attendants, in the year 1562, when he came over to London, to implore pardon for his multiplied crimes and offences, is equally extraordinary and entertaining. "He was accompanied, ſays that hiſtorian, by a guard of gallowglaſſes, bearing axes, and bareheaded; their curled hair hanging looſely down, diſhevelled. They wore yellow ſurplices, dyed with ſaffron, or urine; long ſleeves, ſhort coats, and hairy mantles. The Engliſh gazed at them with the ſame admiration, which they would now expreſs at the ſight of a Chineſe, or an American[49]." O'Neal behaved with a ſort of haughty and arrogant ſubmiſſion, towards Elizabeth, who pardoned, reſtored, and ſent him back with honour, to his native country.

Barbariſm of the great chiefs.

In return for ſo much lenity, he again took up arms in 1567. We may judge of the extent of his command, and the formidable power of ſuch a rebel, by the troops or followers whom he levied, and retained under his ſtandard. Beſides his body-guards, amounting to ſeven hundred men, he had a force compoſing four thouſand infantry, and a thouſand cavalry[50]. Such was his unconquerable deteſtation of the Engliſh name and nation, that he offered the kingdom of Ireland, to Mary, queen of Scots, and ſtrangled ſeveral of his own vaſſals, for no other fault, than feeding on Engliſh bread[51]. His end was ſuch as his enormities juſtly merited. Driven from his moraſſes and foreſts, by ſir Henry Sidney, the lord deputy, he threw himſelf upon the mercy of ſome Scottiſh inſurgents, whom he had previouſly injured, by whom he was cut to pieces in their own camp.

It is difficult to find a parallel in modern hiſtory, to this ſavage chief, who reminds us of the fabulous robbers and banditti of ancient Greece. He not only ſeized, and deprived his father of his rightful

[48] Camden, p. 25—36.
[49] Ibid. p. 48.
[50] Camden, p. 87.
[51] Ibid.

patrimony,

patrimony, and put to death his natural brother, but committed every exceſs. Like the Knipperdollings, and other leaders of the anabaptiſts in the empire, he retained numerous concubines for his pleaſures. "A man, ſays Camden, moſt polluted with murders and adulteries; and ſo immoderately addicted to drunkenneſs, that, to cool his body when inflamed with wine and uſquebaugh, he was accuſtomed to bury himſelf in the earth, or to wallow in mud up to the chin [52]." We may conclude, that the inferior claſſes were equally uncivilized and ferocious. CHAP. I. 1574.

Munſter became the ſcene of rebellion in 1569; and the facility with which Philip the Second could introduce ſupplies of men and arms into that province, which was not very remote from the coaſts of Gallicia and Biſcay, rendered every inſurrection peculiarly critical and alarming. The earls of Ormond and Deſmond poſſeſſed in Munſter an authority, ſimilar to O'Neal's, in the northern parts of the iſland; but, they appear to have been more humane and tractable [53]. Frequency of rebellions.

In 1570, Connaught, where the O'Briens, earls of Thomond, were the moſt powerful barons, revolted; but it was ſpeedily reduced to obedience. Even Leinſter could not be retained in ſubjection by the preſence of the lord deputy [54]. Theſe perpetual inſurrections ſeem to prove, at leaſt as much oppreſſion and mal-adminiſtration on the part of the Engliſh, as they evince the refractory, or untamable character of the Iriſh. The greateſt effort, made during this period of Elizabeth's reign, for the complete reduction of Ulſter, was the one undertaken by Walter Devereux, earl of Eſſex, in 1573. He was accompanied by a numerous band of noblemen and gentlemen, on the expedition; to defray the expences of which, he borrowed of the queen ten thouſand pounds, on a mortgage of his eſtate. She, in recompence, made him a liberal grant of the lands to be conquered; and he engaged to maintain, at his own charge, Oppreſſion of the government.

[52] Camden, p. 89. [53] Ibid. p. 117, 118. [54] Ibid. p. 130—164.

two

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two hundred horſe, and four hundred foot. The attempt was very unfortunate and ruinous to all the adventurers; but, to none more than to the commander, Eſſex, who injured his fortune, narrowly eſcaped with his life, and vainly implored Elizabeth's aſſiſtance. She appears to have paid little attention to his entreaties, or demands [55].

Attempts at colonization, and civilization.

Some endeavours to colonize and civilize the iſland, were made by ſir Thomas Smith, in 1572. He was ſecretary of ſtate; and his natural ſon conducted to the eaſtern coaſt of Ulſter, a thriving colony. Every foot ſoldier received in fee, one hundred and twenty acres of land; and every horſeman, two hundred and forty. Theſe grants were very conſiderable, as the Iriſh acre was nearly or quite double that of England. Only one penny, annual quittance or rent, was exacted from the ſoldiers. But, the expedition was as unproductive, as lord Eſſex's proved in the following year [56]. Money ſeems to have been ſcarcely known among the native Iriſh: the poſſeſſions of the chiefs, like thoſe of mankind in the patriarchal and primitive ages of the earth, conſiſted principally in cattle. Brian MacPhelim, who had uſurped the territory of Clandeboy in 1573, had near thirty thouſand cows, beſides ſheep and hogs [57]. Corn and grain were little cultivated. Wolves infeſted the country; and in 1575, a peſtilence ſwept off vaſt numbers of the inhabitants [58]. It was not without reaſon, when we reflect on the ſtate of Ireland, that we find Elizabeth regarding it as the moſt vulnerable quarter of her dominions; and as peculiarly open to invaſion from the power of Spain, which, as early as 1569, made ſome inſidious attempts to excite a rebellion in Munſter [59].

[55] Camden, p. 175—177.
[56] Ibid. p. 164, 165.
[57] Ibid. p. 175.
[58] Camden, p. 165—186.
[59] Ibid. p. 118.

CHAP. II.

SCOTLAND.

Review of the Scottiſh Hiſtory, from the death of James the Fifth, to the year 1574.—State of Scotland at that period.—Limited nature of the royal power.—Effect of the reformation.—Revenues.—Military force.—Manners of the nation.

CHAP. II.

State of Scotland before the death of James the Fifth.

THE kingdom of Scotland, long plunged in domeſtic diſſenſions, and ſcarcely emerged from barbariſm under the firſt princes of the houſe of Stuart, cannot, with propriety, be ſaid to have aſſumed any place in the European ſyſtem, till towards the commencement of the ſixteenth century. During the reigns of James the Fourth, and Fifth, the Scots contracted the cloſeſt alliances with France; and the former of thoſe kings fell a victim to his attachment to that nation; having periſhed, in the vigour of his age, with his braveſt followers, at the battle of Flodden Field, gained over him by the arms of Henry the Eighth. James the Fifth, likewiſe, terminated his life by a premature end, cauſed from the conflict of indignation and ſhame, at being forſaken by his nobility, when on the point of invading England. His infant daughter, Mary, ſucceeded to his crown, and to the hereditary misfortunes of her family.

1542—1561. During the period of near nineteen years, which elapſed between the birth of Mary, and her return to Scotland, after the death of her huſband, Francis the Second; that unhappy kingdom, abandoned to various governors, was plundered and ravaged by the contending factions.

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1542—1561. Regency of Mary of Guiſe.

The earl of Arran, afterwards better known in hiſtory, by the title of duke of Chatelherault; a man of irreſolute temper, and of very limited talents; was choſen regent, and exerciſed the office during eleven years. The intrigues and influence of the French court compelled him, at the end of that time, reluctantly to cede the dignity to Mary of Guiſe, widow of James the Fifth, and mother to the young queen. No princeſs was better calculated to have promoted the proſperity, and reſtored the tranquillity of Scotland, by her endowments of mind, and virtues of character; if ſhe had not been propelled, from her deference to the counſels of her brothers, the duke of Guiſe and cardinal of Lorrain, upon violent meaſures, religious and civil. It became indiſpenſable to ſuſtain them, by the moſt odious and unpopular of all acts; the introduction of French troops: but, far from attaining the end propoſed, ſhe gradually alienated the affections of the nobility and people. Her government grew feeble; and being ſtained by repeated violations of faith, ſunk into contempt. Inſurrections againſt her authority were ſet on foot, in which religious zeal added fury to the other cauſes of complaint; and though repeatedly diſſipated by the addreſs or vigour of the regent, they perpetually revived [1].

1558. Under theſe circumſtances, Elizabeth ſucceeded to the throne of England; and ſhortly afterwards, Henry the Second of France was killed in a tournament, by the count of Montgomery. Few events could have been more injurious to the authority, or unpropitious to the projects, of the queen dowager. France, which, from that period, began to be involved in diſſenſions, that terminated in civil war, was rendered, in a great meaſure, incapable of interfering with energy in the concerns of Scotland. On the other hand, the new queen of England not only poſſeſſed talents the moſt indiſputable for government; but every motive or principle, perſonal and poli-

[1] Robertſon's Hiſt. of Scotland, vol. i. p. 95—168. paſſim.

tical,

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tical combined to induce her to extend protection to the Scottiſh inſurgents. It was requiſite that no time ſhould be loſt in granting this aſſiſtance, the French having already entered, and fortified Leith; and though the nobles, who had taken up arms againſt the regent, proceeded formally to depoſe, and declare her deprived of all rightful power, they were by no means in a condition to enforce their ſentence. They applied to Elizabeth, and ſhe did not heſitate inſtantly to ſend a body of forces to their aid, preceded by a powerful ſquadron. Leith was beſieged; and, after a long and vigorous defence, during the progreſs of which the queen dowager died, was ſurrendered by capitulation, to the united army of England and Scotland. A treaty followed, by which the French troops were compelled immediately to evacuate the latter kingdom; and Elizabeth, in the commencement of her reign, by ſo vigorous and ſucceſsful an interpoſition, acquired an intereſt, and an aſcendancy, which ſhe never afterwards loſt, in the Scottiſh affairs and counſels [a].

1558. Troubles of Scotland.

1560. July.

The deceaſe of Francis the Second, which took place a few months ſubſequent to theſe events, enabled, and in ſome meaſure compelled Mary, the young queen of France and Scotland, to reviſit her native dominions. Her reign, which laſted ſcarcely ſeven years, to the time of her flight into England, and impriſonment, is ſo intimately connected with the hiſtory of Elizabeth, as to form an integral and inſeparable part of it; nor, after the review which has been taken of the latter, is it neceſſary to enter here upon any diſcuſſion of the hiſtory of Scotland, during that period. The mal-adminiſtration of Mary, ſucceeded by the cataſtrophe of the king, her huſband's death, and her marriage with Bothwell, excited univerſal abhorrence and indignation. Her captivity and depoſition were the natural and inevitable conſequences of theſe foul proceedings; and ſhe only effected her eſcape from confinement, to incur a greater misfortune, that

December.

Reign of Mary.

1561—1568.

[a] Robertſon, vol. i. p. 168—236.

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of falling into the hands of her inveterate enemy and rival, Elizabeth.

1561—1568. Regency of the earl of Murray.

As it became indiſpenſable, after the impriſonment of Mary in Lochlevin Caſtle, to elect a regent, who might repreſent the perſon of the ſovereign, till the young king, then in infancy, ſhould attain to years of diſcretion, the earl of Murray was choſen to fill the office. He was natural ſon to James the Fifth, in the vigour of life, and endowed with qualifications which rendered him worthy of ſuch an elevation. The precarious tenure by which he held his dignity, and the number of adherents, who ſtill waited only for a favourable occaſion to reſtore the queen, compelled him, however, not only to have recourſe to the ſupport of Elizabeth; but, on many occaſions, to ſacrifice the honour and independence of the crown of Scotland, to his perſonal ambition. He condeſcended to become the inſtrument of her vengeance againſt Mary, at the conferences of York and of Hampton Court, which were ſucceſſively held, with the pretended intention of reſtoring the captive queen of Scots to ſome portion of power; and, during his life, the predominance of England in the counſels of the latter country, was ſtrongly marked.

1570. The regency of Murray was of ſhort duration: he was aſſaſſinated at Linlithgow, by a private gentleman, whom he had injured; and the kingdom relapſed anew into anarchy and confuſion [3].

1571. Lenox. The earl of Lenox, father to Henry Darnley, king of Scotland, and grandfather to James the Sixth, ſucceeded, after an interval of a few months, to the office of regent. Bound by every tie of obligation, to the queen of England, who had favoured his election; irritated againſt Mary, as the ſuppoſed murderer of his ſon; and deſtitute of talents, or force, to emancipate himſelf and his country from their dependence on Elizabeth; her influence was rather augmented, than diminiſhed, during the adminiſtration of Lenox. But

[3] Robertſon, vol. i. p. 441—514.

an act of violence, ſimilar to that which had deprived the earl of Murray of his life, terminated the regency of his ſucceſſor, in little more than a year from its commencement. CHAP. II. 1571.

The earl of Mar was choſen to ſupply his place, and held it nearly an equal time. Of a high and generous ſpirit, and of unimpeached integrity, he deeply lamented the calamities of his country, and vainly exerted himſelf to extinguiſh the inveterate factions by which it was divided. Leſs docile than his predeceſſor, he attempted to reſcue Scotland from the ſtate of ſervile inſignificance into which it had fallen. But, unequal to the execution of ſo patriotic a plan, and impeded by his own party, in every effort to attain it, his mind ſunk under the diſappointment, and he fell a victim to the diſeaſes occaſioned by his ſenſibility [4]. 1572. Mar.

After ſo rapid a ſucceſſion of regents, the earl of Morton was raiſed to that office, without a competitor. Under his adminiſtration, the kingdom of Scotland was reduced to the loweſt degree of political humiliation. Elizabeth, ſuſtaining him with all her power, and uniting her forces to thoſe of Morton, the ſiege of the caſtle of Edinburgh was formed; the laſt place of ſtrength, which had continued to hold out for Mary. It was taken, after a long and gallant defence; but the regent tarniſhed the acquiſition, by the cruel abuſe which he made of it, and by his ſeverity againſt the vanquiſhed rebels [5]. November. Morton.

In 1574, Scotland, which, for ſucceſſive centuries, had continually been the rival and the enemy of England, no longer appeared capable of moleſting its repoſe. Exhauſted by feuds and internal commotions, deſtitute of pecuniary or commercial reſources, and governed under a regent, conſtituted by Elizabeth, and maintained by her bounty; few traces of the proud and martial ſpirit, which characteriſed the times of her ancient kings, are henceforward to be diſcovered. Scotland, notwithſtanding ſome intervals of alienation or reſentment, gradually 1574. State of Scotland.

[4] Robertſon, vol. ii. p. 1—37.

[5] Ibid. p. 38—51.

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ſunk into a ſtate of ſubſerviency, nearly reſembling that of a province of England; and ſeemed to anticipate the final incorporation of the two kingdoms, which took place at the acceſſion of James.

Royal power.

The power of the Scottiſh princes, during the courſe of the ſixteenth century, did not, by any means, advance with the rapidity, which marked the progreſs of the monarchical authority in moſt of the other European ſtates. While France, under Lewis the Eleventh, had ſeen deſpotiſm fully eſtabliſhed; and while in England, the ſubtle policy of Henry the Seventh, and the capricious tyranny of Henry the Eighth, had ſapped, or overturned the privileges of the nobility; in Scotland, the antient foundations of the ariſtocracy ſeemed to bid defiance to every attack. The ſovereign could ſcarcely be conſidered in any other light, than as the head and chief of his barons, from whom he was faintly diſtinguiſhed by external pre-eminence and dignity[6]. Many cauſes had contributed to prolong, and to fortify the feudal ſyſtem, among the Scots. The ſmall number, and vaſt poſſeſſions of the nobles: the mountainous, or ſterile nature of the country, difficult to penetrate and ſubject: the intimate connection between the lord and his vaſſals, ſtrengthened by conſanguinity, intereſt, and affection. But more than all theſe, the two minorities of James the Fifth, and of Mary, had relaxed the vigour of government, produced an oblivion, or contempt of the royal functions, and introduced every ſpecies of diſorder into the different departments[7]. After the return of Mary from France, in 1561, the crown might, by management, time, and addreſs, have gradually recovered, or extended its prerogatives. Her miſconduct, followed by her crimes, her depoſition, and flight to England, diſconcerted every view of this nature. An infant prince, under the tuition of a regent, was placed on the throne, and poſſeſſed the nominal ſupremacy over a fierce and uncivilized nation. Of four noblemen,

Its limited nature.

[6] Robertſon, vol. i. p. 25—32.

[7] Ibid. p. 32—39.

ſucceſſively

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ſucceſſively elected to fill the office in the ſhort ſpace of five years, two had periſhed by aſſaſſination. The earl of Morton exerciſed only a precarious and ill-eſtabliſhed power, ſuſtained by the Engliſh influence, or treaſures, under a minor king.

As if the combined operation of ſuch multiplied cauſes, or circumſtances, were not ſufficient to humble, and almoſt extinguiſh the royal authority; another event, peculiar to Scotland, and capable, even alone, of ſhaking the baſis on which monarchy itſelf reſts, had recently taken place. The reformation, completed in 1560, had been conducted upon principles, widely different from thoſe which actuated the Engliſh kings, who ſubverted the catholic faith and eſtabliſhments. Edward the Sixth, and Elizabeth, while they corrected the abuſes, retained many of the ceremonies and forms, of the Romiſh church; and far from deſtroying the eccleſiaſtical polity, or dignities, they admitted neither change nor innovation in that eſſential point. But, the ardent and republican ſpirit of the Scotch reformers was not to be repreſſed by the ſanctity of uſages, however venerable or judicious. After having rendered their doctrines triumphant, and ſeized on the lands of the clergy, they could not be ſatisfied without deſtroying the hierarchy itſelf. The democratic conſtitution, introduced by Calvin at Geneva, was imitated in Scotland; and by the ſubſtitution of deacons or preſbyters, in the place of biſhops, the crown was, in a great meaſure, deprived of one of its moſt eſſential ſupports [a].

Genius of the reformation.

In a ſingle particular only, the kings of Scotland ſeem to have enjoyed a right, which, in times of ſubordination and repoſe, might have enabled them to ſurmount every barrier, and to trample on every reſtraint of law. The "Lords of Articles," a committee, elected from the various orders or eſtates of which the parliament was compoſed, and which poſſeſſed the ſole privilege of admitting,

Lords of Articles.

[a] Rapin's Hiſt. of England, vol. vii. p. 229. Hume's Hiſt. of England, vol. v. p. 20—30, and p. 37—39. Robertſon, vol. i. p. 236—242.

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or precluding the diſcuſſion of all bills, were in the immediate nomination of the ſovereign [9]. But even this engine, formidable as it muſt be conſidered, could not enable the government to enforce, or execute the laws, among a haughty and turbulent people, accuſtomed to regard the orders of their chiefs as the only legitimate authority; and, with the exception of the Poliſh kings, thoſe of Scotland may, perhaps, juſtly be regarded, in 1574, as the moſt limited, or deſtitute of power, of any in Europe.

Revenues.

The paucity of their revenues was proportionate to the ſevere limitations on their prerogative, and incapacitated them for any enterprize of expence or duration. The royal demeſnes, or crown lands, were long conſidered as the only legitimate ſource from whence all ſupplies could be drawn; and any impoſitions, levied upon the people, were merely occaſional, and granted for temporary purpoſes. Commerce was too limited, to admit of deriving an effectual aſſiſtance, from duties on merchandize; and before the death of James the Fifth, taxes, properly ſo denominated, and regularly exacted, were unknown [10]. Even in 1555, when Mary of Guiſe, the queen regent, ventured to propoſe in parliament, a contribution upon property throughout the kingdom, of the ſmalleſt deſcription, the propoſal was rejected with indignation [11]. Ten years later, Mary, queen of Scots, attempted, by virtue of the royal prerogative, to raiſe ſupplies. Fines and loans were demanded, with a view to enable her to maintain a body of forces againſt the rebels, who had openly inſulted and attacked the throne; but ſhe ſoon diſcovered the impracticability of enforcing her commands, and was neceſſitated to adopt other meaſures for raiſing money [12]. Nothing contributed more towards rendering the earl of Morton's regency odious, than his granting licences, or monopolies, for carrying on particular branches of trade; and laying taxes on commodities, in

[9] Robertſon, vol. i. p. 77—79.
[10] Ibid. p. 17, 18.
[11] Robertſon, p. 152.
[12] Ibid. p. 342.

order

order to ſupply the wants of the exchequer. Theſe expedients, equally repugnant to the genius of the conſtitution, and to the uſages of the nation, excited univerſal reſentment [13]. CHAP. II. 1574.

It may naturally be ſuppoſed, that, in ſuch a ſtate of ſociety, kings, deſtitute of authority and of revenues, could not maintain any body of regular forces. James the Fourth and Fifth, only combated at the head of their nobility, who were attended to the field by their reſpective vaſſals: how feeble was their influence or command over ſuch an army, may be judged, from the memorable action at Solway, in 1542; where the great barons, diſguſted with their ſovereign, choſe rather to fall into the hands of their enemies, the Engliſh, and to ſacrifice their liberty, than to ſubmit to the general whom James the Fifth had thought proper to appoint [14]. The conſpirators, amounting only to an hundred and fifty, who aſſaſſinated the cardinal Beatoun, in 1546, maintained themſelves in the caſtle of St. Andrew's, and held it out againſt the power of the earl of Arran, then regent, for five months [15]. Mary of Guiſe, during her regency, was conſtantly ſuſtained by French troops, who appear, on ſome occaſions, to have been carried to the number of ſix thouſand, and ſcarcely ever to have fallen below three thouſand. They were paid and maintained by Henry the Second, or his ſucceſſor; and eminently contributed to ſupport the precarious dignity, and to enforce the illegal or oppreſſive meaſures, of the queen regent [16]. But, by the treaty of Edinburgh, concluded in 1560, theſe forces were compelled to evacuate the kingdom; and Mary, her daughter, when ſhe returned to her dominions, in 1561, had no foreign army on which to rely. We find, that ſhe was unable to retain more than ſix hundred cavalry, and about half the number of infantry, beſides her ordinary guards. Even this ſmall force exhauſted her ſcanty Military forces.

[13] Robertſon, vol. ii. p. 52.
[14] Ibid. vol. i. p. 73, 74.
[15] Robertſon, vol. i. p. 114.
[16] Ibid. p. 180.

treaſury;

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treaſury; as they received regular pay, and might be conſidered in the light of diſciplined ſoldiers [17]. All the battles of Mary's reign were fought by the retainers of the barons, who followed their ſuperiors to the field, with equal alacrity, either to attack, or to defend the crown. The nobles, who drove Bothwell to ſeek his ſafety by flight, and who afterwards depoſed the queen, in 1567, never brought above three thouſand followers, to effect ſo complete a revolution [18]. At the battle of Langſide, in the ſubſequent year, which decided the fate of the Scottiſh queen, the two armies were entirely compoſed of the adherents of the Hamiltons, and other great lords, who had haſtily joined Mary, after her eſcape from Lochlevin caſtle, on one ſide; and on the other, of the vaſſals of the earl of Murray and his friends. No regular troops fought with either party [19]. We may reaſonably conclude, that under the regencies which followed, the crown was not in a ſtate to augment the military force, or to maintain any body of ſoldiers, however ſmall. We find, in fact, that when the earl of Morton prepared to inveſt and beſiege the caſtle of Edinburgh, in 1573, he had neither ammunition, men, nor money, for ſuch an enterprize. Elizabeth, his ally and protectreſs, ſent to his aſſiſtance fifteen hundred Engliſh, together with a train of artillery, which enabled him to become maſter of the fortreſs [20].

Arts.

No traces of a navy are to be found during this period, nor does it ſeem as if the Scottiſh kings poſſeſſed any maritime force: commerce could not extend itſelf, nor arts and manufactures attain beyond the rudeſt efforts, among a people, poor, deſtitute of incitements to induſtry, and held in the ſevereſt vaſſalage by their ſuperiors. Mary, educated in the French court, and accuſtomed to its magni-

[17] Robertſon, vol. i. p. 341. [18] Ibid. p. 442.
[19] Hume's Hiſt. of England, vol. v. p. 127, 128. Robertſon, vol. i. p. 453—457.
[20] Robertſon, vol. ii. p. 47.

ficence,

ficence, endeavoured, not without ſucceſs, to introduce ſome portion of that ſplendour and refinement among her ſubjects, though even theſe attempts were impeded, or cenſured, by the Scotch reformers; the ſevere and melancholy genius of whoſe religion was inimical to every ſpecies of innocent gaiety, or gallant diverſion [21]. After her impriſonment, ſcarcely any veſtiges of a court were to be diſcovered, during the four ſucceſſive regencies, till the majority of James the Sixth. Edinburgh was the capital of the kingdom; but could not be deemed the ordinary reſidence of the young king, who was principally brought up at Stirling. The manners of the nation continued to be fierce, rude, and, on many occaſions, barbarous. They were affected by the moroſe and gloomy ſpirit of the reformation, which had, in a great meaſure, deſtroyed the hierarchy, and eſtabliſhed a democratic form of eccleſiaſtical government and worſhip. Scarcely any thing, except the name, of the epiſcopal function, remained in 1572; and ſo completely were the revenues of the church ſequeſtered by the crown, or ſeized and appropriated by the nobility, that the whole aggregate ſum, annually appropriated to the ſupport of the Scottiſh clergy, did not exceed nine thouſand pounds ſterling [22]. Civil war, heightened by perſonal injuries and animoſity, inflamed the two factions, and impelled them to acts the moſt ſanguinary. The parties of Mary and James, in the names of their reſpective ſovereigns, deſolated the country, and carried their ravages over every part of Scotland. It is difficult to believe, that ſo late as 1572, during the ſiege of the caſtle of Edinburgh, the leaders, on both ſides, had ſo totally obliterated, or extinguiſhed, the ſentiments of humanity, as to renew the maſſacres, committed near four centuries earlier, by Richard the Firſt, and Saladin, in Paleſtine. The priſoners of war were inhumanly led out

Manners.

Eccleſiaſtical revenues.

[21] Hume's Hiſtory of England, vol. v. p. 51—53.

[22] Robertſon, vol. i. p. 392. and vol. ii. p. 38—41.

CHAP. II.

1574.

to execution, without distinction of rank, or quality, to the number of fifty at a time; and a practice, which would disgrace the most savage people, long continued to be exercised [23].

Letters.

Uncivilized as the age must be regarded, it was not destitute of letters; and the beautiful Latin compositions of Buchanan, more especially those which are poetical, would alone be sufficient to rescue it from the imputation of ignorance. He was appointed preceptor to James the Sixth, and died at a later period, than that which we have reviewed.

[23] Robertson, vol. ii. p. 30, 31.

CHAP. III.

SPAIN.

General review of the reign of Philip the Second, from the death of Charles the Fifth, to the year 1574.—Inſurrection, and progreſs of the revolution, in the Low Countries.—State of the Spaniſh monarchy, in 1574.—Immenſe power and revenues of Philip.—Defects of the adminiſtration.—Public debt.—Trade.—State of the arts.—Religious perſecution.—Decline of Spain.

CHAP. III.

THE foundation of the Spaniſh monarchy, which became in a few years ſo formidable to the repoſe and liberty of Europe, was laid, by the marriage of Ferdinand and Iſabella. The junction of the crowns of Caſtile and Arragon, on the heads of thoſe powerful princes, was confirmed by the conqueſt of Grenada, and the expulſion of the Moors, who had reigned for ſeveral centuries, over the moſt fertile provinces of Spain. The diſcoveries of Columbus opened a new world to the avidity, and ambition of the conquerors of America. Gonſalvo de Cordova acquired the kingdom of Naples, for Ferdinand. Theſe vaſt dominions devolved, by the deaths of ſucceſſive princes, to the emperor Charles the Fifth, in right of his mother, Joanna; and he added to them, his hereditary provinces in the Netherlands, as well as the duchy of Milan, on the extinction of the family of Sforza. The reign of Charles, clouded with ſome misfortunes, was, notwithſtanding, during the greater portion of it, diſtinguiſhed by the moſt brilliant ſucceſs. The battle of Pavia; the capture of Francis the Firſt; the ſack of Rome; the expedition to Tunis;

Riſe of the Spaniſh monarchy.

1516—1556. Reign of Charles the Fifth.

CHAP. III. 1516—1556.

Tunis; and the victory of Muhlberg, by which he became, for a time, nearly deſpotic in the empire: theſe atchievements had covered him with perſonal glory, and rendered him equally the admiration and terror of the European world. The evening of his life did not, however, correſpond with the meridian, and juſtified the querulous remark, which fell from him; that "fortune only favoured the young." He was over-reached in policy, and driven to fly before the arms of Maurice, whom he had protected, and raiſed to the dignity of elector of Saxony. While ſmarting under the humiliation, inflicted by ſo unexpected an attack, and anxious to repair his honour, at the ſame time that he recovered Metz from the king of France, he met with a complete repulſe before that city; and with difficulty ſaved the remains of his army from the ravages of peſtilence, and the ſword of an incenſed enemy.

To theſe political misfortunes, were added the preſſure of perſonal and mental infirmity. A premature decay of his bodily powers unnerved his mind, and left it open to the impreſſion of various emotions, diſregarded during the proſperity and ſplendour of his youth. After long revolving it in his thoughts, he determined to abdicate his crown, and to retire from the great ſituation, which he was no longer able to fill with energy and capacity. The moſt auguſt and affecting exhibition of the inanity of human grandeur, which has been ever made, was that of Charles the Fifth, at Bruſſels, laying down the inſignia of his dignity, before an immenſe audience, melted into tears. All his titles and poſſeſſions deſcended to Philip, his only ſon, with the exception of the imperial crown; which, after many vain efforts to transfer from his brother Ferdinand, to the prince of Spain, he was reluctantly obliged to yield to the former. Hiſtorians, reaſoning partly from the nature of man, and partly from ſome grounds of diſcontent, which were given him by Philip, have doubted, whether the emperor did not find occaſion ſpeedily to repent his having made ſo vaſt a donation. He retired, however,

His abdication.

however, ſoon afterwards into Spain, and terminated, in a profound retreat, his memorable life. His end was accelerated by exerciſes of devotion and penance, too ſevere for his enfeebled frame; and which ſeem to indicate, that his mind had ſuffered by the approach of age, and was debilitated, in proportion with his bodily organs[1].

1556. January. Acceſſion of Philip the Second.

Philip the Second, at his acceſſion, was in the prime of life, and, unqueſtionably, the moſt powerful prince of the century in which he lived. The commencement of his reign was rendered peculiarly ſplendid, by the victories of St. Quintin, and of Gravelines, ſucceſſively gained over the French by his generals, Emanuel Philibert, duke of Savoy, and the celebrated count Egmont, afterwards executed at Bruſſels. A peace, not leſs honourable than advantageous to the monarchy of Spain, followed theſe triumphs; and Philip, whoſe habits and manners were Spaniſh, and who was impatient at ſo long a ſtay in the Netherlands, embraced the firſt occaſion of returning to his native kingdom.

His character.

He poſſeſſed many qualities, which might have enabled him to promote equally his own glory, and the welfare of his people. His underſtanding was ſound, and capacious; his thoughts, conſtantly occupied with the cares of government; and his vigilance unexampled, in directing his attention to the minuteſt details of adminiſtration. He ſuperintended in perſon, and his interference was felt, over the immenſe extent of his dominions.

Endowments, and virtues.

In application, he has rarely been equalled, never exceeded; and his ſtrength of conſtitution, aiding the activity of his mind, he dedicated whole nights to the labour of the cabinet, after having paſſed the day in the ſame painful exertion. Neither pleaſure, nor indolence, relaxed his attention to buſineſs. His information of the intrigues, or meaſures, projected in foreign courts, was ſuperior to that of any other cotemporary prince; as it was one of his maxims, that intelligence could ſcarcely be purchaſed at too high a price. He enforced the rigid execution of public juſtice,

[1] Mayerne Turquet's Hiſt. of Spain, paſſim.—Abr. Chronol. d'Eſpagne, vol. ii. paſſim.

and

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and punished severely the infraction of the laws. He possessed discernment, and knew how to distinguish, and to call out great talents. His ministers and generals felt the eye and hand of a master always present, which investigated their conduct, and would rigorously appreciate its merits. Neither prosperity nor adversity altered his demeanour, nor were capable of affecting his external serenity. Seated at Madrid, in the center of his dominions, he from thence surveyed, and directed, all operations, not by delegates, but in person.

Vices and crimes.

These great endowments were, however, not only sullied, but even rendered pernicious to his subjects, by vices and prejudices singularly unsurmountable. His bigotry was sullen, sanguinary, and active to destroy. It was sometimes inflamed by the natural severity of his temper, and frequently made the vehicle, or the mask, of his ambition; but it never was mollified or extinguished, at any period of his reign. It produced the revolt of the Netherlands, and carried terror into every province of the Spanish monarchy: it shed torrents of human blood, during the insurrection of the Moors in Grenada, which it had originally provoked. Even the memory of his own father, and the persons of those who had been most dear to Charles the Fifth, were not secure from Philip's religious persecution. To this destructive principle, even more than to his insatiable love of power, are to be traced, and ascribed, the calamities of his reign, and the detestation with which posterity has marked his character. Scarcely any prince in modern times, has been pursued with such general abhorrence and antipathy. His private and domestic conduct afforded no extenuation for his political crimes. Envious, suspicious, vindictive, dissembling, and implacable; he was the tyrant of his family, as much as of his people. Accused of having hastened the death of his queen, Elizabeth of France; of his son, Don Carlos; and of his brother, Don John of Austria: even if these charges are not sustained by positive evidence, yet it will

CHAP. III. 1556.

will be ſtill more difficult to exculpate him from the murder of Eſcovedo; the aſſaſſination of William, prince of Orange; and many other flagitious acts, performed by his command, or undertaken at his ſuggeſtion. Of boundleſs ambition, yet deſtitute of talents for war, and hardly eſteemed to poſſeſs even perſonal courage, he delighted in all the machinations of the cabinet; and, from his cloſet, fed or fomented diſſenſion in every ſurrounding kingdom. Capable of yielding to love, and of forming connections of gallantry, his furious paſſions, and relentleſs jealouſy, rendered them fatal to his confidents, and dangerous even to the object of his affection. Dreaded in his own court, and capital; odious to foreign nations; not beloved, even by the ſee of Rome, to which he profeſſed and evinced ſo entire a devotion; eſtranged from, and condemned by his own relations, of the houſe of Auſtria; dear only to inquiſitors; his reign was marked by the rapid decline and extinction of that enormous power, which had menaced and terrified Europe. Spain, though ſuſtained by the emulation and valour of the fineſt troops, and fed by the perpetual influx of wealth from the new world, yet was unequal to the vaſt expenditure, cauſed by Philip's projects of power and aggrandizement. He was diſappointed in all his views upon France; repulſed by Elizabeth, in his attack upon England; and finally driven out of Holland, by the revolt of his ſubjects, which the oppreſſions of the duke of Alva had occaſioned[a].

1556—1559. State of the Low Countries at Philip's acceſſion.

Among the numerous provinces, which conſtituted the Spaniſh monarchy, there were none more commercial, populous, and important, than thoſe of the Netherlands. They were, however, held by a tenure, leſs abſolute than almoſt any other of Philip's hereditary dominions; and had retained, from the generous policy of their ancient princes of the houſe of Burgundy, many of the moſt valuable

[a] Bentivoglio's Wars of Flanders, folio, p. 318. Mayerne Turquet, p. 1286—1288. Deſormeaux Hiſt. d'Eſpagne, vol. iv. p. 191—195. Abregé Chron. d'Eſp. vol. ii. p. 456—458. Gregorio Leti. Vie de Philippe Second. vol. vi. p. 396—443. De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 228—236.

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franchiſes and immunities, political and civil. Their inhabitants, the Flemings, had been peculiarly cheriſhed by Charles the Fifth, who was himſelf a native of Ghent. They had, for the ſpace of eighty years, been governed by women; and the mild adminiſtration of Mary, queen of Hungary, ſiſter to the emperor, which was recently expired, rendered them more impatient of any rigorous controul. The new opinions of Luther and Calvin had found an eaſy introduction, and met with a welcome reception, among a wealthy people, fond of religious enquiry. The ſevere edicts, iſſued by Charles, to prevent all innovation, or promulgation of doctrines ſtigmatized as heretical by the church of Rome, had not produced any permanent effect; and the wars, in which that monarch was involved during almoſt his whole reign, had impeded their execution, or diminiſhed their force. But, Philip, whoſe predominant paſſion was the extirpation of hereſy, had no ſooner concluded a peace with France, than he evinced his determination to enforce, by rigorous meaſures, his father's laws. To effect this point, and to ſuppreſs by the hand of power the firſt appearances of departure from the catholic faith; he, by virtue of a papal permiſſion, and in violation of the ancient privileges of the Low Countries, augmented the number of biſhopricks, and aſſigned them revenues. Not content with the aſſumption and exerciſe of a power, unacknowledged by the conſtitution, and odious in its nature, he openly avowed his intention to introduce into the Low Countries, the inquiſition, as exerciſed in Spain. The affectionate loyalty of the Flemings, who had voluntarily made him a donation of a million of florins, immediately after the concluſion of the war, tended in no degree to mollify the zeal, or retard the reſolution of Philip, upon a point, where his prejudices and his paſſions equally impelled him to perſeverance. The ſeeds of diſaffection, thus early ſown, required only time and occaſion, to ripen them into revolt; and which would, unqueſtionably, have manifeſted itſelf with more rapidity, if its pro-

Innovations, and acts of arbitrary power.

greſs

greſs had not been retarded by the adherence of the nobility to the crown, and the attachment felt by all ranks of people, for the perſon, to whom, at his departure, Philip had delegated the government of the Netherlands [3].

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Margaret, natural daughter of the emperor Charles the Fifth, and wife of Octavio Farneſe, duke of Parma, was ſelected by her brother, the king of Spain, for ſo delicate and arduous an employment. She was, at this time, in the thirty-ſeventh year of her age, and endowed with almoſt every quality which could enable her to maintain the repoſe, and augment the felicity, of the people entruſted to her care. She reſembled her father, in the affability and condeſcenſion of her manners, ſo powerful in its operation, and ſo conciliatory of general affection. Her natural parts, vigorous, ſolid, and formed for government, had been cultivated by education, and matured by experience. She knew how to yield with dignity, and to deny with firmneſs. Born in Flanders, ſhe had ſtudied the character of its inhabitants, and adapted her adminiſtration to the genius, prejudices, and peculiar circumſtances of the Flemings. Sincere in her profeſſion and adherence to the catholic religion, her enlargement of mind, and ſuperiority to narrow bigotry, induced her to oppoſe, though unſucceſsfully, the furious zeal of Philip. Convinced by her own judgment, of the danger and impracticability of reducing to one ſtandard of faith, a people, among whom the new opinions had taken ſo ſtrong a hold; ſhe yet, while ſhe remonſtrated, endeavoured to enforce the orders, tranſmitted to her from Madrid. Blending gentleneſs with the ſeverity, enjoined by Philip; temporiſing, when neceſſity demanded it; and ſuſpending or mitigating thoſe edicts, which were calculated to produce a general inſurrection; ſhe preſerved the veneration and love of the Flemings, even at the time that ſhe was made the inſtrument of their oppreſſion [4].

1559—1561. Ducheſs of Parma, appointed governeſs of the Netherlands. Her character.

[3] Strada, de Bello Belg. vol. i. p. 45—65. Deſormeaux, vol. iv. p. 26—28.

[4] Bentivoglio, p. 8—12. Strada, vol. i. p. 67—81. Greg. Leti. vol. ii. p. 266, 267.

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1559—1561.

The jealous precaution of the king of Spain had induced him, at the time when he ſelected Margaret of Parma for governeſs of the Low Countries, to place near her perſon, and, in a certain degree, to aſſociate with her, in the adminiſtration of the provinces, Anthony Perrenot, known in hiſtory by the title of cardinal Granvelle. He had been employed by Charles the Fifth, who had recommended his talents and ſervices to his ſon Philip. No man of that century, ſo fertile in extraordinary and illuſtrious perſons, was ſuperior to Granvelle, in many of the moſt ſublime endowments of the human mind; and peculiarly in thoſe, which diſtinguiſh and characteriſe a ſtateſman. Courage, ſecrecy, flexibility, penetration, fortitude; theſe qualities, even his enemies allowed him to poſſeſs. His application to buſineſs was unremitting; and ſuch the comprehenſive facility of his genius, that he could conduct and regulate, without confuſion, matters of the moſt complex and intricate nature. Notwithſtanding theſe talents, ſo fitted for the government of mankind, his implicit devotion to the councils of the court of Spain, and the warmth with which he proſecuted the unfortunate objects of Philip's religious hatred, rendered Granvelle univerſally odious to the Flemings[5]. The departure of the Spaniſh troops from the Netherlands, had been loudly demanded by all ranks of men; and the long delay in carrying the meaſure into execution, which was attributed to the advice and influence of the cardinal, tended to complete his unpopularity. Even when, at length, thoſe veteran and formidable bands, ſo obnoxious to the inhabitants of the Low Countries, were finally embarked from the ports of Zealand; the effect and benefit, which might have reſulted from an act of that nature, were loſt, by its taking place at a moment of diſtreſs, when Philip, having ſuſtained a defeat at Gerbes, on the coaſt of Africa, was ſuppoſed to have yielded to neceſſity, rather than conceded to inclination[6].

Character of cardinal Granvelle.

Departure of the Spaniſh troops.

[5] Bentivog. p. 13, 14. Strada, vol. i. p. 128—141. [6] Strada, vol. i. p. 161—170.

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1561—1563. Character of William, prince of Orange.

At the head of the body of nobility, who had taken a decided part againſt cardinal Granvelle, in defence of the immunities of the Flemings, hiſtory places William, prince of Orange. Though he had ſcarcely attained to the maturity of manhood, yet his genius ſeemed to partake more of the ſagacity and coolneſs of age, than of the intemperance natural to youth. His taciturnity was conſtitutional and habitual. Cautious, and ever apprehenſive of danger, he met it, when unavoidable, with determined courage. The marks of capacity and virtue, which he exhibited at a very early period of his life, had endeared him to Charles the Fifth, who had diſcloſed his partiality for the prince of Orange, and given him the moſt diſtinguiſhing proofs of conſideration and eſteem. But, the predilection of the emperor had not recommended him to Philip; and the degree of ambiguity, which William obſerved upon the great article of religious belief and practice, ſtill further alarmed and alienated the king of Spain [7].

1564. March. Diſcontents of the Flemings.

The recal of cardinal Granvelle, to which he at length reluctantly conſented, might have extinguiſhed the growing diſcontents of the Low Countries, if, at the time when he withdrew that miniſter, he had abandoned the ſyſtem of religious tyranny, in which he had hitherto perſiſted. But, neither the repeated entreaties of the Flemiſh nobility, who deputed count Egmont to carry him their united ſupplications, to the foot of his throne at Madrid; nor the remonſtrances and advice of Margaret, who repreſented to him, in the ſtrongeſt language, the calamities which impended over the Netherlands, if he perſiſted to introduce the inquiſition; could effect any beneficial change in Philip's determination. Suſtained by his inſuperable and bigotted prejudices; inflamed by the paſtoral exhortations of Pius the Fifth, who had newly ſucceeded to the chair of St. Peter, and who was imbued with all the furious zeal of a Dominican monk; in-

[7] Strada, vol. i. p. 143—158. Bentiv. p. 5, 6.

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cenſed againſt his ſubjects, for preſuming to reclaim, and defend their privileges; and not leſs irritated at the protection, extended to the common people, by the Flemiſh nobles: theſe conjoined motives rendered him deaf to every conſideration of clemency, or even of intereſt [8]. He reſiſted, with equal pertinacity, the requeſt which his ſiſter, the governeſs of the Low Countries, continually urged, of imitating the example of the emperor Charles; who, on the firſt appearance of the ſedition of Ghent, had immediately repaired in perſon to the ſcene of revolt, and cruſhed it by his preſence, vigour, and activity.

Conduct of Philip.

This wiſe and ſalutary counſel met with inſuperable obſtacles, from the character and apprehenſions of Philip; and though he not only felt its expediency, but, affected to make preparations for adopting it, yet, reaſons ſtill more powerful retained him at Madrid. He was averſe to appearing perſonally at the head of an army, for which he was unqualified by any military talents; and he preferred the ſyſtem, more analogous to his genius, of iſſuing his orders from the cabinet. He was embarraſſed by the revolt of the Moors of Grenada; and he was neceſſitated to watch the motions of the Turks, in order to defend his coaſts from their invaſion. He dreaded the conſequences of leaving behind him his only ſon, Don Carlos, of whom he had conceived the ſtrongeſt ſuſpicions: and when, after numerous delays, he at length granted permiſſion to Margaret, to diſmiſs the inquiſitors, and to modify, in ſome meaſure, the edicts againſt hereſy, he fettered it with ſo many exceptions, or weakened it by ſuch conditions, as to defeat its effects [9]. The Flemings, weary of expecting redreſs, ſecretly ſtimulated by the nobility, and believing that the governeſs was not capable of repreſſing them by force, in the unarmed condition to which ſhe was reduced, by the departure of the Spaniſh troops; roſe in tumultuary bodies. They committed the greateſt exceſſes againſt the catholics,

Inſurrections in the Netherlands;

[8] Bentiv. p. 17, 18. Strada, vol. i. p. 254. 256.

[9] Strada, vol. ii. p. 59—63.

plundered

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plundered the monaſteries, and defaced the churches. Margaret, by her vigour and ability, joined to the univerſal affection which her wiſe and popular adminiſtration had conciliated, ſuppreſſed this dangerous inſurrection. She obtained ſome deciſive advantages over the inſurgents, defeated, and diſperſed them. The cities, which had joined their party, were beſieged, and compelled to ſurrender. Her remonſtrances, added to the conſideration and reſpect which ſhe inſpired, induced even the prince of Orange and count Egmont to aid her in ſuppreſſing the revolt. The government derived ſtrength from its temporary ſubverſion; and every poſſible reparation was made to the catholic religion, and its miniſters, for the outrages which they had ſuſtained. The royal authority was maintained in all its force, and the followers of the new opinions were puniſhed with exemplary ſeverity. Margaret, after making her triumphal entry into Antwerp, reſtored a general calm to the provinces; and, notwithſtanding the ſeeds of diſcontent which yet remained, her firm, but gentle, adminiſtration, would have gradually extinguiſhed them, if Philip, from a ſpirit of vindictive deſpotiſm, had not overturned, and fruſtrated, her labours. Inſtead of embracing the humane and generous expedient, recommended by his ſiſter of coming in perſon to the Netherlands, not as a ſovereign, to chaſtiſe; but as a father, to forgive; he followed a line of conduct, more adapted to his diſpoſition. He determined to ſend the duke of Alva, at the head of an army, to conquer and enſlave his ſubjects; a reſolution, to which may be juſtly aſcribed the loſs of a conſiderable part of the Low Countries, and the eventual ruin of the Spaniſh monarchy [10].

quelled by Margaret's prudence and lenity.

During the portion of Philip's reign, which elapſed between his departure from the Netherlands, and the beginning of the civil wars in that country, many ſignal events, in the conduct of which his

Policy and enterprizes of Philip.

[10] Bentiv. p. 19—45. Strada, vol. i. p. 263—449. paſſim. and vol. ii. p. 1—72. paſſim. Mayerne Turquet, p. 1126.

character

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character and policy come forward eminently to view, took place in other parts of his vaſt dominions. In the ſurvey of theſe, we every where diſcover the ſame watchful vigilance, the ſame bigotted devotion, and the ſame unrelenting ſeverity, which characterized his government of the Low Countries. Among the principal objects, to which his attention was conſtantly directed, was the protection of the coaſts of Spain againſt the ravages of the Turks. They were, at that time, governed by one of the greateſt princes who has ſwayed the Ottoman ſceptre, Solyman the Second; and notwithſtanding that he was far advanced in years, the vigour of his mind, and his ambition of adding new provinces to his former conqueſts, ſeemed, in no degree, to be abated. Dragut, king of Tripoli, a lieutenant of the Turkiſh ſultan, powerfully ſuſtained the honour of his maſter's arms. In the commencement of Philip's reign, he had defeated a formidable naval armament, commanded by the duke of Medina Cœli, which had been ſent by the king of Spain to the coaſt of Barbary. Not content with obtaining this advantage, he ſpread terror throughout the whole Mediterranean; captured a Spaniſh fleet near Sicily; and, landing on the iſland, carried off into captivity, a prodigious number of its inhabitants, as well as an immenſe plunder. In the ſubſequent years, he treated in a ſimilar manner, the defenceleſs, and unprotected provinces of Calabria and Abruzzo, in the kingdom of Naples [11]. Philip was not only unable to take any vengeance, or exact any reparation, for the inſults on his crown, and the injuries ſuſtained by his people: he was equally unfortunate in an attempt upon Penon de Velez, a fortreſs ſituate upon an iſland near the coaſt of Africa, whence the Moors committed continual depredations on the Spaniſh commerce [12].

[11] Mayerne Turquet, p. 1083—1085. and 1086—1093. Abregé Chron. vol. ii. p. 352, 353. and p. 357. Leti, vol. ii. p. 311—319. and p. 386—389. and p. 393.

[12] Abregé Chron. vol. ii. p. 363.

Theſe

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1564—1567. Expeditions in Barbary.

Theſe diſaſters were however compenſated by the gallant defence, which the garriſons of Oran and Mazerquiver made, againſt the forces of Haſcem, king of Algiers, who was compelled to retire, with loſs and diſhonour, from before both places. Penon de Velez, attacked a ſecond time, by don Garcia de Toledo, was taken, and garriſoned, by order of the king of Spain [13]. But, the principal exploit in which Philip acquired renown, and by which he rendered a diſtinguiſhed ſervice to the chriſtian world, was, in contributing to the relief of Malta, beſieged by the Turks, and reduced, notwithſtanding the heroic valour of the knights, to the laſt extremity. His fleet, arriving to their aid, obliged the enemy to make a precipitate retreat; and don Alvaro de Sande, who commanded the Spaniſh troops, landing on the iſland, gave battle to the Turks, and completed their deſtruction [14].

Relief of Malta.

Perſecuting zeal of Philip.

While Philip, as the common defender of the chriſtian ſtates, maintained a perpetual conflict with Solyman, and on ſome occaſions, derived no inconſiderable degree of glory from his interpoſition, he did not neglect another object, which was ever preſent to his mind; the extirpation of hereſy. Previous to his arrival in Spain from the Netherlands, the moſt rigorous puniſhments, by his expreſs command, had been inflicted on thoſe, who were ſuſpected of having quitted the catholic faith. Theſe cruel ſacrifices, at which humanity ſhudders, were renewed on his return, and ſolemnized with a ſpecies of pomp and ceremony, in his preſence. Forty perſons of both ſexes, and ſome among them, of condition, were committed to the flames, at Valladolid: in the ſubſequent year, no leſs a number than ſeventy, were publicly burnt at Seville [15]. The king expreſſed a barbarous ſatisfaction at the executions, ſuited to the gloomy and ferocious ſpirit of his religion. He was encou-

[13] Turquet, p. 1112, 1113. Leti, vol. ii. p. 519—522, and 467—470. Abregé Chron. vol. ii. p. 361—363. Deſormeaux, vol. iv. p. 40 and 44.

[14] Leti, vol. iii. p. 21—48. Turquet, p. 1114—1119. Abregé Chron. vol. ii. p. 371—374.

[15] Leti, vol. ii. p. 291—294. Abregé Chron. vol. ii. p. 348—350, and p. 354.

raged

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raged to perſiſt in them, by the ſee of Rome, which honoured him with every flattering encomium, as the champion of the church. Not content with extinguiſhing the new opinions in Spain, his indefatigable and vigilant zeal extended over every part of his dominions, with ſimilar violence. Having received information, that in ſome obſcure diſtricts of Calabria, Calviniſm had penetrated, he ſent peremptory orders to the viceroy of Naples, which were literally executed, to put every individual to death [16]. Even beyond the limits of his power, his exhortations and ſupport were not ſpared, to induce other princes to imitate his example. The governor of the Milaneze was enjoined to aid Emanuel Philibert, duke of Savoy, in the maſſacre of the peaſants of the valley of Angrogno, who had committed no offence, except that of being proteſtants [17]. The ſame ardent and ſanguinary enthuſiaſm incited him to write a letter of compliment and acknowledgment to Sigiſmund Auguſtus, king of Poland, on that prince's having burnt ſeveral Jews, accuſed of impiety and profanation [18].

Severities of the Inquiſition.

Such was the depreſſed ſtate of the human mind, at this time, in Spain; ſo much had the tribunal of the inquiſition impreſſed terror by its ſeverity; and ſo deſpotic was Philip, that not a murmur was heard againſt theſe tyrannical acts. The archbiſhop of Toledo, a prelate of exemplary life, and in whoſe arms, the emperor Charles the Fifth had expired; on a ſuſpicion of leaning to ſome heretical opinions, was arreſted, and committed to a dungeon. The king declared, that "he would not ſpare his own ſon, if convicted of this unpardonable crime;" and no exertions were omitted, even by holding out inducements to the violation of the moſt ſacred bonds of private amity and confidence, to diſcover, and deliver over to the inquiſitors, every perſon who was believed to approve the doctrines of Luther and Calvin [19].

[16] Leti, vol. ii. p. 371, 372.
[17] Ibid. p. 372, 373.
[18] Leti, vol. ii. p. 112—114.
[19] Turquet, p. 1119—1123. Leti, vol. ii. p. 236.

Notwith-

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Notwithſtanding the profound ſubmiſſion, with which Philip's commands were received and obeyed in the kingdom of Spain, he experienced the limits of his authority, when he attempted to introduce the ſame eccleſiaſtical tribunal, into the dependant branches of the monarchy. Even the college of cardinals diſapproved his requeſt to the ſovereign pontiff, to permit its eſtabliſhment, in the dutchy of Milan, and the Neapolitan dominions. But, the inhabitants of thoſe countries, of every order, oppoſed more inſurmountable obſtacles to Philip's deſign, by declaring that they never would ſubmit to ſo deteſtable an inſtitution, and by their preparations to reſiſt its entrance by force of arms. Convinced of the impracticability of this dangerous experiment, he at length reluctantly deſiſted from its proſecution [20].

Beneficial and liberal inſtitutions of Philip.

The ardour, which, throughout his whole reign, he demonſtrated in defence of the catholic religion, and which was the predominant feature of his character, did not, however, prevent him from attending to many objects of inferior moment, becoming a great monarch, and ſome of which reflect honour upon his government. He laid the foundation of the palace of the Eſcurial, after having transferred the royal reſidence from Toledo to Madrid, which latter place, began, under him, to be regarded as the capital of Spain. He expended the wealth of Peru, in the immenſe edifice of the Eſcurial, and enriched it with the choiceſt productions of art and genius [21]. Hermando, a celebrated naturaliſt, was ſent by him to America, in order to make accurate drawings of the plants and animals of the new world: a commiſſion, which he executed with uncommon ſkill. This invaluable work, contained in fifteen volumes, and compiled with incredible labour and expence, was, by the king's order, depoſited in the Royal Monaſtery of St. Laurence, near his perſon, and under his immediate care [22]. The archives of the monarchy,

[20] Leti, vol. ii. p. 457—461, and p. 491, 492.
[21] Ibid. p. 446—449. Abregé Chron. vol. ii. p. 354. Deſormeaux, vol. iv. p. 43.
[22] Ibid. vol. iii. p. 56—59.

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narchy, and many of the moſt curious documents of ſtate, which the negligence or ignorance of his predeceſſors had ſuffered to be loſt, he collected, and commanded to be carefully preſerved in the caſtle of Simencas. An example deſerving of univerſal imitation, and which, in that century, had no precedent in any European kingdom [23].

His treatment of Don John of Auſtria.

The Philippine iſlands were diſcovered, ſubjected to the Spaniſh crown, and colonized [24]. Philip evinced in his treatment of Don John of Auſtria, a degree of generoſity and affection, which, had not his ſubſequent conduct effaced, might have entitled him to the praiſe of private virtue. This youth, who was the natural ſon of the emperor Charles the Fifth, had been brought up in ignorance of his birth and rank. The king recognized him publicly, treated him with fraternal regard, ordered him to receive the honours due to his proximity of blood, and ſuperintended his education. Don John gave early proofs of that heroic courage, and thoſe ſuperior endowments, which, after having covered him with perſonal glory, eventually conducted him to a premature death, not without ſuſpicions of its having been accelerated by his brother and ſovereign [25].

Hiſtory of Don Carlos.

In the midſt of theſe various occupations of foreign and domeſtic policy, a ſource of calamity, the moſt poignant and afflicting which human nature can experience, was ſlowly preparing to embitter the repoſe of Philip, and finally to involve his character in univerſal deteſtation. Don Carlos, his only ſon, and heir to the Spaniſh monarchy, had, from his infancy, betrayed ſymptoms of an intractable diſpoſition, and a ferocious temper; if not of a depraved, and vicious mind. Elizabeth of France, daughter of Henry the Second, had been deſtined for his wife; but, Mary queen of England, dying before the completion of the treaty, Philip ſubſtituted himſelf in the place of the prince. It was commonly believed and aſſerted, that Don Carlos had expreſſed on the occaſion, ſentiments of reſentment

[23] Leti, vol. iii. p. 59—63. [24] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 522—525. [25] Strada, vol. ii. p. 472—477.

againſt

againſt his father, for having deprived him of a young and beautiful princeſs, whoſe age was much more ſuited to his own, and for whom he had conceived ſentiments of affection. Philip, however, ſoon after his return to Spain from the Low Countries, cauſed Don Carlos to be ſolemnly acknowledged heir to all his dominions, in an aſſembly of the ſtates, convened at Toledo. But, finding that, as his ſon advanced to manhood, he became more ungovernable, and evinced many dangerous propenſities, the king ſent him to the univerſity of Alcala. In embracing this expedient, Philip not only meant to humanize and ſoften his manners, by the ſtudy of letters; but, to inſpire him with emulation, from the continual preſence and ſociety of Don John of Auſtria, and of Alexander Farneſe, prince of Parma, who were nearly of his own age and quality. The ſucceſs of the experiment did not anſwer the king's intention. Don Carlos preſerved all the natural intractability of his character, and the violence of his paſſions was augmented, in proportion as the ſtrength of his underſtanding was weakened, by the effect of a fall, which happened during this period of his life. He received a concuſſion of the brain; languiſhed a conſiderable time, in extreme danger of his life; and, on his recovery, grew more outrageous.

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Intractability of his character.

The king, from this æra, ſeems to have meditated to leave the crown to another ſucceſſor. He had no other iſſue, male or female; and apparently, with a view of ſetting aſide his ſon, he invited into Spain the two arch-dukes, Rodolphus and Erneſt, ſons of Maximilian, king of the Romans. They complied with the ſummons, were received at Barcelona, by Philip, and reſided ſeveral years in his court. As a further proof of his diſguſt to Don Carlos, he found excuſes to delay, and finally to defeat the marriage of that unfortunate prince, with the arch-ducheſs Anne, to whom he had been promiſed. He did not conceal his averſion for his ſon, removed him from any participation in affairs of ſtate or government, and entertained ſpies conſtantly near his perſon, who reported all his words

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and actions to Philip. Under ſuch reſtraints and marks of alienation, on the part of his father, it cannot be matter of wonder, that Don Carlos conceived a reciprocal hatred for the author of his miſfortunes. His temper, irritated by diſgrace, broke out into the moſt violent exceſſes; and he is ſaid, repeatedly to have purſued the king's miniſters, ſword in hand, with the intention of ſacrificing them to his fury.

1564—1567. Severity of Philip's conduct towards his ſon.

Various crimes, of a heinous nature, have been laid to his charge, including in their moſt extenſive ſenſe, the guilt of treaſon, hereſy, inceſt, and parricide. But, the only one which appears to amount to proof, is that of his having expreſſed diſapprobation of his father's meaſures reſpecting the Flemings, and having plotted to withdraw himſelf from Spain, with a view to join the inſurgents in Flanders. The unanimous teſtimony of hiſtorians renders this allegation highly probable, and it receives ſtrength from various corroborating circumſtances. Yet, the ſame darkneſs and uncertainty, which conceal the preciſe nature of Don Carlos's death, are, in a great meaſure, common to his crime. We know, however, with certainty, that he was arreſted by Philip in perſon, in the night, and in his bed; that he was treated with extreme rigour as a criminal, confined under a ſtrict guard for above ſix months, and finally, that he died in that ſtate of impriſonment. Thoſe authors who deny, or doubt, that the king imbrued his hands in the blood of his ſon, or ordered his execution, yet, admit, that the prince accelerated and produced his diſſolution, from the effects of indignation and deſpair. The execration, with which Philip was loaded throughout Europe, as the ſuppoſed murderer of his ſon, evinced the general ſentiments, entertained of his character [26].

Death of Don Carlos.

1568. July.

Theſe ſuſpicions and condemnations were renewed by the death of Elizabeth, queen of Spain, who only ſurvived Don Carlos about two months, and whoſe end was accompanied with ſome circum-

Death of the queen.

[26] Turquet, p. 1126, and 1138—1136. Leti, vol. iii. p. 292—341. Abregé Hiſtor. vol. ii. p. 384—386. Deſormeaux, vol. iv. p. 66, 67. Strada, vol. ii. p. 120—129.

ſtances,

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ſtances, which afforded new ſubject for calumny or accuſation. She was a princeſs of the moſt amiable character, and irreproachable manners; but her beauty, youth, and above all, the ſubſtitution of Philip as her huſband, in the place of Don Carlos, afforded obvious ſcope for curious enquiry, and malignant conjecture[27]. Domeſtic calamities of ſo ſevere a nature, neither affected the internal tranquillity of Spain, nor diminiſhed the king's application to affairs of ſtate. Almoſt immediately after the deceaſe of the queen, by whom, though ſhe had left him two daughters, he had no male iſſue, a treaty of marriage was begun on the part of Philip, and a demand made of the arch-ducheſs Anne, daughter of the emperor Maximilian the Second, for his fourth wife. It was accompliſhed, and ſolemnized near two years afterwards; the king, by a fatality without example, having twice carried off the princeſſes, deſtined for his ſon[28].

Duke of Alva ſent to the Low Countries.

The duke of Alva, mean while, having been ſelected for the inſtrument of the king's vengeance on his ſubjects in the Netherlands, and having received his inſtructions, prepared to paſs over into Italy, in order to tranſport himſelf, at the head of a formidable army, into that country. The inflexible ſeverity and haughty arrogance of his character, rendered him peculiarly fit for ſo odious an employment. His great military talents, joined to his unconcealed deteſtation of hereſy, inſpired terror; and ſeemed to leave no alternative, except unconditional ſubmiſſion, or deſperate reſiſtance. Every effort was made by Margaret of Parma, to diſſuade Philip from ſo unpopular a meaſure, which ſhe predicted to him, would be followed by civil war. The emperor Maximilian the Second vainly added his expoſtulations to her's, and ſent his brother, the arch-duke Charles, to Madrid, to deprecate the ruin which muſt enſue, from the introduction of Spaniſh forces into Flanders, under ſuch a leader. Even in the council of Spain, the king's own confeſſor, and ſome of the

[27] Turquet, p. 1136. Leti, vol. iii. p. 342, 343.

[28] Strada, vol. ii. p. 196, 197. Leti, vol. iii. p. 492—494.

moſt

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moſt moderate of his miniſters, urged every argument, to avert ſo injurious a reſolution. The theologians themſelves, conſulted by Philip, gave it as their opinion, that, in the condition of Flanders, and with the proſpect of a rebellion, a mitigated degree of toleration and liberty of conſcience might be granted, without incurring any guilt, or participation of criminality. But the bigotry and prejudices of Philip, ſuſtained by the natural hardneſs of his character, rendered him deaf to every ſuggeſtion of humanity. He did not heſitate to declare, that, "rather than reign over ſubjects of a "religion different from his own, he was content to loſe his crown;" nor could any motives, derived from conſiderations of policy, operate upon his mind [29].

Reſignation of Margaret of Parma.

The appearance of the duke of Alva in the Low Countries, at the head of the veteran bands of Spain, was immediately followed by all the calamities which Margaret had foreſeen, but, which ſhe could not prevent. Her reſignation of the office of governeſs, was the prelude to theſe evils, and was regarded by the Flemings, as the greateſt misfortune. Her inability to ſtop the oppreſſions which ſhe ſaw exerciſed, her partial attachment to her native country, and her indignation at the extent of the powers, delegated by her brother to the Spaniſh general; theſe combined motives induced her warmly to ſolicit permiſſion to reſign a ſituation, which ſhe could no longer fill with dignity, or exerciſe with benefit. Philip, with apparent reluctance, conſented to her requeſt; and ſhe ſoon afterwards quitted Flanders, accompanied by the benedictions and regrets of every order of people [30]. On the arrival of the duke of Alva, ſhe had been a reluctant witneſs to the firſt act of his duplicity and violence; that

Counts of Egmont and Horn, arreſted.

of arreſting the counts Egmont and Horn, who were taken into cuſtody, as they prepared to quit the council of ſtate, at which they

[29] Strada, vol. ii. p. 63—73. Bentivog. p. 40—45. Leti, vol. iii. p. 122—138. Turquet, p. 1126, and p. 1129.

[30] Strada, vol. ii. p. 94—108.

had

had been ſummoned to aſſiſt. Many other perſons of rank were at the ſame time ſeized, and committed to priſon. But, the prince of Orange, the ableſt and moſt formidable individual in the Netherlands, more cautious than his aſſociates, and better inſtructed in the ſecret orders, entruſted by Philip to the duke of Alva, eſcaped the danger. He did not heſitate, on the approach of this general, to withdraw inſtantly into the empire, with his family and followers. Cardinal Granvelle, who, by experience, knew the extent of his capacity, and the depth of his reſources; when he received the information of the prince having evaded the ſnare, expreſſed his concern, and aſſerted, that while William remained at liberty, nothing effectual was done by the capture of the other nobles[31].

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Eſcape of the prince of Orange.

Every meaſure of the duke of Alva's government evinced to the Flemings, that their liberties were extinct, and that a ſyſtematical plan of oppreſſion, violence, and confiſcation, had been adopted by the court of Spain. A citadel was conſtructed at Antwerp, by the duke's command, in order to awe that wealthy and mutinous city. The council of blood, as it was denominated, conſiſting of twelve perſons, named by the ſame power, took cognizance of all offences; and in contempt of the antient uſages of the national tribunals, decided in a ſummary manner, without appeal, upon the lives and fortunes of the citizens. All the expoſtulations of the emperor Maximilian, in favour of the inhabitants of the Low Countries, as relieving of the German empire, were rejected. The prince of Orange and his adherents were adjudged guilty of high treaſon, and the priſons were filled with victims, condemned to death. The palace of count Culembourg, in which the nobles had met at Bruſſels, when they preſented their firſt petition to Margaret of Parma, was pulled down, as a houſe polluted by rebellion. In a word, the tyranny of the governor, ſuſtained by an army of Spaniards and Italians, appeared to have

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Tyranny of the duke of Alva.

[31] Bentivog. p. 46, 47. Leti, vol. iii. p. 148—176.

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overcome all reſiſtance; and to have reduced the Netherlands to the ſame proſtrate condition, and abject obedience, with the other countries which compoſed the Spaniſh monarchy [32].

Entry of a German army into Frieſland.

This ſtate of apparent calm was, however, of ſhort duration. Louis, and Adolphus of Naſſau, brothers to the prince of Orange, marched into the province of Frieſland, at the head of a conſiderable force, compoſed principally of Germans. They were attacked by count Aremberg, whom they routed; and he himſelf, as well as Adolphus of Naſſau, both fell in the action. The victors, elated by their ſucceſs, laid ſiege to the city of Groningen [33].

When intelligence of an event, ſo favourable to the inſurgents, was carried to Bruſſels, the duke of Alva, more irritated than depreſſed by it, determined inſtantly to proceed in perſon againſt them, with the troops under his command; in hopes of being able to extinguiſh the rebellion, before it ſhould become more formidable, by the additional ſtrength which the prince of Orange was collecting in the German empire. But, previous to his quitting the ſeat of government and the interior provinces, his apprehenſion of the attempts, which might be made by a diſcontented and incenſed people during his abſence, induced him to adopt the reſolution of executing the principal perſons, detained in priſon. The horror, excited by the numbers who ſucceſſively were led out to die, and the cruelty which accompanied many of the puniſhments, were in a conſiderable degree loſt, or ſwallowed up, in the indignation produced by the deaths of the counts Egmont and Horn. Theſe two noblemen, of the moſt illuſtrious families of Flanders, and not leſs diſtinguiſhed by their high endowments and virtues, than by their univerſal popularity, had been confined nine months, in the citadel of Ghent. They had both performed eminent ſervices to the ſtate, in peace, and in war: thoſe of the former were even ſuch, as it rarely falls to the lot of a ſubject to execute. Their

Execution of Egmont and Horn.

[32] Strada, vol. ii. p. 109—119. Bentivog. p. 48—53.

[33] Strada, vol. ii. p. 129—135. Bentivog. p. 54—56.

conduct,

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conduct, during the government of Margaret of Parma, however, in ſome inſtances, it might appear equivocal, or favourable to the civil liberties of the Flemings, could not be regarded as diſloyal and treaſonable. Sentence was, notwithſtanding, paſſed on them, by the duke of Alva, in conſequence of directions from Philip; and it was carried into execution at Bruſſels, with a publicity and ſolemnity, more calculated to excite vengeance, than to impreſs terror. They were beheaded; and their deaths terminated the long liſt of eminent perſons, offered up to the reſentment of the Spaniſh court [34].

No ſooner was this ſcene cloſed, than the duke, inſtantly putting himſelf at the head of the army, directed his courſe towards Groningen, the ſiege of which was raiſed by the inſurgents, before his arrival. Anxious to efface the diſhonour and loſs, recently ſuſtained by the defeat of count Aremberg, he purſued Louis of Naſſau, who retreated before him; and who, having occupied a very ſtrong poſition, which was rendered ſtill more difficult by art, waited for the duke of Alva's attack: but the valour and diſcipline of the royal troops, directed by ſo experienced a commander, ſurmounted every obſtacle. A mutiny, which took place among the Germans, at the ſame juncture which the duke had choſen for beginning the action, gave him a complete, and almoſt, on his ſide, a bloodleſs victory. Six thouſand of the enemy were left on the field, and Louis himſelf eſcaped with difficulty, by a timely flight [35]. The enormities and exceſſes, committed by a regiment of Sardinians, who wantonly ſet fire to a conſiderable diſtrict of Frieſland, in revenge for the loſs of ſome of their companions; though inſtantly and rigorouſly puniſhed by the duke of Alva, yet augmented the general deteſtation borne to the Spaniards [36].

Alva marches againſt the inſurgents.

Victory of the Spaniards.

[34] Leti, vol. iii. p. 230—252. Strada, vol. ii. p. 136—151. Bentiv. p. 56. Abregè Chron. vol. ii. p. 388. Deſormeaux, vol. iv. p. 69—71.

[35] Strada, vol. ii. p. 152—160. Bentiv. p. 58—60. Leti, v. iii. p. 253—256.

[36] Strada, vol. ii. p. 163—165.

CHAP. III.

1568.

Prince of Orange invades Flanders.

Having received a reinforcement of men and money, conducted by his ſon Frederic, he loſt not a moment in returning to protect the provinces of Brabant and Hainault, menaced with an invaſion by the prince of Orange. Notwithſtanding the vigilance and ſkill exerted by the Spaniſh general, William ſucceſſively croſſed the Rhine, and the Meuſe; having, by his boldneſs and addreſs, in ſurmounting the difficulties of the paſſage acroſs the latter river, extorted involuntary eulogiums from his adverſary. No endeavours on the part of the prince, could, however, induce him to hazard a general action, or to commit the ſafety of the Netherlands, to the contingency of a battle. Superior to every inſult, and on his guard againſt every ſtratagem, he waited the effect of time. He knew, how odious the Spaniſh government was become, and how readily the Flemings would embrace any occaſion of teſtifying their ſenſe of its ſeverity. He was well informed, of the numerous ſources of diſcontent and diviſion exiſting in the army of William. Adhering, therefore, pertinaciouſly to his plan of avoiding an engagement, he contented himſelf with following the enemy, haraſſing and intercepting their parties, hovering on their rear, and frequently cutting to pieces expoſed detachments. This cautious ſyſtem was attended with complete ſucceſs. The prince of Orange, diſappointed in his expectations of a general revolt, fruſtrated in his attempt upon every fortified city, and deſtitute of means to pay or ſubſiſt his army, at an advanced ſeaſon of the year; after exhauſting his political and perſonal reſources, abandoned the project. He retreated into Germany, diſbanded the greater part of his forces, already conſiderably diminiſhed by an unfortunate campaign, and reſerved himſelf to renew the war, under more propitious circumſtances.

He retreats again into Germany.

The duke of Alva, victorious without bloodſhed, and as admirable for his caution when oppoſed to the prince, as he had been for his promptitude and deciſion againſt Louis of Naſſau, returned to Bruſſels, and entered it in triumph. The hatred of the Flemings was overcome by their terrors: not a ſymptom of revolt appeared in the

Low

Low Countries; and the deſpotiſm of Philip, ſuſtained by his troops, eſtabliſhed a profound, though a ſhort and fallacious calm, in every part of the provinces [37]. CHAP. III. 1568—1570.

The attention of that prince was too much occupied, during the preſent period of his reign, by a rebellion in the kingdom of Spain itſelf, to permit of his viſiting the Netherlands in perſon, even had his inclinations prompted him ſo to do, without manifeſt danger to the very exiſtence of the monarchy. Severely as the tyranny of the duke of Alva was felt by the inhabitants of Flanders, his oppreſſions were light, when compared with the inhuman policy, and acts of violence, exerciſed againſt the Moors of Grenada. This people, the remnant of thoſe conquerors, who had reigned for ſeveral ages, over the faireſt provinces of Spain; after their reduction by Ferdinand and Iſabella, had given few proofs of their antient intrepidity. Charles the Fifth governed them by very ſevere and intolerant laws: under Philip, a ſyſtem appears to have been formed, not only for their complete ſubjection; but, by heaping on them wanton indignities, and contumely, for compelling the nation to a general revolt, and thereby furniſhing a pretence for their diſperſion and extermination. In conſequence of this principle, every right of humanity was invaded, and every permiſſion, uſually accorded even to ſlaves, was denied, or taken from them. Prohibitions, or edicts, dictated by capricious cruelty, invaded their moſt ſacred privileges, and by violating their prejudices and cuſtoms, ſtimulated them to rebellion. They were not only diſarmed, but, by a new order of the court, it was enjoined, that they ſhould inſtantly renounce their language, dreſs, and manners; conforming, in every article, to thoſe of Caſtile. Though the execution of ſuch a law was, in itſelf, to a certain degree, impracticable on the part of the Moors, it was followed by others, if poſſible, ſtill more afflicting. They were obliged to profeſs the catholic religion, to practiſe all its ceremonies without reſerve, and to deliver

Inſurrection of the Moors in Spain.

Tyrannical treatment of the Moors by Philip.

[37] Bentiv. p. 61—63. Strada, vol. ii. p. 166—180. Leti, vol. iii. p. 257—262.

CHAP. III.

1568—1570.

up their children, to be educated in the Romiſh faith. Yet, to theſe extraordinary acts of legiſlation, they ſubmitted. Their names were then taken from them; and they were compelled, though not without ſymptoms of the utmoſt repugnance, to renounce their Mooriſh, and to aſſume univerſally, Spaniſh titles and denominations. To complete the code, Philip commanded the abolition of the practice of bathing, and the immediate demolition of all the baths throughout Grenada. They ventured to remonſtrate againſt the edict, not only as depriving them of a gratification, indiſpenſible in a ſultry climate; but, as being of a nature, which could neither militate againſt the catholic religion, nor againſt the duty and obedience due to the crown. Their entreaties were ſupported by the marquis of Mondejar, captain general of the kingdom of Grenada, and by other great officers of ſtate; but Philip was inflexible, and enjoined ſubmiſſion. Driven to deſpair, the Moors reſolved to reſiſt, took up arms, elected a ſovereign from among themſelves, and endeavoured to expel their tyrants.

Rebellion in Grenada.

During the progreſs of a war, which they maintained againſt the united power of the Spaniſh monarchy, for near two years, and in which unequal conteſt they betrayed great reſources, the utmoſt rage of military violence was exerciſed towards all, who fell into the hands of the Spaniards. No quarter was given to thoſe found in the places captured, and the moſt ſolemn capitulations were broken. Near twelve hundred women were maſſacred in one caſtle; and the enormities, practiſed in the new world by Cortez and Pizarro, were renewed, in the unprovoked attack of a diſarmed and innocent people. Though the Moors had failed in an attempt to carry by ſurpriſe the city of Grenada, which might have decided on the ſucceſs of their arms, and though they were frequently vanquiſhed in their engagements with the enemy; yet, ſuſtained by deſpair, animated with enthuſiaſm, and continually ſupplied with freſh troops from Algiers, and the Mahometans on the oppoſite coaſt of Africa, they made an obſtinate reſiſtance. They loudly implored protection and ſupport from

They demand ſuccours of Selim the Second.

from the ſultan, Selim the Second, and ſent a deputation to Conſtantinople, in order to repreſent to him, how much he was bound, by motives religious and political, not to be a paſſive ſpectator of their entire deſtruction. But Selim, though he neither wanted ambition, nor enmity to Spain, yet declined to engage in their defence. If he had taken a deciſive part in their favour, it is not improbable, in Philip's embarraſſed ſtate, that he might have had reaſon to repent of his unprovoked attack on the Moors.

Deſperate reſiſtance of the Moors.

Even, when abandoned to their own force, they rendered the final iſſue of the war, doubtful and tedious. Their new ſovereign poſſeſſed courage, and made every effort for the emancipation of his ſubjects. In this ſtate of affairs, Philip called into action the talents of his brother, Don John of Auſtria. The age of the prince, which did not exceed twenty-three years, ſeemed to diſqualify him for ſo arduous a commiſſion; but the king, notwithſtanding, named him to the ſupreme command againſt the rebels. The motives for the ſelection, whether ariſing from regard and favour, or whether originating in profound jealouſy and malignity, on the part of Philip, have actuated the curioſity of hiſtorians, and muſt for ever remain problematical. The great and early indications of courage and ambition, exhibited by Don John, the character of his brother, and the ſubſequent conduct which he obſerved towards the prince, certainly afford grounds for ſuſpicion of the purity of Philip's intentions. Don John embraced with ardour, ſo glorious an occaſion for the diſplay of his talents; and, after many deſperate encounters with the Moors, in one of which he was routed, and narrowly eſcaped with his life, he terminated ſucceſsfully the war. The vanquiſhed Mahometans were diſperſed by the conqueror, throughout Caſtile, and reduced to the loweſt degree of abject humiliation[38].

They are vanquiſhed by Don John of Auſtria.

[38] Turquet, p. 1138—1156. Abregé Chron. vol. ii. p. 390—408. Leti, vol. iii. p. 280—291, and 366, 367, and 495. Deſormeaux, vol. iv. p. 60, 61, and p. 67, 68, and p. 71—74, and p. 80.

While

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1568.—1570. Occupations of Philip.

While Flanders and Grenada thus exhibited a ſcene of oppreſſion and depopulation, Philip, conſtantly reſident in the center of Spain, and rarely removing to any conſiderable diſtance from his capital, divided his time, between the fatigues of government, and the amuſements of gallantry. Notwithſtanding the obſtacles, and even prohibitions, iſſued from the Vatican, he proceeded ſlowly to complete a very important object; that of aſcertaining the number, and revenues, of all the eccleſiaſtical foundations, of every kind, in his vaſt dominions. This enumeration deſcended to the minuteſt detail, and embraced all denominations of the clergy. The reſult, when ſubmitted to him, is ſaid, in magnitude, to have ſurpaſſed his belief. Not ſtopping here, Philip cauſed reſearches of a ſimilar nature to be made, relative to the employments, military, civil, and judicial, either immediately conferred by the crown, or in the gift of his vice-roys and governors. Such enquiries were certainly worthy of a great monarch, and they were peculiarly analogous to the genius of the prince by whoſe command they were made; of which, vigilance, application, and inſpection, were the leading characteriſtics [39].

Gallantries of Philip.

Among theſe occupations of ſtate, his heart, which ſeemed to be little formed for the impreſſions of love, was inflamed by the beauty and accompliſhments of Anne de Mendoza, princeſs of Eboli, and wife to his favourite, Ruy Gomez de Sylva. This paſſion, like almoſt every other of Philip, produced in the event, very tragical conſequences. The princeſs, ſolicited to yield by her own huſband, and not averſe to gratify the wiſhes of her royal lover, interpoſed ſcarce any obſtacle or delay to his deſires. Philip, who affected to mingle a degree of religion even in his vices, and who ſcrupled to ſeduce the wife of one of his ſubjects, was liberated from the reſtraint on his inclinations, by the convenient facility of Ruy Gomez: yet, cautious, ſecret, and myſterious in his amour, he confided to

[39] Deſormeaux, vol. iv. p. 78, 79. Leti, vol. iii. p. 436—438.

Antonio

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Antonio Perez, ſecretary of ſtate, his wiſhes and irreſolution. The miniſter, happy to render ſo delicate a ſervice, conducted, with profound ſilence, the princeſs of Eboli, to Philip. She ſoon obtained over him, the moſt unbounded aſcendancy: the intrigue became public, and cauſed no ſmall ſcandal throughout Europe. Nothing, indeed, could have been more incompatible with the gloomy devotion, and auſtere piety, of which Philip ſo loudly made profeſſion, and which ſerved him as a veil to conceal his projects of ambition. Perez himſelf, from being the confident, became afterwards the rival of his ſovereign; but his ſucceſs was fatal to himſelf, and to the princeſs[40]. Magnificence occupied Philip's leiſure as much as love. Beſides the continuation of the Eſcurial, in which immenſe ſums were expended, he conſtructed the palace of the Pardo, near Madrid, and adorned it with coſtly monuments of art. The caſtle of Segovia was raiſed by his order; the aqueduct of Toledo built; and many other edifices of general utility or convenience, completed, in different provinces of Spain[41].

Violence of the duke of Alva, in Flanders.

If the duke of Alva had uſed with moderation, and improved by clemency, the victory which his arms had obtained over the prince of Orange, the Netherlands might have remained entire to Philip, notwithſtanding the paſt ſeverities, exerciſed in his name, and under his authority. But the preſumption of the Spaniſh general, augmented by proſperity, diſdained all limits; and he regarded the Flemings as a vanquiſhed people, already accuſtomed to deſpotiſm. Not content with having enſlaved, he proceeded to inſult them, by the conſtruction of a ſtatue, which was placed in the citadel of Antwerp; and where he was repreſented in the act of trampling under his feet, the liberties of the Flemiſh nobility and people. Even his maſter was diſpleaſed at ſo injudicious and indecent a diſplay of arrogance and vanity, in which the merits of the general,

[40] Leti, vol. iii. p. 416—431. Deſormeaux, vol. iv. p. 80.
[41] Leti, vol. iii. p. 496—498.

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were more conſpicuouſly exhibited than thoſe of the king [42]. After a long and impolitic delay, the duke of Alva at length promulgated, with oſtentatious ſolemnity, the pardon and amneſty of all paſt offences committed againſt the crown of Spain, ſince the origin of the troubles in the Netherlands. This boaſted act of oblivion contained, nevertheleſs, ſo many exceptions, and the vehicle through which it was diſpenſed, had become ſo univerſally odious or ſuſpected, that it produced no effect or benefit. The ſeaſon of reconciliation and obedience was paſt, though that of revenge was not yet arrived [43].

1568—1570. Amneſty publiſhed by command of Philip.

Meanwhile, the governor, fearful of new commotions, ardently ſolicited his recal; but was refuſed the permiſſion, by the king: yet, conſcious how deteſtable to his Flemiſh ſubjects, and how injurious to his own intereſts, the duke of Alva's adminiſtration was become, he meditated to ſend him a ſucceſſor. The ſame procraſtination and irreſolution, which attended almoſt all the meaſures of Philip, prevented the execution of his deſign, and completed the deſtruction of the Spaniſh power in the Low Countries [44]. The neceſſities of the duke; the arrears due to his troops; and the ſeizure of a ſum of money, on its paſſage to Flanders, deſtined for that purpoſe, by Elizabeth, queen of England: theſe united cauſes impelled him to commit exactions, and to iſſue edicts, ſo oppreſſive and intolerable, that, when remonſtrance and ſupplication were found to be vain, a general reſiſtance ſucceeded. He demanded the tenth upon moveables of every kind, as often as they ſhould be ſold; the twentieth upon immoveables; and the hundredth, upon all commodities. The clamours of the Flemings, and the damage ſuſtained by an inundation of the ſea in Frieſland, retarded, but did not prevent the collection of the taxes. The revolt, which all the cruelties of Alva had not excited, was inſtantly produced by his attack upon perſonal

New oppreſſions of Alva.

Univerſal revolt in the Low Countries.

[42] Strada, vol. ii. p. 181—185. Bentivog. p. 68, 69. Leti, vol. iii. p. 367—370.

[43] Strada, vol. ii. p. 194—196.

[44] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 197, 198.

property.

property. A party of desperate men, who infested the coasts of Flanders, and whom Elizabeth had compelled to quit the English ports, in consequence of applications from the embassador of Philip, headed by the count de la Marck, surprized the town of the Brill, in Holland. Their unexpected success was the signal of an universal insurrection, which no exertions of valour or ability, on the part of the Spanish commander, were ever able to subdue[45]. CHAP. III. 1568—1570.

So general was the disaffection, that almost every place of consequence, in the northern provinces of Holland and Zealand, instantly declared for the prince of Orange, expelled their garrisons, and renounced all allegiance or subjection to Philip. Amsterdam remained nearly alone in its adherence to that prince. The duke of Alva, who was ready to enforce by military execution, the pecuniary impositions recently published, suspended his resentment, and prepared to extinguish the rebellion, while yet in its infancy. But, before he could interpose with effect, new commotions engaged his attention, and demanded his presence. Count Bergues entered Guelderland, and made a rapid progress in the province, as well as in the adjoining ones of Zutphen and Overyssel. A still more alarming event, was the surprize of the city of Mons, the capital of Hainault, by Louis of Nassau, who was aided in the enterprize, by a body of French Hugonots. In this embarrassed situation of affairs, and among such multiplied disasters, Philip's general betrayed no symptoms of terror or apprehension. Esteeming the French invasion to be the most formidable, as originating from the prevalence of Coligni and his adherents in the counsels of Charles the Ninth, he, without delay, bent his efforts to that quarter, and detached his son Frederic to form the siege of Mons; leaving the suppression of the revolt in the other provinces, to a more favourable juncture. The baron de Genlis, who conducted

1571. Progress of the insurgents. Conduct of Alva.

[45] Bentivog. p. 69—72. Strada, vol. ii. p. 201—208.

CHAP. III.

ducted ſome troops to the aid of the beſieged, was defeated by the Spaniards, himſelf taken priſoner, and Mons cloſely inveſted. In order to ſuccour his friends, already reduced to extremity, the prince of Orange, at the head of a formidable army, croſſed the Rhine, and entered Flanders a ſecond time. He was received with joy by the Flemings. Louvain ranſomed itſelf from pillage; Mechlin opened its gates to him, and many inferior places imitated the example. Bruſſels remained firm in its allegiance. The prince, advancing towards Mons, appeared in ſight of the Spaniſh lines, and attempted to compel the duke of Alva to an action: but that general, ſtrongly entrenched, defied his utmoſt endeavours, and preſſed more vigorouſly the ſiege[46].

1571. Prince of Orange invades Flanders anew.

Such was the poſition of the two commanders, when the demonſtrations of joy in the camp of the duke, occaſioned by the reception of the news of the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew, which had taken place at Paris, communicated the fatal intelligence to the prince of Orange. Conſcious of the injurious conſequences neceſſarily reſulting from it, as well as of its effect upon his troops, William, after again vainly exerting himſelf to force the enemy to a battle, determined on a retreat. No hopes of any aſſiſtance from France remained, Coligni and his friends having periſhed in the carnage.

Having, therefore, ſignified to his brother Louis, the neceſſity of his renouncing the preſent enterprize, he marched back to Mechlin, haraſſed and purſued by a party of the enemy, who beat up his quarters, penetrated even to his tent, and had nearly killed, or made him priſoner. He retired to Delft, to wait for a more propitious moment, in which to renew the war; while Louis, having no longer any expectation of ſuccours, ſurrendered Mons by capitulation, and withdrew into Germany. The duke of Alva diſhonoured and ſullied his victory, by the acts of violence which he committed, and the pil-

He is compelled to retire to Delft.

[46] Bentivog. p. 74—82. Strada, vol. ii. p. 211—218.

lage

lage to which he abandoned the cities, attached to the prince of Orange. Mechlin was expoſed, during three days, to all the exceſſes of a ferocious and infolent ſoldiery; and though every part of Flanders ſubmitted to the Spaniſh yoke, yet the abhorrence, excited by ſuch oppreſſions, prepared the inhabitants for new commotions [47]. CHAP. III. 1571.

A more honourable triumph, and a more beneficial one, if it had been wiſely improved, attended the arms of Philip, in another part of Europe. In this, as in almoſt every other brilliant atchievement of the early part of his reign, Don John of Auſtria was eminently diſtinguiſhed; and the luſtre of the action was in the preſent inſtance augmented, by its being of a nature not confined to a ſingle kingdom, but, equally glorious and uſeful to all the chriſtian ſtates. The Turks had recently attacked, and rapidly ſubjected, the iſland of Cyprus, one of the moſt valuable poſſeſſions of the republic of Venice. The barbarities, committed by their troops, and ſanctioned by their commanders, after the capture of Famagoſta and Nicoſia, the two principal cities, excited general indignation, and loudly demanded vengeance. To retrieve the honour of the allied powers, and to ſtop the alarming progreſs of Selim; Pius the Fifth, and the Venetians, who had previouſly formed a league for their common defence, with Philip, exerted the greateſt efforts to equip a formidable fleet. After many delays, and various obſtacles, the armament was accompliſhed; and the ſupreme command was delegated to the king of Spain, who named to the employment, Don John of Auſtria. The prince, aſſembling the combined forces at Naples, ſailed from Meſſina in Sicily, at the head of above two hundred gallies, to ſeek the enemy. He found them near the entrance of the gulph of Lepanto, on the coaſt of Greece; and he did not heſitate to give them battle, in defiance of the remonſtrances of Requeſens, commander of

Turkiſh war.

Chriſtian fleet, under Don John, ſet ſail.

Victory of Lepanto.

[47] Strada, vol. ii. p. 219—223.

CHAP. III.

1571.

Caſtile, whom the king of Spain had ſent to moderate his ardour. Few victories were ever more complete: the Ottoman admiral, Ali Bacha, periſhed in the engagement, and his ſhip was taken. Above one hundred gallies fell into the hands of the conquerors. Ulucciali, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the action, effected his retreat, and ſaved thirty gallies from the general deſtruction, with which he reached Conſtantinople, and brought the firſt account of the diſaſter. That capital was in the utmoſt conſternation, and incapable of ſuſtaining a vigorous attack [48].

Inactivity of the allies.

But, the irreſolution and inaction of the allied powers, after ſo ſignal a ſucceſs, was as conſpicuous as their courage and conduct in its atchievement. It is ſaid, that Don John, with the deciſion and energy which characterized him, exhorted to purſue the flying enemy, and to preſent themſelves, while the terror, excited among the Turks was yet recent, before the paſſage of the Dardanelles, where they would find no impediment to their progreſs. It is matter of curious ſpeculation, though not of hiſtorical enquiry, to conſider what conſequences might have reſulted from ſo magnanimous and bold a meaſure, had it been immediately carried into execution. The Ottoman empire, it is probable, might have received a deep and laſting wound; and the rapidity of their conqueſts have been retarded, if not completely prevented.

Far from improving the advantage obtained, the allies ſeparated almoſt inſtantly, without effecting any object beneficial to the common cauſe. Oſtentatious triumphs, and exhibitions of joy, occupied the various powers, who loſt the occaſion of humbling the Turks. Philip received the intelligence of the victory, with that phlegm and apparent tranquillity of temper, which he affected equally, in proſperous or adverſe fortune. He even expreſſed ſome doubts of the prudence of Don John, in having expoſed to the hazard of war, the

[48] Leti, vol. iii. p. 445—490, and p. 503—560. Turquet, p. 1157—1170.

great

great intereſts committed to his charge; and he betrayed in theſe cenſures, the jealouſy with which he was actuated [49].

1572. Continuation of the war.

The enſuing campaign produced no event of moment, and the league had already loſt its firmeſt ſupport, and bond of connection, by the death of Pius the Fifth. His ſucceſſor in the chair of St. Peter, Gregory the Thirteenth, was well affected to the cauſe; but, he wanted the active zeal of the deceaſed pontiff. Though Don John was continued in the ſtation of generaliſſimo, yet, the king his brother long refuſed him permiſſion to aſſume the command in perſon; and when, at an advanced ſeaſon of the year, orders from Madrid authorized him to join the Papal and Venetian fleets, the favourable time was elapſed. Ulucciali, raiſed to the dignity of captain bacha, and inſtructed by the experience of the preceding campaign, avoided any general action, and amuſed the allies by ſkirmiſhes, which could be of no deciſive effect. The duke of Seſſa, by Philip's direction, accompanied Don John, and pertinaciouſly oppoſed every hazardous enterprize. An ineffectual cannonade between the two ſquadrons, took place, on the coaſt of the Morea; after which the Turkiſh commander retired under the cannon of Modon. But, the allies did not wait to take advantage of his diſtreſſed ſituation: they ſeparated, and allowed Ulucciali to conduct the fleet of Selim in ſafety to Conſtantinople.

Venice withdraws from the confederacy.

The Venetians, unable to ſupport ſo expenſive a war, and diſguſted with the conduct of the king of Spain, withdrew from the alliance, and concluded a peace with the Porte, in the following year. Don John, to whom the chriſtian inhabitants of Albania, Macedonia, and Greece, impreſſed with admiration at his heroic endowments and military renown, had ſent a deputation to offer him the ſovereignty of thoſe fertile countries, was compelled, by the jealouſy of Philip, to renounce ſo advantageous a propoſal [50].

1573.

[49] Abregé Chron. vol. ii. p. 411—413. Deſormeaux, vol. iv. p. 84—86.

[50] Turquet, p. 1171, 1172. Leti, vol. iv. p. 4, 5, and p. 36—54. Abregé Chron. vol. ii. p. 414—417. Deſormeaux, vol. iv. p. 86, 87.

That

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Capture of Tunis by Don John.

That monarch, though left to his own reſources, and deſtitute of any ally, yet, determined to proſecute the war, and to carry it into Africa. The recovery of Tunis, which had recently fallen into the poſſeſſion of the Turks, formed the firſt object; and the expedition was committed to Don John, who embarking at Trapani in Sicily, landed on the coaſt of Barbary, at the head of a powerful fleet, after a ſhort and favourable paſſage. Tunis was abandoned by the Turks with precipitation, on his approach, and he took poſſeſſion of the city, as well as of the neighbouring one of Biſerta, almoſt without oppoſition. In order to ſecure his new acquiſition, he conſtructed a fort, which being ſituated between Tunis and the fortreſs of the Goletta, might give additional ſtrength, or extend continual aſſiſtance, to both garriſons. Having placed on the throne a Mooriſh prince, with the title of viceroy, and provided for the protection of the conquered country, by leaving behind him a numerous body of Spaniſh troops, he returned in triumph to Naples. The rapidity and brilliancy of the enterprize, which was ſo naturally compared with that, atchieved by the emperor Charles the Fifth on the ſame ſpot thirty-eight years before, increaſed the popularity, and raiſed ſtill higher the reputation of Don John of Auſtria. But, Philip, whoſe diſtruſt augmented in proportion with his brother's ſucceſs, complained that his orders and intentions had been diſobeyed, by the conſtruction of the fort, and by the preſervation of Tunis, which he had commanded to be diſmantled, and deſtroyed. His diſlike was ſtrengthened, by the diſplay of ambition which Don John made, in requeſting to be allowed to aſſume the title of king of Tunis; a demand which, notwithſtanding that it was ſtrenuouſly ſupported by pope Gregory the Thirteenth, and, if rendered effective, might have been highly beneficial to the intereſts of Spain, was rejected by the king, with indignation [51].

[51] Turquet, p. 1173, 1174. Leti, vol. iv. p. 55–58. Abregé Chron. vol. ii. p. 417, 418.

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1574. Tunis, and the Goletta, retaken by the Turks.

The acquiſition of the kingdom of Tunis, though every precaution had been taken by Don John for its ſecurity, was eventually a ſource of mortification and diſgrace to the arms of Spain. In the following year, it returned to the Mahometan yoke. The baſhaw Sinan, and Ulucciali, having under their command a formidable force, undertook, and atchieved its reduction, before any aſſiſtance could be ſent to its relief. The city of Tunis was haſtily evacuated on their firſt approach; and the Goletta, vigorouſly attacked, was carried by aſſault, notwithſtanding the efforts of Porto Carrero, the Spaniſh governor, for its preſervation. Encouraged by ſo proſperous a commencement, the Turks, without loſs of time, turned all their efforts againſt the new fort, in which Serbelloné commanded. That officer ſuſtained with great intrepidity, the attempts of a ſuperior and indefatigable enemy; but his garriſon, diminiſhed conſiderably, was unequal to the conteſt. Sinan entered the fort by ſtorm, and put to the ſword all thoſe whom he did not reſerve for ſlavery. Serbelloné and Porto Carrero were among the latter number; and after being compelled to aſſiſt in the demolition of the Spaniſh fortifications, they were chained to the oar, and conducted by the conquerors, to Conſtantinople.

Such was the fate of the kingdom of Tunis, which affected deeply the honour of the king of Spain, while it diminiſhed his conſideration in the eyes of all the European powers. Don John, detained by contrary winds in the ports of Sicily, yet does not appear to have totally eſcaped ſome degree of cenſure, on account of its loſs. The choice of the commanders, left in charge of the African forts, was blamed; and it was thought, that greater expedition might have been uſed for the relief of Tunis. A circumſtance, peculiarly memorable, is, that a body of four thouſand Jews, who had been expelled, in common with the Moors, by the intolerance of Philip, from Grenada, embarked under Sinan, on this expedition. Their national inaptitude and averſion to war, which ſo ſtrongly characterize them

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them as a people, was ſurmounted by their antipathy to the crown of Spain; and they took a bloody revenge on their native ſovereign, for his cruelty in having compelled them to bear arms againſt their country. It is the only inſtance, recorded in modern hiſtory, of a ſimilar nature [52].

Progreſs, and cruelties of the Spaniards in Holland.

Theſe diſaſters in the Mediterranean, were not compenſated by any beneficial acquiſitions in the Low Countries. The prince of Orange, though compelled to evacuate Flanders, ſuſtained himſelf in the northern provinces, and derived reſources from the abuſe which his enemies made of their victories: while the duke of Alva, abandoning the inhabitants to the rage of his ſon Frederic, carried his barbarities to the utmoſt length of unbridled fury. Zutphen was taken, and ſacked by the ſoldiery: at Naarden in Holland, a maſſacre of every individual, of both ſexes, and of every age, took place. The city was burnt, and the walls razed. So atrocious a conduct, far from inſpiring terror, produced the contrary effect, of animating the people to defend themſelvès to the laſt extremity.

During the ſiege of Haärlem, which was continued for eight months, the acts of wanton outrage and ſavage animoſity, continually committed by the Spaniards, produced retaliations on the part of the beſieged, equally repugnant to humanity. All the limits, which policy and civilization have affixed to the horrors of war, were mutually broken down and violated. Frederic, deſpairing of ſucceſs, and ready to raiſe the ſiege, was prevented by his father's reproaches, from carrying his deſign into execution. The inhabitants, after ſuſtaining the moſt ſevere extremities with undaunted reſolution, ſurrendered at diſcretion; and the garriſon, reduced from four thouſand to ſixteen hundred, was treated by the victor with the ſame cruelty, which he had exhibited on ſimilar occaſions. Nine hundred periſhed in the Spaniſh camp, by the hand of the executioner, and completed the deteſtation univerſally entertained towards that nation.

Surrender of Haärlem.

[52] Leti, vol. iv. p. 87—98. Turquet, p. 1174—1176. Deſormeaux, vol. iv. p. 94.

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The advantage was dearly purchaſed on the part of the conquerors, who loſt not only a conſiderable number of ſoldiers, but many of their moſt able and experienced officers. It ſeemed to be the boundary of the ſucceſs of the duke of Alva. His ſon Frederic was repulſed from before Alcmaer, and reduced to retire with diſgrace. Symptoms of mutiny appeared among the Spaniards; and the unconquerable ſpirit of the Dutch, was ſtill more confirmed by a ſignal victory, obtained at ſea, in which their fleets, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, captured the admiral's ſhip, and the count of Boſſu himſelf, her commander. Some inconſiderable acquiſitions of the Spaniſh troops, in the province of Holland, faintly balanced theſe important loſſes [53].

Arrival of Requeſens to ſucceed Alva.

Such was the ſituation of affairs, when Requeſens arrived from Milan, to ſuperſede the duke of Alva, as governor of the Netherlands. The latter general returning to Bruſſels, immediately quitted a country, in which his name was held in execration, and which, having found loyal and peaceable, he had driven into rebellion, by a ſeries of impolitic and ſyſtematic oppreſſion. He was, notwithſtanding, graciouſly received by Philip, on his arrival at Madrid [54].

His ſucceſſor was eminently diſtinguiſhed by the humanity of his character, as well as by the talents of a ſtateſman; and he had evinced equal capacity in the command of armies. But, no combination of endowments, or acts of clemency and conciliation, could repair the injury committed, or reſtore obedience. The provinces of Holland and Zealand, enriched by the ſpoils of the Spaniards, began already to feel their ſtrength; nor would the prince of Orange truſt to the forgiveneſs of Philip, and renounce his independence, purchaſed with ſuch toil and bloodſhed. It was in vain, that Requeſens, by offers of oblivion, and by the popular act of demoliſhing the ſtatue of the duke of Alva, which had juſtly excited ſuch general indignation, endeavoured to awaken the allegiance, or recover the affections

Ineffectual efforts of Requeſens, to reſtore tranquillity.

[53] Strada, vol. ii. p. 223—234. Bentiv. liv. vii. p. 89—101.

[54] Leti, vol. iv. p. 59—63.

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of the people committed to his care. Every overture was rejected with diſdain; and the letters of the new governor, addreſſed to the Zealanders, and couched in terms the moſt calculated to produce an effect, were completely unſucceſsful.

Continuation of the war.

Finding the attainment of peace impracticable upon terms honourable to the crown of Spain, he made, therefore, the moſt vigorous exertions to reduce the rebels by force of arms. But, fortune was unfavourable to the execution of his deſigns: and a numerous ſquadron, which ſailed from the Schelde to the relief of Middleburg, being inveſted by the enemy, was defeated. The Spaniſh veſſels were either burnt, driven on ſhore, or captured; and Requeſens was himſelf a ſpectator of the diſaſter, from an eminence near Bergen-op-Zoom. The ſurrender of Middleburg by capitulation, followed the defeat of the naval armament ſent for its ſupport [55].

While the prince of Orange, by ſo important a victory, was laying the foundation of his own elevation, and that of the infant republic of Holland, his affairs ſuſtained a ſevere reverſe in another quarter. Louis, count of Naſſau, and Henry, a younger brother of the ſame illuſtrious houſe, aided by Chriſtopher, prince Palatine, entered Guelderland, having under their command an army of Germans. But, before they could effect any object of importance, Sancho d'Avila attacked and routed them, near the city of Nimeguen. The three princes periſhed in the action; by what ſpecies of death is uncertain, their bodies having never been found. The cannon and baggage fell into the hands of the conquerors, together with a prodigious plunder.

Defeat of Louis, count of Naſſau.

Mutiny of the Spaniſh troops.

The effect of ſo ſignal a ſucceſs, might have been very beneficial to the arms of Philip, if it had not been loſt by the mutiny and ſedition of the victorious ſoldiery. Irritated at the continual delay in paying them their arrears, tired with ineffectual expoſtulations, and

[55] Bentiv. p. 102—104. Strada, vol. ii. p. 243—248.

arrogant from their late triumph, they disclaimed any further appeal except to the sword. Renouncing all subjection to their commander, and refusing to listen to the offers of Requesens, they marched in a considerable body, to Antwerp, which they entered without resistance. Yet, in the midst of their contempt of subordination and military obedience, they preserved, and severely enforced, private discipline among themselves. The city was protected from pillage; and the Spanish governor, conscious that their demands were just, having found means to satisfy them, published a general pardon. They returned to their duty, and were sent to the siege of Leyden; while Requesens again caused an amnesty of all past offences to be read, in the name of his sovereign, though with as little effect as from that formerly offered by the duke of Alva [56].

State of the Spanish monarchy at this period.

Such was the aspect of affairs in the Low Countries, in the summer of the year 1574. It is requisite, at this period, to take a general, but succinct view of the Spanish monarchy, as it then existed, in order to form a clear estimate of its magnitude, strength, and resources. When we consider the number of kingdoms and provinces which composed it, situated in the most fertile and commercial parts of Europe, and subjected under one head; the terror which such extensive dominions excited, ought not to affect us with surprize. If the ambition and talents of Philip had been allowed to act, unbiassed by the intolerance and bigotry of his character, it seems difficult to judge what limits could have been affixed to his power and enterprizes; since, labouring under these impediments, and having a continual war to maintain for so many years, against his revolted subjects in the Netherlands, he conquered Portugal, and had nearly atchieved the reduction of France and England. Italy was, virtually, in his possession. Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, Milan, and Placentia, were part of his hereditary, or acquired dominions. The patrimony of St. Peter,

Power and dominions of Philip.

[56] Turquet, p. 1575. Bentivog. p. 104—110. Strada, vol. ii. p. 249—260. Deformeaux, vol. iv. p. 95. 96. Leti, vol. iv. p. 98—107.

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and the dignity of the Holy See, were protected by Spain. Tuſcany had been, in a great degree, conferred by his father, the emperor, upon Coſmo of Medicis; and Philip ſtill retained the principal ports of the duchy in his own hands. Octavio Farneſe, duke of Parma, was his vaſſal; and Genoa owned him for her protector. Emanuel Philibert, duke of Savoy, who was indebted to his powerful interpoſition, for the reſtoration of all his patrimonial territories, looked to Spain for their preſervation. Even Venice trembled at the enormous influence and proximity of ſo dangerous a neighbour.

Military and naval forces.

The German branch of the houſe of Auſtria was conſtantly ſubſervient to the policy and views of the cabinet of Madrid, which it aided and ſuſtained on every occaſion: while the treaſures of the new world, regularly tranſmitted to Philip, enabled him to equip fleets, or maintain armies, far ſuperior to thoſe which the comparatively ſlender reſources of any other cotemporary prince, could ſupport. He had at one time, near a hundred thouſand men in the field, and a hundred and fifty gallies at ſea [57]. Louis the Fourteenth, in the laſt century, it is true, made far greater exertions; but, the king of Spain alone, before 1570, had given the example of ſo vaſt a naval and military force.

Revenues.

His revenues, in 1569, did not fall ſhort of twenty-five millions of ducats; a ſum not only of incredible magnitude in that age, but ſurpaſſing the aggregate amount of the revenues of all the other European ſovereigns [58].

Royal power.

The power of the crown, augmented and confirmed by the two preceding reigns of Ferdinand the catholic, and Charles the Fifth, had, in a great meaſure, extinguiſhed the liberties of the ſubject in every part of the Spaniſh dependencies, except in the Low Countries. In Naples, Sicily, and Milan, the orders of Philip were as implicitly obeyed, as in the kingdom of Caſtile. Arragon alone continued to preſerve ſome traces of its antient freedom.

Patronage of the crown.

The prodigious influ-

[57] Deſormeaux, vol. iv. p. 79.

[58] Ibid. p. 79.

ence,

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ence, neceſſarily reſulting from ſuch unlimited authority, may be in ſome meaſure appreciated by the patronage immediately veſted in the king. Philip, in his own perſon, named and appointed eighty-three thouſand officers, civil, military, criminal, and of finance, in the different provinces of Europe, and America. Neither Auguſtus, nor Trajan, probably enjoyed a more extenſive power of conferring benefits. Three hundred and ſixty-ſeven thouſand inferior, or ſubaltern employments, were diſtributed by the viceroys, chancellors, and governors, throughout his dominions. To theſe offices, we muſt add the eccleſiaſtical preferments; amounting to fifty-eight archbiſhoprics, ſix hundred and eighty-four biſhoprics, beſides eleven thouſand, four hundred abbeys [59]. So vaſt a ſource of honours and emoluments had never been concentered in one prince, ſince the extinction of the Roman empire; and when it is conſidered that Philip, to a reſtleſs and inſatiable ambition, joined ſo many qualities fitted to give energy and activity to that paſſion, it is evident, that Europe never appeared to be ſo near falling under the authority of a ſingle man, as at the period under our review.

Many cauſes and circumſtances, however, either obvious or latent, contributed to diminiſh the diſproportionate greatneſs of the Spaniſh monarchy; and inſenſibly to reduce it nearer to a level with the ſurrounding ſtates. Philip's grandeur was more apparent and oſtenſible, than real; it was unwieldy, disjointed, and ſubject to the inconveniencies, attached to the diſtance and ſeparation of its component parts. The population of Spain bore no proportion to its ſize, and was annually diminiſhing, by the emigrations to America, as well as by perſecution. The inhabitants, eſtimated under Ferdinand the catholic, at near twenty millions, had diminiſhed above a third, ſince his deceaſe; and the whole European territories of Philip were not ſuppoſed to contain above that

Cauſes of the decline of Spain.

[59] Leti, vol. iii. p. 436—438, Deſormeaux, ibid. p. 78, 79.

number,

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number, in 1570[60]. Agriculture was neglected; manufactures declined; and the internal ſources of vigour were drying up; while a fallacious proſperity and wealth, cauſed by the annual arrival of the flotas and galleons from the new world, ſpread a falſe luſtre, and concealed the decay of the exhauſted monarchy. Even the Spaniards, who returned from Peru and Mexico, imported the vices to which they had been habituated; and by their luxury, tended to extinguiſh the virtues of frugality, induſtry, and ſimplicity of manners, in their native country.

Numbers, and celibacy of the eccleſiaſtics.

The number, and the celibacy of the clergy, was no inconſiderable cauſe of the depopulation of Spain. It appeared, from the reſult of the inqueſt made by Philip, in 1569, that in the whole extent of his dominions, there were not leſs than three hundred and twelve thouſand prieſts; two hundred thouſand clerks, in the ſubordinate eccleſiaſtical offices; and above four hundred thouſand of the monaſtic orders, of both ſexes[61]. Their revenues were proportionately ample, and amounted to the ſum of two millions ſterling[62]. The impoſition of a tenth, which Pius the Fourth, in 1561, permitted the king to levy on the property of the clergy during five years, was eſtimated at fifty thouſand ducats a year, for the kingdom of Spain only[63]. The cruel and unprovoked hoſtilities, commenced and proſecuted againſt the Moors of Grenada, had not only deprived the kingdom of a race of men, induſtrious and laborious; but had transformed them from ſubjects into enemies, either open or concealed.

Depredations of the Turks.

Immenſe ſums were expended by the king of Spain, in the protection of his coaſts, againſt the depredations of the Turks, Algerines, and other African corſairs. Dragut and Ulucciali were ſucceſſively the ſcourge of Naples, Sicily, and the whole Mediterranean. Notwithſtanding the victory of Lepanto, the repulſe which the Ottoman

[60] Deſormeaux, vol. iv. p. 78. Abregé Chronol. vol. ii. p. 324.

[61] Ibid. Leti, vol. iii. p. 437.

[62] Leti, vol. iii. p. 437, 438.

[63] Deſormeaux, vol. iv. p. 38.

arms

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arms ſuſtained before Malta, in 1565, and ſome gallant exploits performed by various Spaniſh commanders, againſt theſe enemies of the chriſtian name; Philip was very unſucceſsful in his enterprizes to ſtop their progreſs. The baſhaw, Piali, in 1558, carried off fifteen hundred captives, from Sorrento, near Naples, and ravaged Procida: ſailing thence to Minorca, he put the garriſon of Port Mahon to the ſword, and deſtroyed the place itſelf by fire[64]. Three years afterwards, Dragut landed in Sicily and Calabria; from which unfortunate provinces he bore away ſix thouſand perſons of both ſexes, and a ſpoil amounting in value to above two millions of crowns[65]. Conſtantinople was full of Spaniſh priſoners, captured in the defeats at the iſland of Gerbes, in the fort of the Goletta, and at Tunis; many of whom were of the higheſt condition. The Abruzzo, and all the eaſtern coaſt of the kingdom of Naples, was again deſolated and plundered, by the Turks, in 1566, notwithſtanding the exertions of Don Garcia de Toledo, viceroy of Sicily, who had under his command a fleet of eighty-five gallies[66]. It became indiſpenſible to arm againſt theſe invaders, who continued to infeſt the ſhores of Italy, and even of Spain. Don John of Auſtria, in 1568, joined his forces to thoſe of the Pope and of Florence, for their common defence.

Vaſt ſums expended by Philip.

The numerous garriſons, maintained by Philip on the coaſt of Barbary, demanded continual ſupplies of men and money, to prevent their falling into the hands of the Moors. The ardent zeal of that monarch for the extirpation of hereſy, impelled him to ſend troops to the aid of the king of France, and to expend his treaſures in enabling Charles the Ninth to vanquiſh the hugonots; though at the ſame time, his own Flemiſh provinces were in rebellion, and his ſoldiers on the point of mutinying for want of their arrears. He laviſhed enormous ſums on monaſteries, palaces, and public edifices. The

[64] Abregé Chron. vol. ii. p. 340.
[65] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 357.
[66] Abregé Chron. vol. ii. p. 376, 377. Leti, vol. iii. p. 89—92.

Eſcurial

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Eſcurial alone coſt five millions of pounds ſterling [67]: the convent of the Jeſuits, conſtructed by his order at Cuſco in Peru, two hundred thouſand crowns; and that of the barefooted Carmelites, at Madrid, nearly as much money. His benefactions to other religious purpoſes, and, in particular, to the Holy Sepulchre at Jeruſalem, exceed any calculation [68]. The united effect of all theſe cauſes was, notwithſtanding, inferior to the revolt, and civil wars in the Netherlands, towards producing the deſtruction of the Spaniſh greatneſs. In that abyſs, were ſwallowed up the forces and revenues of Philip the Second. In 1574 he had already contracted an immenſe public debt, amounting to near ſeventeen millions ſterling, upon which he paid twenty-one *per cent.* intereſt: to relieve the crown from ſo oppreſſive a burden, he, in the following year, diſcharged the capital, but deprived his creditors of the intereſt; and this ſpecies of fraudulent bankruptcy was fatal to his credit [69]. We may judge how great were the pecuniary embarraſſments of Philip, by his exacting from his Spaniſh ſubjects, in 1574, the tenth of all goods or property whatever. Such a tax neceſſarily produced ſome murmurs, notwithſtanding the profound ſubmiſſion eſtabliſhed throughout the kingdom, and the extinction of every ſpark of freedom. A gentleman of St. Maria del Campo, named Preſillas, who ventured to expreſs his indignation at the exactions of the king, and to condemn, with aſperity, his maxims of adminiſtration; was committed to priſon, and adjudged to die, by the council of ſtate, as guilty of treaſon. But Philip, with much magnanimity and wiſdom, ordered him to be ſet at liberty; obſerving, that "a ſovereign is never more ſecure from the reſentment of his "ſubjects, than while their diſcontent is allowed to exhale in com-"plaints [70].

Public debt contracted.

Severe taxes and exactions.

Some accidental circumſtances contributed to give ſtrength to the principles of decay, already enumerated. The vigour and capacity of

Barriers oppoſed to Philip's conqueſts.

[67] Deſormeaux, vol. iv. p. 43. [68] Leti, vol. iv. p. 75—80.
[69] Deſormeaux, vol. iv. p. 79. De Thou, vol. vii. p. 346, 347.
[70] Leti, vol. iv. p. 125—128.

Elizabeth,

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Elizabeth, queen of England, ſeemed to be oppoſed as a barrier to the inroads of the power of Spain, towards the north. The warlike and enterpriſing character of Solyman, the Turkiſh emperor, checked the arms of that crown in Africa and the Levant. More than either, the genius and reſources of William, prince of Orange, rendered ineffectual all the efforts of the duke of Alva, ſuſtained by the veteran troops, and treaſures of his maſter. The very poſition of the Low Countries, ſeparated from all the other branches of the monarchy, and ſo conveniently ſituated for receiving ſupport from France, Germany, and England, ſhould have induced a cautious prince to pauſe, before he invaded their privileges, and compelled them to reſiſtance. Philip overlooked, or deſpiſed theſe obvious impediments, and commenced a war, which ſurvived the limits of his life and reign.

Commerce of Spain.

The commerce of Spain with the colonies of North and South America, was, at this period, carried on excluſively from the port of Seville, in Andaluſia. When Philip viſited the city for the firſt time, in 1570, the inhabitants gratuitouſly preſented him ſix hundred thouſand ducats, as a teſtimony of their attachment, on his approaching nuptials with the arch-ducheſs, Anne[71]. No other place in Europe could have given to its ſovereign, a ſimilar mark of liberality. The galleons, which annually ſailed and returned from Peru and Mexico, to Seville, rendered it the moſt opulent city in the world. But, the kingdom was little enriched by the American trade, and manufactures of every kind experienced a rapid decline.

Transfer of the capital of Madrid.

It is from the year 1560, that Madrid may be conſidered as the capital of Spain, Philip having transferred thither his court. Toledo was the antient metropolis of Caſtile, and the uſual reſidence of the kings; but Charles the Fifth had already, in a great degree, abandoned it, conſtructed a palace at Madrid, and traced the plan of a

[71] Deſormeaux, vol. iv. p. 81.

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town, which his ſucceſſor continued and completed [72]. All the fine arts found in Philip a liberal patron, and protector. John Baptiſt de Toledo, and his diſciple, John d'Hemera, two celebrated architects, were employed in the conſtruction of the Eſcurial [73]. The ſuperb aqueduct, which conveyed water to the palace at Toledo, was built by his order; and he adorned the kingdom with numerous monuments of magnificence and utility [74]. The drawings, executed at his expence, by Francis Hermando, and which comprehended every object of natural hiſtory, together with the dreſſes and ceremonies of the inhabitants of the new world, formed one of the moſt coſtly and curious works, ever undertaken by the command of any prince, and did honour to the elegance of his taſte [75]. Neither the elder Coſmo, nor Lorenzo de Medicis, the encouragers of genius and the ſciences, exhibited a ſtronger proof of munificence and well-directed enquiry. It is doubtful whether this invaluable collection ſtill exiſts, or whether it periſhed in the fire which conſumed a part of the Eſcurial, in 1671, under Charles the Second of Spain [76].

Encouragement of the arts by Philip.

To Philip's zeal for the catholic faith, and not to his protection of letters, we muſt attribute another ſplendid work, begun in 1562, and not completed before 1577; the Compleet Bible, enriched with commentaries, notes, and various readings. It was printed at Antwerp, by Chriſtopher Plantinus, under the direction and ſuperintendance of the greateſt theologians in Europe, aided by various perſons celebrated for their erudition in the Oriental languages. The council of the inquiſition, as well as the univerſities of Alcala, Louvain, and Paris, were conſulted relative to it; and the expence, amounting to fifty thouſand ducats, was defrayed by the king [77].

Severities of the inquiſition.

Notwithſtanding theſe munificent proofs of his love of religion, and attention to the arts; the bigotry of Philip, and his intolerant

[72] Deſormeaux, vol. iv. p. 34.
[73] Leti, vol. ii. p. 446—449.
[74] Ibid. vol. iii. p. 496, 497.
[75] Leti, vol. iii. p. 56—59.
[76] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 449.
[77] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 442, 443.

ſpirit,

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ſpirit, baniſhed learning, extinguiſhed genius, and degraded the very character of the Spaniards. The terrors of the inquiſition, and the frequency of its executions, altered the manners of the people, and rendered them diſtruſtful, ſilent, and gloomy [78]. No rank, virtues, or even eccleſiaſtical dignity, protected from the reſearches of the holy office. Carranza, archbiſhop of Toledo, the firſt prelate in Spain, was arreſted, thrown into priſon, and confined during many years, only upon ſome pretended doubts reſpecting the orthodoxy of his faith [79]. Philip had no ſooner landed in his dominions, from Flanders, in 1559, than he demanded the ſpectacle of an Auto da Fé, at Valladolid, though the inquiſitors had recently celebrated one in that city, where thirty perſons had periſhed in the flames. We can ſcarcely conceive it poſſible, that the king, accompanied by his ſiſter, and all the ladies of the court, aſſiſted at ſo horrid a ceremony, as an act of ſtate. More than forty unhappy perſons, of both ſexes, and ſome among them of noble extraction, were burnt to death, under the eyes of their own ſovereign [80]. On the 22d of December, 1560, ſeventy people, men and women, were conſumed to aſhes, at Seville, in another of theſe acts of faith [81]. It is eaſy to imagine the horror and conſternation, which ſuch human ſacrifices muſt have impreſſed on the whole nation. The Jews and Mahometans were compelled to aſſume the catholic profeſſion, in order to avoid death, and confiſcation [82]. It is ſaid, that in almoſt every action fought by the Spaniards, during Philip's reign, on inſpecting the dead bodies left upon the field, numbers of them were found to be circumciſed: a ſtriking proof of the unfortunate neceſſity, to which the followers of Moſes and Mahomet were reduced, of diſſembling and concealing their real religion. It may juſtly be queſtioned, whether the Mexi-

Public puniſhments of heretics.

[78] Turquet, p. 1119—1123.
[79] Leti, vol. ii. p. 449—457.
[80] Leti, vol. ii. p. 291—294. Abregé Chron. vol. ii. p. 348—350. Deſormeaux, vol. iv. p. 32, 33.
[81] Abregé Chron. vol. ii. p. 354.
[82] Leti, vol. iii. p. 285, 286.

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cans, accuſed of offering human victims to their deities, ever ſacrificed as many, as Philip the Second.

1574. State of letters.

Neither hiſtory, poetry, nor polite letters, had attained to any degree of eminence in Spain, before the concluſion of the period under our review. Since the death of Garcilaſſo de la Vega, who flouriſhed under Charles the Fifth, and who periſhed by the chance of war, in the courſe of the unfortunate invaſion of Provence by that emperor, in 1536; no poet of ſuperior genius had ariſen among his countrymen. Garcilaſſo enriched and ornamented the Spaniſh language by his productions in verſe. His odes, from their ſweetneſs and delicacy, were compared by his contemporaries with thoſe of Horace, and rendered him celebrated throughout Europe[83]. Cervantes, who has eclipſed the fame of all his predeceſſors, and who contributed above any other perſon of the age, to ſpread the knowledge and cultivation of his native tongue beyond the limits of the Spaniſh monarchy, cannot with propriety be ſaid to have commenced his literary career before 1574. He fought, indeed, at the memorable battle of Lepanto, three years earlier, where he received a wound in his left hand; but, having been ſoon afterwards captured by the Moors, and carried to Algiers, he remained a priſoner in Africa, during ſeveral years. The earlieſt effuſions of his genius are of a later date than the portion of time before us; and "Don "Quixote" belongs even to another century. It did not appear till the reign of Philip the Third, in 1605[84]. Mariana, the father of Spaniſh hiſtory, was ſtill unknown; and his voluminous work, though compiled under Philip the Second, was not publiſhed before the year of that monarch's deceaſe, in 1598[85].

General reflexions.

If we were to name the period, in which the Spaniſh grandeur was at its higheſt point of elevation, and from which it began to decline, there can be no doubt that we ſhould date it from the

[83] Biogr. Dict. vol. v. p. 542, 543.
[84] Ibid. vol. xi. p. 174.
[85] Ibid. vol. ix. p. 77.

peace of Cateau en Cambresis, in 1559, to the beginning of the hostilities in Flanders, in 1567: a space of about eight years. The acquisition of Portugal, in 1580, with all its dependencies in Asia and Africa, however prodigious, could not counterbalance the irreparable injury which Philip had sustained, by the revolt of the Flemings. At the time of the death of Charles the Ninth, he maintained the first situation among the European princes; and his ambition, added to the possession of so many kingdoms, and treasures so inexhaustible, inspired general apprehension. The Spanish nation derived consequence from the grandeur of the monarchy. Their language, modes, and dress, obtained universally; and this consideration did not cease or diminish, for many years subsequent to the period of which we are now treating.

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PORTUGAL.

Survey of the Portugueze diſcoveries before the death of Alfonſo the Fifth.—Acceſſion, and reign of John the Second.—Proſecution of naval enterprizes.—Acceſſion of Emanuel.—Diſcovery of the paſſage to India, by Vaſco de Gama.—Conqueſts of Albuquerque.—His recal and death.—Deceaſe of Emanuel.—Reign of John the Third.—Magnitude of the Portugueze empire in Aſia.—Acceſſion of Sebaſtian.—State of Portugal, in 1574.—Power of the crown.—Revenues.—Military force.—Navy.—Letters.—Review of the Portugueze exploits in Aſia.—Difficulty of the navigation to India.—Courage and atchievements of the firſt adventurers.—Virtue and diſintereſtedneſs of the Portugueze, contraſted with their vices and crimes.—Oppreſſions and cruelties, exerciſed on the Aſiatics.—Pernicious effects of their religious zeal.—Concluſion.

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1412—1460.

State of Portugal before the middle of the fifteenth century.

TOWARDS the middle of the fifteenth century, the human mind, which had remained, in a great degree, torpid and inactive during the ſpace of near a thouſand years, ſince the deſtruction of the Roman empire in the weſt; appeared to awaken, and to exert itſelf, in every part of Europe. Its efforts, in the ſouthern kingdoms, were, however, much more powerful, than in thoſe ſituated nearer the pole. In Italy, as if congenial with the ſoil and climate, the arts gradually unfolded themſelves, and painting led the way to ſculpture and architecture. But, no country, at that memorable æra, attracted more of the admiration of its cotemporaries, or lays ſtronger claim to the gratitude and curioſity of poſterity, than

Ignorance of navigation.

Portugal. Its ſituation, open to the Atlantic, and the number of ports which it poſſeſſed on the ocean, ſeemed eminently to qualify the inhabitants for naval enterprizes. The vicinity of the ſouthern provinces to the African coaſt, and even the perpetual hoſtilities, in which, from religious zeal or from policy, their kings were engaged with the Moors of Fez, contributed to give the Portugueze ſome information reſpecting the extent, and productions of that vaſt continent. Yet, ſo contracted was their knowledge on theſe points, that, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, the geography of the weſtern ſhore of Morocco was utterly unknown, beyond the twenty-eighth degree of northern latitude; and the name of Cape *Non* was given to the head-land itſelf, which terminated their diſcoveries, from the ſuppoſed impracticability of paſſing, or navigating beyond that limit[1].

Diſcoveries effected by Prince Henry.

The genius and exertions of a ſingle man ſoon removed, or ſurmounted theſe imaginary obſtacles. Henry, fifth ſon to John the Firſt, king of Portugal, was one of thoſe extraordinary perſons, whom Providence ſeems to produce, for the purpoſe of illuminating mankind, and diffuſing knowledge. From his youth, he evinced the ſtrongeſt ardor, and the moſt indefatigable induſtry, in puſhing his reſearches along the coaſt of Africa, which was the moſt obvious and natural field for maritime ſkill and enterprize. He beſtowed his time and his revenues almoſt wholly in the attempt, regardleſs of the numerous impediments, which ignorance, prejudice, and error continually preſented, to check his endeavours: and though near ten years elapſed before the navigators, whom he employed, had advanced from Cape Non to Cape Boyador, a ſpace of only about thirty leagues; yet, the ſpirit to which he had given birth, acquired vigour as it proceeded.

Madeira.

In 1418, the iſland of Porto Santo was diſcovered; and the more valuable acquiſition of Madeira was made, two years afterwards.

[1] Laſitau, Deſcouvertes des Portugais, vol. i. p. 7, 8.

Prince

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Prince Henry, not ſatisfied with merely diſcovering them, cauſed ſugar-canes to be procured from Cyprus and Sicily, as well as ſome of the choiceſt vines of the Greek iſlands in the Archipelago, and tranſplanted them to Madeira [2]. The Canaries, already known to the Caſtilians, were viſited by the Portugueze, as they advanced ſouthward [3]. The ſhore of Africa was explored: Cape Blanco, and Cape de Verd, were ſucceſſively doubled, before the year 1444; and a fort was begun in the iſland of Arguin, on the coaſt of Negroland, for the protection of commerce. Gold, in very conſiderable quantities, was found, and brought into Portugal. The kingdom, enriched by theſe diſcoveries, engaged in them with enthuſiaſm: the popes gave their ſanction to enterprizes, calculated to diffuſe the catholic faith over countries plunged in idolatry; and confirmed to the crown of Portugal the excluſive ſupremacy and poſſeſſion of all the regions, which their courage ſhould acquire. At the death of Prince Henry, in 1460, he had laid open to his countrymen, and to the world, a prodigious tract of the continent of Africa, extending to the frontier of Guinea; and had given activity and energy to the purſuit of knowledge [4]. His beneficence and liberality were equal to the enlargement of his views; and in whatever light we ſurvey him, it is impoſſible to refuſe him our veneration, or to rank him among the moſt illuſtrious men, to whom modern ages have given birth.

Canary iſlands.

Coaſt of Africa.

Death of prince Henry.

Reign of Alfonſo the Fifth.

The reign of Alfonſo the Fifth, nephew to Henry, was unpropitious to the proſecution of naval diſcoveries, which languiſhed for ſome years. Alfonſo was engaged during the former part of his reign, in perpetual and ſucceſsful wars againſt the Moors of Fez and Morocco; from whom he took the cities of Arzyle and Tangier, which acquired him the glorious ſirname of "the African." The latter portion of his life was paſſed in a ruinous conteſt with Ferdinand and Iſabella of Caſtile, which deſolated his dominions, and

[2] Lafitau, vol. i. p. 9—11.

[3] La Clede, Hiſtoire de Portugal, vol. i. p. 401, 402.

[4] La Clede, vol. i. p. 406. Lafitau, vol. i. p. 17—23, and p. 28—30.

impo-

impoverished his subjects [5]. The crown descended to his only son, John the Second, then in the twenty-sixth year of his age. It is with his accession, that the history of Portugal becomes equally interesting, and copious in events deserving attention. John found the kingdom in that situation, which England exhibited at the extinction of the Plantagenets; in which France stood, when Louis the Eleventh ascended the throne; and of which every country in Europe then partook. The sovereign was the head, and leader of a powerful aristocracy, who were not only possessed of an immense landed property, but, every individual of which body assumed a species of independent and uncontrolable jurisdiction over his vassals. The royal authority, checked and restrained by the nobles, could exercise no act of supremacy on their estates, nor venture on any such general regulations, as affected the particular immunities of that class, who were scarcely to be denominated subjects. It was the irrevocable determination of the king, to liberate himself from fetters so severe; and the vigour of his mind rendered him equal to the magnitude and difficulty of the attempt [6].

1481.

State of Portugal, at the accession of John the Second.

Limited nature of the royal authority.

He began by revoking every donation, extorted from him by importunity, or conceded by inexperience, previous to his accession. Commissaries were sent by his direction, through all the provinces, to enquire into abuses. The administration of public justice was reformed; and the irregularities of various kinds, to which the facility and profusion of his father Alfonso had given rise, were corrected. Proceeding to the great object of his regulation, he next altered the oath, taken by the nobility at every coronation; in such a manner, as to render it far more binding and coërcive, than it had been by the form previously administered. He demanded the titles of such of their lands as were held of, or had been conferred by his predecessors; annulled their courts of criminal justice, in which sentence of life and death was pronounced without appeal; and ordered

Augmentation of it by the new king.

[5] La Clede, vol. i. p. 425—481. passim. Vasconcellos, Vie de Jean Second, p. 36—123. passim.

[6] Vasconcellos, p. 155—160.

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his own officers to enter upon, and to determine finally every cauſe of a capital nature. Their number was proportionably augmented; and men of letters, verſed in the laws and juriſprudence of their country, were ſubſtituted, in place of the nobles, who had been accuſtomed to take cognizance of all crimes, and to proceed to execute their arbitrary decrees [7].

1482. Diſſatisfaction of the nobility.

Innovations ſo unprecedented and comprehenſive, ſpread univerſal alarm, and excited inſtant oppoſition. The principal nobility, intimidated by the promptitude of the king's meaſures, contented themſelves with complaining: Ferdinand, duke of Braganza, alone, as head of the order, not only entered a proteſt againſt the violence committed upon their privileges; but, warmly remonſtrated with his ſovereign, in a perſonal conference. This nobleman, who deſcended by a natural ſon, from John the Firſt, was in the vigour of his age; of a character equally calculated to excite reſpect, and to conciliate affection. His poſſeſſions and revenues were immenſe; and his conſideration among the people was ſuſtained by his liberality, valour, and courteſy. Three younger brothers, who occupied high ſituations about the throne, added to his conſequence, and rendered him formidable.

Duke of Braganza's conduct.

Incenſed at the obſtacles which the duke of Braganza's firmneſs oppoſed to his deſigns, John appears to have determined on his deſtruction. The puniſhment of ſo illuſtrious a perſon, allied by blood and by marriage to the crown, would, naturally, he conceived, ſtrike univerſal terror, and operate, in the moſt effectual manner, to extinguiſh all further reſiſtance. Concealing, however, his intention, under the veil of profound diſſimulation, and waiting for a pretext to juſtify ſo hazardous a meaſure, the king ſuſpended the blow. Some papers, of a nature approaching to criminal, contained in a correſpondence, that the duke had carried on with Ferdinand and Iſabella of Caſtile, and of which John became poſſeſſed, furniſhed him with a plauſible pretence for coming to extremities. He

[7] Vaſconcellos, p. 160—167. La Clede, vol. i. p. 485, 486.

cauſed

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caused the duke to be arrested in his own palace and presence; and having commanded the royal council of justice to take cognizance of the cause, proceeded, without regard to the accustomed formalities, to pronounce sentence. The articles of accusation were ambiguous and equivocal; but, the tribunal condemned the prisoner to lose his head, and to forfeit his estates to the crown. It was in vain that he declined, in the hope of mollifying the royal indignation, to enter on any defence, or extenuation of the crimes imputed to him: John was inexorable, and had marked him out as a victim, and an example. He suffered with exemplary fortitude and calmness [8]. It is impossible to regard him as other than a sacrifice to the system, laid down by the king, on his accession, of humbling the formidable power of the Portugueze nobility. The brothers of the duke, on the first intelligence of his seizure, had retired into Castile; and all the ample possessions of the family were immediately confiscated. John, who knew and practised the arts of popularity, proceeded, after so bold an act of power, to visit in person the provinces, in which the patrimony of the house of Braganza was situated. He took possession of their castles; fortified the frontiers towards Spain; and above all, he lent an ear to the complaints of the people, redressed their grievances, and endeavoured to reconcile them to their change of masters [9].

1482. His seizure, and execution.

The innocence of the duke of Braganza was, however, so generally understood; and the apprehension, excited by the king's conduct, among the nobility, was such, as soon to produce a serious and real conspiracy. It had for its object, the death of John; the seizure of Alfonso, his only son, and heir to the crown; and to place on the throne, James, duke of Viseo, cousin to the king, and first prince of the blood. Several noblemen, eminent for courage and talents, entered into the plot. The duke of Viseo himself was

1483. Conspiracy against the king, formed by the duke of Viseo.

[8] La Clede, vol. i. p. 487—499. Vasconcellos, p. 171—175, and p. 258—280.

[9] Vasconcellos, p. 303—316. La Clede, vol. i. p. 502.

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the conductor of it, enſnared by his ambition, and deluded by the predictions of aſtrologers. He was in the bloom of youth, adorned with many qualities of mind and body, formed to acquire partizans, and to attach the multitude: his love of pleaſure, his prodigality of diſpoſition, and his affability, rendered him popular, as well as dangerous.

The vigilance of the king, and the ſpies which he entertained about the perſons of all thoſe who were ſuſpected by him, procured him ſpeedy information of the danger. Having augmented his ordinary guard, and taken other precautions, he waited for more manifeſt indications of their guilt, before he inflicted puniſhment; and the conſpirators, emboldened by the delay, were repeatedly on the point of carrying their deſign into effect. Being, at length, determined to take exemplary vengeance, and even to execute it in perſon, he ſent to command the attendance of the duke of Viſeo at St. Ubes, where the court then reſided. That prince, who was on a viſit to the Infanta, his mother, at the caſtle of Palmela, only a league diſtant, immediately obeyed. He had no ſooner arrived at the palace, and entered the royal preſence, than three perſons inſtantly ſecured the door of the apartment. The king abruptly demanded of him, what puniſhment he would inflict on the man who ſhould attempt his life; and the duke, in confuſion at ſuch a queſtion, replying, "Sire, I would kill him, if I was able;" John anſwered, "You "have pronounced your own ſentence." Drawing his poniard at the ſame moment, he plunged it into the duke's breaſt, and repeated the blow till he expired [10].

His death.

Severe, and vigorous meaſures of John.

This extraordinary and tragical ſcene was followed by the ſeizure and execution of the principal accomplices. Notwithſtanding the genius of the age, little accuſtomed to the regular formalities of juſtice, and familiarized to acts of violence; yet, the conduct of John,

[10] Vaſconcellos, p. 319—344. La Clede, vol. i. p. 503—506. Abregé Chronol. de Portugal, vol. i. p. 716—718.

in

in aſſuming the right of putting his couſin to death with his own hand, unheard, excited ſevere animadverſions. To juſtify his treatment of the duke, he therefore not only cauſed the proofs of the treaſon meditated againſt him, to be rendered public and inconteſtible; but, he iſſued a declaration, ſetting forth the reaſons which had neceſſitated him to adopt ſo unuſual a mode of puniſhment, and ſtating the hazard annexed to bringing ſo illuſtrious a culprit, before the ordinary tribunal for crimes of ſtate [11].

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Such was the vigour of his adminiſtration, and ſo completely were the Portugueze nobility humbled by the king's deciſion and ſeverity, that no traces of diſaffection were diſcovered. John, ſatisfied with the example which he had held out, in the perſon of the firſt prince of the blood, treated his younger, and only ſurviving brother, with affection and generoſity. He was then in the fifteenth year of his age, and afterwards aſcended the throne, by the name of Emanuel. The king, in order to obliterate the remembrance of the crimes and misfortunes of the duke of Viſeo, changed his title to that of Beja; conferring on him the dignities of grand maſter of the military order of Chriſt, and conſtable of Portugal, as well as all the eſtates, which his brother's treaſon had forfeited to the crown [12].

He protects Emanuel, duke of Beja.

Theſe private acts of liberality and munificence, were followed by inſtitutions of the moſt beneficial nature to his ſubjects. Agriculture received every encouragement, and commerce enjoyed a diſtinguiſhed protection. The duties on articles of trade were diminiſhed; and foreigners were invited to ſettle in Liſbon. The coin, which had been debaſed, was reſtored; and all the regulations, which a wiſe and enlarged ſyſtem of government could dictate, for the proſperity of the people, were adopted. Portugal, though deſolated by the plague, yet began already to enter upon that period of its hiſtory, which has been commemorated by the epithet of "the golden age [13]."

Able adminiſtration.

[11] Vaſconcellos, p. 344—349.

[12] Ibid. livre iv. p. 3—5.

[13] Ibid. livre iv. p. 16—22.

The

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1484. Profecution of naval diſcoveries.

The commotions and conſpiracies which had hitherto diſturbed the internal tranquillity of the kingdom, had not, however, been able to divert the king's attention from proſecuting the diſcoveries along the coaſt of Africa. Within a few months after his acceſſion, he ſent Mendez to complete the fort in the iſle of Arguin, begun by command of the celebrated prince Henry. Notwithſtanding the oppoſition, which theſe enterprizes underwent in the council of ſtate, Diego de Azambuya, at the head of a conſiderable ſquadron, ſet ſail from the Tagus; and advancing to the coaſt of Guinea, landed in the territories of a prince, named Caramanza, with whom he entered into a treaty [14]. A fortreſs and ſettlement, named St. George de la Mina, were conſtructed in conſequence of the negotiation; and a moſt lucrative commerce was eſtabliſhed. Gold mines were opened and worked, which produced a prodigious profit to the crown, and to the adventurers, who engaged in the undertaking. A town was gradually formed, and rapidly peopled. It was ſoon garriſoned by above five hundred regular troops, and became the capital of a tract of country, ſubjected to the crown of Portugal, extending ſeventy leagues along the ſea-ſhore. John already aſſumed the title of Lord of Guinea, which his ſucceſſors have retained [15]. Such were the advantages ariſing from this poſſeſſion, that every exertion was made by the king, not only for its protection and preſervation; but, as far as poſſible, to preclude the other European nations from attaining any knowledge of its ſituation. The difficulties of the voyage and navigation were ſtudiouſly exaggerated; at the ſame time that a veil was drawn, and ſilence enjoined, upon every circumſtance reſpecting the diſcoveries. Nor did the jealous precautions of John ſtop here. Having been informed, that the duke of Medina Sidonia, a ſubject of Caſtile, had obtained permiſſion from Edward the Fourth, king of England, to equip an armament in his ports, the deſtination

Conqueſts in Africa.

Precautions for the ſecurity of commerce.

[14] Vaſconcellos, p. 183—200.

[15] Lafitau, vol. i. p. 31—37. La Clede, vol. i. p. 511—516. Vaſconcellos, liv. iv. p. 33—40.

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of which was for the coaſt of Guinea, he diſpatched two embaſſadors to London. They repreſented to Edward, the injuſtice of the attempt, in ſo forcible a manner, and inſiſted ſo ſtrongly on the ſanctity of the excluſive grant, made by the popes to the Portugueze princes, of all lands diſcovered by them; that he immediately iſſued a proclamation, enjoining his ſubjects, under ſevere penalties, not to give any aid to the duke of Medina Sidonia [16].

The improvements which were made upon the invention of the quadrant, at this period, greatly facilitated the navigation of the Atlantic: they were due to the ſtudies and genius of three very able mathematicians, employed by John, and who rendered that inſtrument common, as well as generally uſeful. The Portugueze, joining nautical ſkill to intrepidity, ventured, the firſt of any modern nation, to quit the coaſts; and with their new aſtronomical guide, to entruſt themſelves at a diſtance from land, on the unknown ocean [17].

Rejection of the offers of Columbus.

Notwithſtanding the active and enlightened attention which the king evinced relative to every propoſition, that tended to promote the further diſcovery of the earth, he loſt the moſt glorious occaſion of immortalizing his name and reign, by rejecting the offers of Columbus. That extraordinary man, arriving at Liſbon, made propoſals to him for ſailing in queſt of the weſtern continent. They were ſubmitted for examination, to the ableſt coſmographers in Portugal, who treated them as abſurd and viſionary. But, John, not ſatisfied with their deciſion, cauſed the propoſitions of Columbus to be agitated and diſcuſſed, in a convocation of the prelates and grandees of the kingdom. After vehement diſputes, it was finally determined in the aſſembly, on account of the vaſt expence annexed to ſuch an undertaking, and the improbability of its ſucceſs, to decline

[16] Vaſconcellos, liv. ii. p. 200—206. [17] Lafitau, vol. i. p. 51.

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engaging in it; but, rather, to purſue with augmented induſtry, the proſecution of the diſcovery of a paſſage to the Eaſt Indies, by doubling the ſouthern point of Africa. Columbus was diſmiſſed with this reply. If we reflect upon the ſmall extent and limited population of Portugal, it muſt be confeſſed that the determination, however inglorious, was wiſe and prudent. Neither the revenues, nor the forces of the kingdom, were adequate to ſuch an enterprize; the fruits of which, if ſucceſsful, muſt have been gathered, or divided, by a more powerful nation. Spain, or France, were the only European ſtates, in that age, competent to ſo great an attempt, or to the preſervation of the countries diſcovered and ſubjected. We may, perhaps, find, on mature conſideration, reaſon to applaud, and approve, rather than to condemn, the deciſion of John, upon this point [18].

Reflexions on it.

1484—1488. New attempts to proſecute diſcoveries.

As if anxious to reſcue himſelf from the imputation of having relaxed in the purſuit, the king fitted out two ſquadrons, which ſailed, under ſeparate commanders, with orders to penetrate into the ſouthern hemiſphere. The firſt of theſe, conducted by Diego Can, paſſed the equinoctial line, and advanced near twenty-three degrees of latitude beyond it; having, in the courſe of the voyage, landed in, and formed ſome connexions with the inhabitants of the kingdom of Congo. They were, like all the other nations of the African coaſt, in a ſtate of barbariſm [19]. Aveiro, who led the ſecond armament, diſcovered the country of Benin, ſituated between the laſt-mentioned one, and Guinea. The ſovereign of Congo was induced to renounce the practice of idolatry, and to embrace the chriſtian faith; in which he was imitated by many of his ſubjects. But, theſe new converts, incapable of underſtanding the myſteries of the religion which they had haſtily aſſumed, and ſtill leſs willing to ſubmit to the renunciations which it enjoins, appear to have ſpeedily relapſed

Converſion of Congo.

[18] Vaſconcellos, liv. iv. p. 25—33. La Clede, vol. i. p. 509—511.
[19] Ibid. p. 33—38. Lafitau, vol. i. p. 37—48.

into

into error. The hope and proſpect of extending the light of chriſtianity, to nations ſunk in ignorance, added, however, freſh incentives to thoſe, which already ſtimulated the Portugueze ſovereign and his people. The papal benediction and encouragement, liberally beſtowed on the perſons engaging in ſo holy an undertaking, rouſed an enthuſiaſm, highly favourable to every attempt, and rendered the enterprize itſelf, in ſome meaſure, ſacred [20]. CHAP. IV. 1484—1488.

Naval expedition of Diaz.

Encouraged by the proſperous ſucceſs of the fleets, which had ranged the coaſt of Africa, Bartholomew Diaz was ſent out with two ſhips; and after ſtruggling with difficulties of many kinds, he effected the principal object of his expedition; having reached, though he could not double, the ſouthern extremity of the continent of Africa. It is well known, that he named it, from the ſtorms by which he was aſſailed in approaching it, "The tempeſtuous Cape;" and it is equally certain, that the king, animated with the expectation of ſpeedy realizing his views of a paſſage to the Eaſt Indies, round that promontory, changed the name, given it by Diaz, and cauſed it to be called "The Cape of Good Hope [21]."

Attempt to diſcover Abyſſinia.

Impatient at the delay interpoſed to his wiſhes, and indefatigable in the proſecution of the enterprize, John attempted by another channel to aſcertain its practicability. Abyſſinia, at the concluſion of the fifteenth century, had exerciſed the curioſity, and powerfully attracted the attention of all Europe. Fabulous, or uncertain accounts of a ſuppoſed chriſtian prince, who reigned in that country, ſtimulated to enquiry reſpecting him, and added a degree of religious fervor to the other motives which actuated the king. So problematical was even the exiſtence of Abyſſinia, that geographers were divided in opinion reſpecting its local ſituation; ſome placing it in the centre of Aſia, while others aſſerted that it belonged to, and was contained in Africa. To clear up, if poſſible, this intereſting fact, and at the ſame time, to

[20] Vaſcon. p. 38—40. [21] Lafitau, vol. i. p. 51—53. Vaſcon. p. 40—42.

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obtain new information relative to India, John embraced an expedient, which forcibly evinces the energy of his mind, and the judicious reſearches which he had made, reſpecting the formation of the earth. He diſpatched two gentlemen of his houſehold, Covillan and Payva, with inſtructions to penetrate into Abyſſinia, as well as to proceed to India, by way of the Red Sea. They parted at Tor; and Payva purſuing his journey towards Nubia, periſhed in the attempt: but, Covillan, more fortunate, reached Aden in Arabia; from whence embarking, he arrived ſafely on the coaſt of Malabar, the principal cities of which he viſited. Paſſing over to the eaſtern ſide of Africa, he proceeded to Sofala, and returned again to Cairo, before he entered Abyſſinia, which he, at length, ſucceſsfully effected. But, previous to his quitting Egypt, he tranſmitted to the king, his maſter, the reſult of his information, and the moſt indubitable atteſtations, obtained at Sofala, of the certainty of a paſſage to India, round the Cape of Good Hope. Such a confirmation of his hopes and conjectures, naturally impelled him to new and greater exertions for its complete attainment; and it muſt be owned, that, in whatever point of view we conſider it, no object more ſublime, or more calculated to immortalize the prince who undertook, while it enriched the nation which atchieved it, could be preſented to their ambition and love of glory [22].

Succeſs of it.

1488—1490. Domeſtic occurrences.

The attention of poſterity, powerfully attracted towards an event, which, in its conſequences, opened to the human mind a vaſt career, and produced a revolution in manners and commerce throughout Europe; is feebly excited by the domeſtic tranſactions or misfortunes of Portugal, at this period. It is not the internal hiſtory of a ſmall monarchy, diſmembered from Spain, which, at the end of three centuries, we deſire to peruſe; but the relation of thoſe ſteps, by which a maritime and enterprizing people, conducted by a ſovereign

[22] Vaſcon. liv. iv. p. 43—45. Laſitau, vol. i. p. 48—51.

of

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of ſuperior attainments, gradually approached, and at length accompliſhed a diſcovery, of ſuch magnitude and importance, as the paſſage to India. John the Second is, notwithſtanding, equally diſtinguiſhed in every part of his character, and merits as much admiration in his domeſtic policy, as in his attempts to enlarge the ſphere of induſtry, knowledge, and navigation. Oppoſed to Ferdinand and Iſabella of Spain, the moſt politic and dexterous princes of the age, he was neither intimidated by their power, nor overreached by their ſubtilty, and contempt of the ties of treaties. By a ſpirited and judicious exhibition of his reſources, and by ſome demonſtrations of reſentment at a critical juncture, he compelled the king and queen of Caſtile to accompliſh the marriage of Iſabella their eldeſt daughter, with Alfonſo, prince of Portugal, his only ſon; which had been ſtipulated under his predeceſſor's reign.

1491. Death of Alfonſo, prince of Portugal.

The premature death of the young prince, not long after the celebration of his nuptials, diſappointed the hopes entertained from the union of the two royal houſes; and opened a paſſage to the throne for Emanuel, duke of Beja, notwithſtanding the partial attachment of the king to Don George, his natural ſon, whom he vainly attempted to call to the ſucceſſion. The court of Liſbon was divided between the two candidates; but, the nation, almoſt unanimouſly, and enthuſiaſtically, adhered to Emanuel, as the only legitimate heir, and regarded his pretenſions as indiſputable [23].

1492, 1493. Return of Columbus from the new world.

We may eaſily conceive with what emotions, a prince of the character, and elevation of mind, which diſtinguiſhed John the Second, the predominant object and meaſure of whoſe reign had been to proſecute diſcoveries, muſt have beheld the return of Columbus, from his ſucceſsful attempt to aſcertain the exiſtence of a new world beyond the Atlantic. That celebrated and illuſtrious perſon, whoſe propoſals the king of Portugal had rejected, driven by tempeſtuous weather, was

He enters the Tagus.

[23] Vaſcon. liv. iv. p. 100—103, and p. 168—182, and p. 190—197. La Clede, vol. i. p. 528—533. Abregé Chron. vol. i. p. 729—732.

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obliged to take refuge in the Tagus. John received him, notwithſtanding, with uncommon honours, converſed with him on the unknown countries which he had viſited, and viewed with wonder the natives of America, whom he had brought over. It is aſſerted, that, in a council, held upon the ſubject, in preſence of the king, there were found perſons, who attempted to prove, that the newly-diſcovered continent and iſlands belonged of right to Portugal, as being comprehended in the original grant, made by the popes, to the crown, of all lands which might be diſcovered. They were even baſe enough to adviſe their ſovereign, to cauſe Columbus to be aſſaſſinated; but John rejected, with indignation, counſels ſo pernicious, and permitted him to purſue his voyage, unmoleſted [24].

1494.

In conſequence of his ſucceſs, it became, however, indiſpenſible, to fix ſome limit to the reſpective pretenſions and dominions of the ſovereigns of Spain and Portugal, which, it was now for the firſt time foreſeen, might otherwiſe interfere with each other. This neceſſity gave riſe to one of the moſt curious facts, in the hiſtory of mankind. The popes, from whom, as the vicars of Chriſt, all delegations of authority were then ſuppoſed to derive the only legitimate right, preſcribed boundaries to the two monarchs, by drawing an imaginary line from north to ſouth, at the diſtance of an hundred leagues to the weſt of the iſlands of the Azores, ſituated in the Atlantic ocean. All the lands to the eaſt of this ſuppoſed limit, denominated "the "Line of Marcation," were to belong to Portugal: thoſe weſt of it, to Spain. New diſputes afterwards aroſe upon the interpretation of the treaty, which reſulted from the ignorance common to both nations, reſpecting the figure and formation of the globe; nor had the ſucceſſors of St. Peter, who thus divided the planet of the earth in equal portions, any philoſophical knowledge or comprehenſion of the extent and nature of their own donation. They were far from

Line of marcation, drawn by the popes.

Reflexions on that event.

[24] La Clede, vol. i. p. 540, 541. Laſitau, vol. i. p. 66—68. Vaſcon. p. 321—325. Neuville, Hiſt. Gen. de Portugal, vol. i. p. 605—607.

conceiv-

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conceiving, or imagining, that the navigators of the two countries, in profecuting their reſpective diſcoveries, muſt infallibly meet, and give riſe to the neceſſity for a new limit, called "the Line of Demarcation." It muſt be owned, that among all the extraordinary pretenſions, arrogated by the Roman pontiffs, and acquieſced in by the princes or nations of Europe, none conveys a higher idea of the plenitude of their apoſtolic power, than the act of conferring by their ſole decree, ſo vaſt a portion of the earth [25].

1494.

1495. New projects of diſcovery.

Stimulated by the recent ſucceſs of Columbus, the king of Portugal, though declining in health, and attacked with the ſymptoms of an incurable diſeaſe, endeavoured to complete the work of diſcovering a paſſage to India, which from the beginning of his reign had actuated his mind. A fleet, deſtined for its accompliſhments, was fitted out, and the command given to Vaſco de Gama: but John's encreaſing infirmities retarded its departure, and the glory of realizing the enterprize, was reſerved for his ſucceſſor. Finding his end approach, he abandoned the project of placing on the throne his natural ſon, though not without reluctance; and named Emanuel heir to the crown. Retaining not only the poſſeſſion of his intellectual powers to the laſt moment, but, exerting himſelf to perform the functions of a king, he only ceaſed to reign, when he ceaſed to live [26].

Death of John.

Character.

He was ſurnamed, from his extraordinary endowments, "the perfect Prince;" and in the art of reigning, he has, undoubtedly, had few equals. It is related, that Henry the Seventh, king of England, having aſked a nobleman of his court, who was recently returned from Portugal, what he had there ſeen moſt deſerving of attention; "a king," replied he, "who commands all, and is commanded by none." Even his enemies did juſtice to his eminent

[25] Vaſcon. liv. vi. p. 325—332, and p. 335—339. Lafitau, vol. i. p. 68, 69. La Clede, vol. i. p. 542, 543. Neuville, vol. i. p. 607, 608.

[26] Vaſcon. liv. vi. p. 372—436. La Clede, vol. i. p. 547—549. Neuville, vol. i. p. 620—623.

qualities,

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qualities, and expreſſed their admiration of his ſuperior talents. From ſyſtem, as much as from character, he extended his peculiar protection to the inferior orders of his ſubjects, by whom, in return, he was idolized. Portugal, under his reign, became powerful, wealthy, and illuſtrious; proſperous, at home; and reſpected, abroad. But, if regarded as an individual, it will be difficult to applaud, or even approve many of his actions. The death of the duke of Braganza can only be conſidered as a ſacrifice to his thirſt of power, and determination of humbling the nobility: even his treatment of the duke of Viſeo, can ſcarcely be juſtified. His intention of placing his natural ſon on the throne, from which he deſiſted with extreme reluctance, was manifeſtly unjuſt, and muſt have involved Portugal in civil war. Notwithſtanding theſe vices or defects, he will always be ranked in the liſt of great princes; and if he did not actually effect the diſcovery of a paſſage to India, he prepared and accelerated that event, which took place under his ſucceſſor [27].

October. Acceſſion of Emanuel.

Emanuel ſucceeded to the throne in the prime of life; and with the dominions, he ſeemed to inherit the inclinations and paſſions of John the Second. Equally intent on immortalizing himſelf, and enriching his ſubjects, by accompliſhing the object ſo nearly attained; after the precautions indiſpenſible for ſecuring internal tranquillity, he directed his whole attention to naval affairs; and diſdaining the objections which were made in the council of ſtate, he haſtened the departure of Gama.

1497. Expedition of Vaſco de Gama.

That celebrated commander quitted the Tagus, at the head of a ſquadron conſiſting of four ſhips, and accompanied by the fears, hopes, and prayers of an immenſe multitude of his countrymen, who regarded the expedition as devoted to inevitable deſtruction. After ſurmounting impediments, only inferior to thoſe which Columbus had experienced in his diſcovery of America, he attained, and

[27] La Clede, vol. i. p. 549—552. Vaſcon. liv. vi. p. 437—447. Abregé Chron. vol. ii. p. 20, 21. Neuville, vol. i. p. 625, 626. Oſorio's Hiſtory of Emanuel, vol. i. p. 5—8.

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passed the Cape of Good Hope; remounted the eastern shore of the continent of Africa; escaped the numerous dangers of that unknown and inhospitable country; and ultimately arrived in the harbour of Calicut, on the coast of Malabar[28]. 1497.

1498, 1499. Discovery of a passage to India.

New obstacles to the lucrative commerce, which was the leading inducement and reward of the enterprize, awaited Gama, when he had effected the discovery of a passage to India. The exclusive trade of Calicut, had, for ages, been monopolized by the Mahometan and Arabian merchants. Exasperated at the unexpected appearance of such formidable competitors, they exerted every endeavour to alienate from the Portugueze the minds of the sovereign and inhabitants; but, the wisdom, valour, and caution of Gama extricated him from their snares. He returned to Europe by the same course, and entered the Tagus in triumph, after having, in the space of two years, completely attained the object of his voyage, and opened to mankind a new and immense field for industry, courage, and ambition. More fortunate than his rival and contemporary, Columbus, he was not repaid for services so eminent, by imprisonment, or neglect: Emanuel, sensible of his merit, raised him to honours and dignities; while Portugal, hitherto of little consequence among the states of Europe, prepared to burst from obscurity, and by rapid gradations, to effect the conquest of the most fertile and commercial countries of Asia[29].

Gama's return to Lisbon.

Domestic transactions.

During the time that these great events were transacting, Emanuel, who, soon after his accession, had married Isabella, widow of Alfonso, the late prince of Portugal; accompanied by his queen, set out for Spain; to which country he was invited by Ferdinand and Isabella, with the view of declaring them heirs to the Spanish monarchy. The pregnancy of the queen of Portugal, renewed the hopes of her parents,

[28] Neuville, vol. ii. p. 18—21, and p. 31—43. Osorio, vol. i. p. 32—36, and p. 46—61. Lafitau, vol. i. p. 73—96. La Clede, vol. i. p. 555—559.

[29] La Clede, vol. i. p. 563—568. Lafitau, vol. i. p. 105—118. Osorio, vol. i. p. 61—66, and p. 71—83. Neuville, vol. ii. p. 43—47, and p. 50—59.

after

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after the failure of their male iſſue, in the perſon of their only ſon. An oaths of allegiance was ſolemnly taken by the ſtates of Caſtile, at Toledo; and though the deputies of the Arragoneſe heſitated, and even refuſed to acknowledge Emanuel and Iſabella for their future ſovereigns, without the previous confirmation of all their antient privileges, which Ferdinand had aboliſhed; yet the birth of a ſon extinguiſhed all further oppoſition. The queen expired immediately afterwards: but, the young prince was inſtantly proclaimed heir to the two kingdoms of Caſtile and Arragon; as he was, under certain limitations, to that of Portugal, on the return of Emanuel into his own dominions. The life of this infant, who appeared to be deſtined to reign over all the provinces between the Pyrenees and the Atlantic, was, however, ſhort. He died in the ſecond year of his age; and made way for the ſucceſſion of the houſe of Auſtria, by the marriage of the arch-duke Philip with Joanna, the ſecond daughter of Ferdinand and Iſabella [30].

1500. Expedition of Cabral.

Encouraged by the proſperous iſſue of Gama's voyage, Emanuel prepared to ſend out a more numerous and powerful fleet to India. Thirteen ſhips were committed to the care of Cabral; who navigating the Ethiopic ocean, and being carried far to the weſtward, diſcovered the coaſt of Braſil, which forms a portion of the vaſt continent of South America. He landed on it, took poſſeſſion of the country, in the name of the king and crown of Portugal; and, purſuing the track of his predeceſſor, arrived ſafely at his deſtination [31]. The Samorin, or king of Calicut, influenced more by his terrors than his inclinations, granted Cabral permiſſion to eſtabliſh a factory there; and though the perſons compoſing it, to the number of fifty, were ſoon after maſſacred by the Mahometan merchants, with the connivance of the Samorin himſelf; this outrage

Its ſucceſs.

[30] Neuville, vol. ii. p. 22—30. Oſorio, vol. i. p. 36—45. La Clede, vol. i. p. 556.

[31] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 59, 60, and p. 67—74. Oſorio, vol. i. p. 84, 85, and p. 96—105. Laſitau, vol. i. p. 120—125.

was

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was ſeverely puniſhed by the Portugueze commander. The princes of Cochin, and of Cannanore, on the coaſt of Malabar, contended for the honour of Emanuel's alliance. A valuable cargo was provided for Cabral's fleet; and he returned to Liſbon, bringing a confirmation of thoſe vaſt expectations, which Gama's diſcovery and ſucceſs had originally opened to the Portugueze ſovereign and nation [32]. 1500.

Tranſactions in Africa.

The affairs of Africa, during the whole courſe of Emanuel's reign, engroſſed much of his attention; and while he ſeemed to direct his principal force and views to the acquiſition of territory in the Indies, and to the eſtabliſhment of a permanent commerce with that country, he ſcarcely ever intermitted his military exertions in Fez and Morocco. Hoſtilities, accompanied with various ſucceſs, were almoſt conſtantly carried on, along the coaſt of Barbary; and the king repeatedly made preparations for paſſing over in perſon, and leading his troops againſt the Moors [33]. Nor would the marriage, which he contracted with Mary, princeſs of Spain, daughter of Ferdinand of Arragon, and younger ſiſter to his firſt wife Iſabella, have been an inducement ſufficiently powerful, to prevent the execution of his deſign, if motives of a political nature had not interpoſed to ſuſpend it. The Venetians, who, in that age, were juſtly regarded as the bulwark of Chriſtendom; menaced by Bajazet the Second, emperor of the Turks, implored the aid of the king of Portugal. Thirty ſhips were diſpatched by Emanuel to their aſſiſtance; and though the combined fleets performed no action of renown, they preſerved to the republic of Venice her poſſeſſions in the Mediterranean, and compelled Bajazet to poſtpone his plans of conqueſt, to a more favourable occaſion [34]. 1501.

[32] Lafitau, vol. i. p. 125—139. Oſorio, vol. i. p. 105—121. Neuville, vol. ii. p. 75—85.

[33] Neuville, vol. ii. p. 61—66. Oſorio, vol. i. p. 86—94.

[34] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 61, and p. 65, 66. Oſorio, vol. i. p. 85, 86, and p. 87, 88.

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1502. Second voyage of Gama.

Gama, meanwhile, prepared again to reviſit India, at the head of a powerful ſquadron; and the ſame brilliant ſucceſs, which had attended his firſt voyage of diſcovery, accompanied him in this expedition of conqueſt. The kingdom of Quiloa, on the eaſtern coaſt of Africa, was reduced to the obedience of Portugal, and rendered tributary: factories were ſettled at the cities of Mozambique and Sofala. Arriving in the Indian Seas, he captured a veſſel belonging to the ſultan of Egypt; defeated the Samorin of Calicut in repeated naval engagements; and cannonaded his capital. The king of Cannanore ſued for Emanuel's alliance; and Gama entered into the cloſeſt connexions of policy and commerce with the prince of Cochin, whoſe devotion to the Portugueze nation was unbounded. His return to Liſbon was marked with the ſame triumphant feſtivity, which his former arrival had occaſioned [35].

His exploits in India.

1503, 1504. Samorin of Calicut, vanquiſhed.

Fortune ſeemed to combine with the valour and energy, exhibited by the Portugueze, and to aid them in laying the foundations of that extenſive empire in Aſia, which they ſubſequently attained. The Samorin of Calicut having invaded the dominions of Cochin, was on the point of inflicting the moſt exemplary vengeance on the ally of Emanuel. Abandoned even by his new friends, who deſerted him in his diſtreſs, he found protection in the deſperate bravery, and conſummate military ſkill of Edward Pacheco, a Portugueze officer; who, aſſiſted by a few of his countrymen, maintained a long and ſucceſsful conflict, againſt all the fleets and armies of the Samorin. That prince was ultimately vanquiſhed, after incredible exertions, which Pacheco ſuſtained with undaunted intrepidity; and the attempt to ſubvert Emanuel's power, only ſerved to add new luſtre to his name and arms [36]. Already he began to regard the peninſula of India, as forming a dependancy of his crown; and Francis

[35] Laſitau, vol. i. p. 139—152. Oſorio, vol. i. p. 121, 122, and p. 130—138. Neuville, vol. ii. p. 85—98.

[36] Laſitau, vol. i. p. 153—195. Oſorio, vol. i. p. 143—152, and p. 163—167, and p. 179—207. Neuville, vol. i. p. 118—132.

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Almeyda, a nobleman of the higheſt rank, was ſent out in the following year, accompanied by a naval and military force, to aſſume the government of thoſe extenſive and fertile regions, with the title and dignity of viceroy[37]. Alarmed at the rapid progreſs of the Portugueze, the Samorin, unable to oppoſe to them any ſufficient barrier, called on Campſon Gauri, ſultan of Egypt, to aid him in repelling ſuch formidable invaders. Their common attachment to the Mahometan faith, as well as every motive of private intereſt, induced him to liſten to the Samorin's requeſt. An alliance was formed, the avowed object of which was to limit the conqueſts of Emanuel; and the Venetians, unmindful of the ſuccour ſo recently extended to them by him, joined the confederacy, and ſent the moſt effectual ſupport to the Egyptian ſultan[38].

1505. Almeyda ſent viceroy to India.

Attempts of the Oriental princes to overturn the Portugueze empire.

During theſe tranſactions in Aſia, the internal government of Portugal was marked by ſome calamitous events, though it was not diſturbed by any foreign hoſtilities. The birth of a prince, who afterwards ſucceeded to the throne by the name of John the Third, diffuſed univerſal ſatisfaction: but, the demonſtrations of national joy were damped by a contagious diſtemper and famine, which deſolated the capital and the country. Earthquakes, to which Portugal, in every period of its hiſtory, ſeems to have been peculiarly ſubject, and which appear to have equalled in violence thoſe, with which that kingdom has been afflicted in the preſent century, augmented the ravages cauſed by the plague[39]. Bigotry and ferocity exerciſed the moſt unrelenting barbarity upon the Jews, who were maſſacred at Liſbon, during one of thoſe paroxyſms of popular fury, common in every age. Emanuel ſeverely puniſhed the authors of the commotion, and deprived Liſbon of all its immunities. Yet, ſuch was the ſanguinary ſpirit of the times, that, only three years afterwards, ſimilar, and even greater cruelties, were exerciſed againſt the Jews; who, to the number of four thouſand, were ſlaughtered by

Events in Portugal.

Earthquakes.

Maſſacre of the Jews.

[37] Laſitau, vol. i. p. 205.

[38] Neuville, vol. i. p. 137—140. Oſorio, vol. i. p. 215—220.

[39] Ibid. vol. i. p. 85, and p. 89, and p. 143.

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the people, though they had made open profeſſion of chriſtianity, and lived under the protection of the laws, civil, and religious [40].

1506, 1507. Conduct of Almeyda.

Theſe domeſtic ſcenes of anarchy and diſgrace, did not, however, retard the proſecution of Emanuel's views and conqueſts. Almeyda, after ravaging, or ſubjecting the eaſtern coaſt of Africa, continued his voyage to India, and conſtructed forts on various parts of the Malabar ſhore, favourable to the purpoſe of retaining the country in ſubjection. The prince of Cochin acknowledged himſelf tributary to Portugal, and publickly received his crown from the hand of the viceroy. Every effort, made by the Samorin, to repel the invaders of his dominions, was ineffectual, and accelerated his final ſubjugation. He was repulſed by the obſtinate valour of Britto, from before the fortreſs of Cannanore, which he had beſieged, and even reduced to the laſt extremities of famine. Wearied with ſo many unſucceſsful ſtruggles, he ſolicited and obtained peace from Almeyda [41].

1508. Defeat of the Portugueze on the coaſt of Malabar.

The Portugueze arms nevertheleſs, ſoon afterwards ſuſtained a temporary defeat from the powerful combination of the ſultan of Egypt and the Samorin, to whom were added Mahmud, king of Cambay. A numerous fleet, on board of which were fifteen hundred Mammelukes, ſailed out of the Red Sea, and arrived before Diu in Guzurat, where they were joined by Mahmud's admiral. Confident from their ſuperiority, they ventured to attack the viceroy's ſon, Laurence Almeyda, who lay at anchor with a ſquadron, in the harbour of Chaul, upon the coaſt of Malabar. After a long and deſperate combat, under every diſadvantage, the young Almeyda was killed, his veſſel ſunk, and the remaining ſhips were compelled to abandon precipitately the ſcene of action. The viceroy ſeverely revenged the diſgrace in the ſubſequent year, by a ſignal victory, which he obtained under the walls of Diu, in which the combined fleets were totally overcome, and the king of Cambay's admiral was reduced to accept terms of peace, dictated by Almeyda [42].

[40] Oſorio, vol. i. p. 224—227. Neuville, vol. ii. p. 143—145, and p. 188, 189. La Clede, vol. i. p. 579. [41] Lafitau, vol. i. p. 212—238. Neuville, vol. ii. p. 172—178. [42] Lafitau, vol. i. p. 299—313, and p. 318—325. Neuville, vol. ii. p. 198—203, and p. 243—252.

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Eminent as were the civil and military qualities, diſplayed by the viceroy, a more illuſtrious perſon was about to appear on the theatre of Aſia. Alfonſo Albuquerque, whom Emanuel had ſent to ſucceed to the government, poſſeſſed endowments which have equalled his reputation with thoſe of the greateſt characters of antiquity. Capable of forming, and of executing the moſt daring reſolutions, yet the ſolidity of his judgment prevented him from undertaking any enterprize, to which his forces were unequal. Ardent for glory, and deſirous of founding his fame on the aggrandizement of the Portugueze nation, he acted uniformly and excluſively to that object. While under the orders of Almeyda, and ſtationed as the commander of a little ſquadron near the mouth of the Red Sea, his vaſt mind conceived the project of attacking and ſubjecting Ormus. This celebrated city, ſituated on a ſmall and ſterile iſland at the entrance of the gulph of Perſia, and the center of the Arabian and Indian commerce, at the commencement of the ſixteenth century, was under the dominion of a prince, tributary to Iſmael, ſophy of Perſia, named Zeyfadin.

1508. Arrival of Albuquerque.

His great qualities, and projects.

Quitting, therefore, this ſtation, where no object preſented itſelf worthy of his courage, Albuquerque coaſted the eaſtern ſhore of Arabia; took, and plundered the city of Muſcat; and, arriving before Ormus, ſummoned the king to put himſelf inſtantly under the protection of Emanuel. After a long negotiation, which gave time to aſſemble a naval and military force, Atar, the miniſter of Zeyfadin, haughtily rejected the propoſition, and prepared for reſiſtance; but, vanquiſhed in a general engagement, he ſubmitted. The Portugueze commander fixed the amount of an annual tribute to be impoſed, and began the conſtruction of a citadel, which might ſecure the future obedience of Ormus. The murmurs of his own ſoldiery, and their impatience of ſubjection, nevertheleſs, fruſtrated his intentions. By the delays which intervened in the completion of the fortreſs, Atar was enabled to renew hoſtilities. Albuquerque, reduced to the neceſſity of again attacking the city, was on the point of ſubjecting it

He lays ſiege to Ormus.

by

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by famine, when three of his captains baſely abandoned him, and ſailed with their ſhips for India.

1508. Is compelled to abandon the attempt.

Thus baffled a ſecond time, he retired; and having wintered at the iſland of Socotra, in the ſtraits of Babelmandel, he returned anew before Ormus. But, Atar, profiting of the abſence of the Portugueze, had completed the citadel, and defied his utmoſt efforts. Reſerving himſelf, therefore, for a more favourable juncture, he ſet ſail for Cannanore, on the coaſt of Malabar; and at his arrival, received the royal commiſſion, conſtituting him governor of India in the place of Almeyda [43]. Peremptory as the orders of the court were, upon this point, Almeyda refuſed compliance with them; and even proceeded to acts of violence againſt Albuquerque. The Portugueze were divided into two factions, by the diſunion of their chiefs; and the moſt fatal conſequences muſt have enſued, if they had not been ſoon terminated by the voluntary ſurrender, on the part of Almeyda, of the ſupreme command, and by his ſubſequent departure for Europe.

Albuquerque is appointed governor of India.

Unſucceſsful attack of Calicut.

The commencement of the new governor's adminiſtration was unfortunate. From his deference to Coutigno, who had mediated an accommodation between him and his predeceſſor, he engaged in an enterprize againſt the city of Calicut: they landed their forces, and became maſters of the Samorin's capital and palace, after a faint reſiſtance. But, the jealouſy and raſhneſs of Coutigno, in contempt of Albuquerque's remonſtrances, proved fatal to himſelf, and to the expedition. He was killed; and the Portugueze were compelled to retreat to their ſhips, with conſiderable loſs [44]. This diſaſter was ſpeedily obliterated by the conqueſt of Goa. The city and iſland of that name, were then ſubject to Sabagee, a prince who had

1510. Siege, and capture of Goa.

[43] Neuville, vol. ii. p. 215—242. Oſorio, vol. i. p. 316—341. Lafitau, vol. i. p. 269—291, and p. 314—316. La Clede, vol. i. p. 587—589.

[44] Neuville, vol. ii. p. 243—255, and 226—259. Oſorio, vol. i. p. 355—363. Lafitau, vol. i. p. 317—341.

repeatedly

repeatedly evinced diſpoſitions the moſt hoſtile to the Portugueze. Its central ſituation, on the coaſt of India, in the province of the Decan, and its commodious harbour, ſeemed to point it out as the proper capital of the empire, which Albuquerque projected to attain for his ſovereign. The government of the place was veſted in Idal Cawn, who had taken every precaution for its ſecurity and preſervation: but, the viceroy, whom obſtacles only ſtimulated and impelled, cauſed the two forts, conſtructed at the entrance of the river, to be attacked at the ſame time. They were rapidly carried; and Albuquerque, profiting of the conſternation ſpread in Goa, entered the city by capitulation. Having taken ſuch meaſures for its defence and protection, as the exigency admitted, he declared his intention of conſtituting it the ſeat of the viceroys, and the metropolis of the Portugueze acquiſitions in India[45].

February. It is made the metropolis of the Portugueze conqueſts.

While he was thus engaged, Idal Cawn aſſembling a body of forces, prepared to deprive him of his conqueſt. The inhabitants, aſhamed of the late haſty ſurrender, aided their antient ſovereign; and the Portugueze officers, from the dread of the ſevere diſcipline for which their commander was diſtinguiſhed, acted either with indifference or treachery. Idal Cawn having, after a ſevere action, landed on the iſland of Goa, Albuquerque retreated into the city; and when driven from thence by ſuperior numbers, he made a long and obſtinate defence in the citadel. Yielding at length to the irreſiſtible and united preſſure of famine and of force, he quitted the place, and retired to his veſſels, abandoning his late acquiſition. New and greater embarraſſments attended him on the water, from want of proviſions; and though he extricated himſelf, in ſome meaſure, by ſtorming, and retaking from the enemy, the two forts at the mouth of the river; yet, the diſobedience of his officers, the mutiny of his troops, and the ſeverity of the monſoon, compelled him reluctantly to deſiſt from the enterprize, and to repair to Cannanore. But, no ſooner had

Beſieged by Idal Cawn.

It is evacuated by Albuquerque.

[45] Laſitau, vol. i. p. 361—372. Neuville, vol. ii. p. 269—272. Oſorio, vol. ii. p. 1—5.

he

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1510. Retakes Goa.

he received reinforcements from Europe, than he returned before Goa, and carried it by ſtorm. While his vaſt and active mind already projected and anticipated new conqueſts, he ſecured the one which he had made, by every precaution, and by the moſt parental protection of the newly-ſubjected people. The ſplendor of his atchievements, and the high reputation which he had ſo juſtly attained, drew univerſal conſideration; and he received embaſſies from almoſt all the princes in India, to congratulate him on his late ſucceſs [46].

1511. Enterprize againſt Malacca.

Malacca was, at that time, one of the moſt wealthy and commercial cities of India beyond the Ganges. Its poſition was ſo happy and ſo favourable, that it drew to itſelf, as to a common centre, the trade of China, Japan, and of all the eaſtern Archipelago. Mahmud, a prince who had ſhaken off his allegiance to the king of Siam, reigned at Malacca; and Sequeira, at the head of a ſmall ſquadron of Portugueze ſhips, had made a treaty with him, and eſtabliſhed a factory in the place. But, the ſame ſpirit of rivality, which had produced the miſunderſtanding between Gama and the Samorin of Calicut, was ſucceſsfully exerted by the Mahometan merchants, to alienate the king of Malacca, from Sequeira. Regardleſs of the faith which he had pledged, he attempted to maſſacre the Portugueze commander, and to deſtroy his veſſels. The plot was only diſcovered in the moment before its intended execution; and Sequeira, unable to reſent ſo flagrant an act of perfidy, quitted the harbour, and returned to Liſbon [47].

Motives of juſt reſentment concurred, therefore, with his paſſion for glory, in the reſolution which Albuquerque formed, of undertaking the conqueſt of Malacca. The place was deſtitute of fortifications; but, garriſoned by near thirty thouſand troops, and provided with every thing neceſſary for a long defence. Regardleſs of theſe im-

[46] Neuville, vol. i. p. 273—287, and p. 295—305. Oſorio, vol. ii. p. 5—20, and p. 25—34. Lafitau, vol. i. p. 373—408.

[47] Lafitau, vol. i. p. 350—358. Oſorio, vol. i. p. 368—376.

pediments,

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pediments, the viceroy quitted Goa; the government of which he confided to Rabelo: embarking at the head of a ſmall ſquadron, and having under his command near eight hundred Portugueze, and two hundred Indian ſoldiers, he croſſed the bay of Bengal, and arrived before Malacca. After a fruitleſs negotiation, in which Mahmud evinced his former duplicity, Albuquerque had recourſe to arms. His firſt attempt was unſucceſsful, and he was under the neceſſity of retreating to his ſhips. But, having renewed the attack, he entered the place, ſword in hand; and though the king made a vigorous reſiſtance, he was driven from his capital. It was abandoned to the avidity of the ſoldiers during three days, and the riches found in it, exceeded even thoſe which fell into the hands of the Portugueze at Goa. The fifth part of the booty, reſerved for Emanuel, amounted to two hundred thouſand cruzadoes of gold [48].

1511. Albuquerque arrives before the place.

Capture of Malacca.

Albuquerque, far from relaxing in his efforts, inſtantly began the conſtruction of a citadel, which might awe the inhabitants, while he conciliated their affection by regulations, equally juſt and beneficial. Not content with theſe internal diſpoſitions for defence, he marched a body of troops againſt Mahmud, who had fortified himſelf, at the diſtance of eight leagues from Malacca. Having ſurprized him, that unfortunate prince was again routed, and compelled to ſeek for ſafety in a precipitate flight. An unſucceſsful attempt, to produce a revolt, and to introduce Aladin, the ſon of Mahmud, into the city, was puniſhed by the viceroy, who ſeized the principal conſpirator, and cauſed him to be beheaded. Three veſſels, under the command of Abreu, were diſpatched, to diſcover, and to open a commerce with the Molucca iſlands; and Albuquerque, having committed the government of Malacca to Britto, and omitted no precaution for its preſervation, embarked again for the coaſt of Malabar. In his voyage,

Albuquerque returns to India.

[48] A ſum not very ſhort of fifty thouſand pounds ſterling. Oſorio, vol. ii. p. 47—60. Lafitau, vol. i. p. 409—424.

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he was ſhipwrecked upon the ſhore of Sumatra; his veſſel, laden with the precious ſpoils of his late conqueſt, was ſwallowed up in the waves, and he himſelf narrowly eſcaped [49].

Siege of Goa, by Idal Cawn.

His abſence from Goa, however glorious and beneficial to his country, had almoſt proved fatal to that ſettlement. No ſooner had he engaged in the expedition againſt Malacca, than Idal Cawn, availing himſelf of the favourable occaſion for recovering his loſt poſſeſſions, ſent a conſiderable military force, to form the ſiege of Goa. Rabelo, the governor, repelled the invaders for a ſhort time; but, having effected their landing on the iſland, they ſoon obliged him to retire into the city; and his precipitate valour betrayed him into a ſnare laid for him by the enemy, in which he periſhed. Vaſconcellos was elected to fill his place, and proved himſelf worthy ſo honourable a diſtinction. He repulſed the forces of Idal Cawn in the breach; ſuſtained the ſevereſt attacks with firmneſs, and ſurmounted all the horrors of famine, during ſeveral months. A ſupply of proviſions was at length procured: the enemy, baffled in their attempts to become maſters of the place, retired from before it; and taking poſt at Benaſterin, where the iſland communicates with the continent of India, they left the city in repoſe [50]. Nor was Malacca, after the departure of Albuquerque, leſs expoſed to every effort of internal treachery, and of external attack. Repeated exertions were made by the adherents of Mahmud, to reduce it under the dominion of its antient ſovereign. Fleets and armies beſieged, and even reduced the place to extremities. But, the ſpirit of the viceroy ſurvived in his delegates, and ſuch was the unconquerable genius of the Portugueze in that age, that danger and difficulty ſeemed only to call out their reſources, and to augment their courage. Britto, who commanded in the city, and Andrada, to

Enemy repulſed.

1512. Ineffectual attacks of Malacca.

[49] Laſitau, vol. i. p. 425—434, and p. 447—449. Neuville, vol. ii. p. 354—363.

[50] Neuville, vol. ii. p. 338—351. Laſitau, vol. i. p. 434—447. Oſorio, vol. ii. p. 63—72.

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whom the charge of the fleet was committed, defeated and diſperſed the numerous forces of the enemy [51].

Albuquerque, having been ſtrengthened by conſiderable reinforcements from Europe, at length prepared to reviſit Goa; and he was received on his arrival, as its guardian and protector. The ſiege of Benaſterin was immediately formed, and the place cloſely inveſted, notwithſtanding the vigorous defence made by the general of Idal Cawn, who repulſed the aſſailants in their attempt to carry the fort by ſtorm: but, a breach having been at length effected, the enemy capitulated. Benaſterin was evacuated, and Idal Cawn appeared to have loſt all proſpect of recovering his late poſſeſſions. So vaſt and and important an acquiſition, by which his preceding conqueſts were ſecured, impreſſed the princes of Aſia with aſtoniſhment, while it elevated Albuquerque to a point of perſonal glory almoſt unequalled. Goa reſembled the reſidence of a great monarch: embaſſadors from the kings of Perſia, Cambay, Viſiapour, Ormus, and Abyſſinia, came to offer alliance, or congratulation. Leſſer princes, in various parts of India, ſent tribute to Emanuel, and did homage to the crown of Portugal. The viceroy betrayed the moſt refined policy and conciliation, in his treatment of the different ſovereigns; but, he delayed any concluſive treaty with them, till his return from a new expedition, which he meditated, and for which he made immediate preparation [52].

Capture of Benaſteria.

This enterprize, which he undertook in conſequence of poſitive orders from the court of Liſbon, rather than from the dictates of his own judgment, was principally directed againſt the ſultan of Egypt; and it was the only unfortunate one, in which Albuquerque engaged, after his nomination to the ſupreme command in India. Sailing from Goa, at the head of a powerful fleet, he ſteered his courſe for the Red Sea. Arabia Felix, which, from its remote, and almoſt inacceſſible ſituation, had ſucceſsfully reſiſted the Roman

Expedition of Albuquerque to the Red Sea.

[51] Laſitau, vol. i. p. 454—473. Oſorio, vol. ii. p. 80—83.

[52] Laſitau, vol. i. p. 473—482. Neuville, vol. ii. p. 369—375. Oſorio, vol. ii. p. 84—89.

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legions, ſeemed to be on the point of ſubmitting to the arms of Portugal. The impetuous valour of his officers and troops, was the principal cauſe of their repulſe before the city of Aden, near the Straits of Babelmandel; the walls of which they attempted to ſcale. They even entered the place, and drove the enemy from the works; but, neglecting to uſe the requiſite precautions for ſecuring their prize, they were in turn reduced to fly with precipitation. Albuquerque retreated to his ſhips, and continued his voyage towards Jedda and Suez. The difficulties of the navigation in the Red Sea, with which the Portugueze were unacquainted, the murmurs of his ſoldiery, and the want of every kind of refreſhment, compelled him, nevertheleſs, without meeting any enemy, to abandon the project. He returned, therefore, before Aden; but, finding it in a ſtate of complete defence, he reluctantly deſiſted from renewing his attack; nor was he more ſucceſsful in his exertions to obtain permiſſion to build a citadel at Diu, in Guzurat. Inſtructed by the example of Idal Cawn, and of the Samorin, the king of Cambay rejected every offer and ſolicitation for the eſtabliſhment of a ſettlement in his dominions [55].

Unſucceſsful attempt upon Aden.

His enemies, meanwhile, were occupied in unremitting endeavours to procure his recall, and to awaken the jealouſy of Emanuel, or to miſrepreſent the conduct of Albuquerque. To ſuch a degree had theſe calumnies operated, that peremptory directions were tranſmitted from Europe, enjoining the evacuation of Goa, and its reſtitution to Idal Cawn; as an acquiſition more onerous and expenſive, than beneficial, to Portugal. But, the council, to whom the governor communicated the mandate, had ſufficient magnanimity to refuſe compliance with an order, ſo contrary to the intereſts of their ſovereign, and the execution of which muſt have been attended with the ſubverſion of his empire in Aſia. It ſpeedily appeared that the failure of the enterprize againſt Egypt and Arabia, had neither diminiſhed Albuquerque's exertions to ſerve his country, nor injured his reputation among the monarchs of India. The Samorin of Calicut,

[55] Neuville, vol. ii. p. 399—403. Oſorio, vol. ii. p. 112—118.

renoun-

renouncing the alliance of the Egyptian ſultan, declared himſelf tributary to Emanuel, and voluntarily permitted the viceroy to conſtruct a citadel in his capital. The princes of Cochin and Cannanore acted with equal ſubmiſſion; and the greater part of the coaſt of Malabar, from Goa to Cape Comorin, was already reduced to the obedience of Portugal [50]. CHAP. IV. 1513.

To complete the atchievements of Albuquerque, it only remained for him to chaſtiſe the king of Ormus, and to add ſo important a conqueſt to his other acquiſitions. The citadel which he had begun, and in part conſtructed, had not only been withheld and occupied by Zeyſadin; but, the Portugueze were even refuſed permiſſion to eſtabliſh a factory in the place. Such was the indignant recollection which the viceroy had always retained of the deſertion of his officers, and the conſequent neceſſity of his deſiſting from the ſiege of Ormus, at the moment when it was ready to fall into his hands; that he had religiouſly adhered to the vow which he then ſwore, never to cut his beard till he had taken vengeance for the affront. Stimulated by theſe conſiderations, he ſet ſail for the gulf of Perſia, having under his command, twenty-ſeven ſhips, and a great body of forces. His arrival before Ormus ſpread ſuch terror, that the new king, Torun-Sha, who had ſucceeded to his brother Zeyſadin, after a ſhort negotiation, ſurrendered the citadel, and diſplayed the banner of Portugal on his palace. Hamed, his firſt miniſter, endeavoured to excite a commotion, and to aſſaſſinate the viceroy; but, he was anticipated by the vigilance of Albuquerque, ſeized, and inſtantly put to death. This ſtroke of vigour was followed by the demand, on his part, of all the artillery, contained in the city; and the requiſition met with inſtant obedience. Ormus became ſubject to Portugal, and the king conſented to receive his crown from Emanuel [51]. 1514, 1515. Enterprize againſt Ormus. Capture of Ormus, by Albuquerque.

[50] Laſitau, vol. i. p. 483—498. Oſorio, vol. ii. p. 119—120.

[51] Oſorio, vol. ii. p. 162—173. Neuville, vol. ii. p. 439—449. Laſitau, vol. i. p. 509—514.

But,

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1515. Recall, illneſs, and death of Albuquerque.

But, the ſplendid career of Albuquerque drew towards its cloſe. A dyſentery, with which he was attacked, ſoon reduced him to extremity: having, however, with his accuſtomed energy of mind, made every proviſion for the tranquillity and ſecurity of his late conqueſt, he embarked for Goa. Scarcely had he entered the Indian ocean, when a veſſel, diſpatched from Diu, brought him the intelligence, that Emanuel had ſuperceded him; that Soarez, his ſucceſſor, was already arrived; and that many of his perſonal enemies were named to poſts of eminence. His great mind ſunk at firſt, under ſo unexpected and unmerited a diſgrace. He burſt into ſevere reproaches againſt the ingratitude of princes; frequently repeating, "To the tomb, unhappy old man! it is time! To the "tomb!" But, ſoon recovering his fortitude, he dictated, with compoſure and dignity, his laſt letter to the ſovereign, whoſe power and dominions he had ſo greatly augmented. He iſſued every neceſſary order, without omitting the moſt minute detail; and then calmly expected his final diſſolution. It took place, near the mouth of the harbour of Goa, where he expired, in the ſixty-third year of his age [56].

December. His character, and exploits.

Such were the actions of this extraordinary and illuſtrious perſon, as to ſupercede the neceſſity of attempting accurately to delineate his character. His conqueſts extended from the entrance of the Perſian gulf, to the iſlands of Java and the Moluccas: nor are we leſs penetrated with admiration, at the rapidity with which he effected them; ſcarcely ſix years having elapſed between the commencement and the termination of his government. His love of juſtice, his contempt of injuries, and magnanimous ſuperiority to revenge, excited affection, mingled with veneration. The talents of Albuquerque were equally adapted to the cabinet, as to the field; and he never appeared in a more elevated point of view, than as a legiſlator, cultivating the arts of tranquillity and peace. His death ſpread univerſal ſorrow among every

[56] Oſorio, vol. ii. p. 193—196. Neuville, vol. ii. p. 459—465. Lafitau, vol. i. p. 515—518.

claſs

claſs of people; and the native inhabitants of Indoſtan held his memory in ſuch reverence, that they were long accuſtomed to aſſemble at his tomb, and to invoke his ſhade for protection and redreſs, againſt the exactions and oppreſſions of his ſucceſſors. If, in ſome inſtances, he appears to have ſullied the luſtre of his exploits, by acts of cruelty, or, at leaſt, of extreme ſeverity; yet, on a cloſe examination, it will be found that even theſe were dictated by an imperious neceſſity: his nature was mild, gentle, and beneficent. Emanuel can ſcarcely be juſtified for recalling ſuch a ſubject: but, his fame and victories had raiſed him to ſo high an eminence, that his enemies were enabled to infuſe ſuſpicions of his aſpiring to independance. Portugal produced no man, in this age ſo fertile in heroes, who equalled, or can be placed in competition with Albuquerque. At his death, the richeſt maritime cities of Aſia, a vaſt tract of ſea-coaſt, numerous princes, and ſome millions of ſubjects, were reduced to the obedience of Emanuel. The philoſopher and the hiſtorian cannot reflect, without emotion, that his end was accelerated by diſgrace, and embittered by the privation of that power, which he himſelf had founded and cemented. His fame alone was beyond the reach of malignity. Emanuel was ſenſible, when too late, of his error, in having diſmiſſed Albuquerque, and teſtified his concern, by the protection which he extended to the viceroy's natural ſon, whom he had recommended to his ſovereign before he expired [57].

Domeſtic tranſactions.

During the interval of time which elapſed between the departure of Albuquerque from Portugal, and his death, the domeſtic tranſactions of Emanuel's reign and government afford little matter for hiſtorical narration. The war with the Moors of Fez and Morocco, continued almoſt unremittingly, with various ſucceſs; but, the hoſtilities were merely depredatory, and marked by few intereſting events. Arzyla, which had been beſieged, was relieved; and Azamor was added to the number of Emanuel's fortreſſes on the

[57] La Clede, vol. i. p. 608, 609. Oſorio, vol. ii. p. 196, 197. Lafitau, vol. i. p. 518—522. Neuville, vol. ii. p. 466.

coaſt

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coaſt of Barbary; but, every attempt to extend his dominion into the interior provinces of Africa, was defeated by the obſtinate valour and reſiſtance of the Mahometans. The kingdom enjoyed profound, and nearly uninterrupted repoſe. Wealth flowed into the Tagus; and the Indian fleets began regularly to tranſmit to Liſbon all the valuable productions of the Eaſt. The court of Emanuel was one of the moſt magnificent in Europe; and the reſpect in which he was held by foreign princes, completed the felicity of his reign [52].

1515. Felicity of Portugal.

1516—1518. Events in Aſia.

The glory of the Portugueze name and arms in India ſuſtained, however, a temporary eclipſe, by the death of Albuquerque. Soarez, the new governor, ſucceeded to his dignity; but, not to his talents, or reputation. The grandeur of deſign, and vigour of execution, which had characterized the late government, were extinct. Diſgrace, diſappointment, and timidity attended every enterprize. The princes of Aſia ſoon perceived the alteration, and began to evince ſymptoms of alienation; or, of open hoſtility. Even, the Portugueze themſelves, no longer conducted by a ſuperior genius, ſunk into inactivity, or ſullied the luſtre of their paſt atchievements. The pertinacity, with which the court of Liſbon proſecuted the attempt againſt Egypt, and the reduction of the city of Aden, involved their affairs in diſgrace and confuſion. By order of Emanuel, Soarez again undertook an expedition to the Red Sea, having under his command, forty-ſeven ſhips, and a great body of forces. The experiment was not only unſucceſsful; but, during his abſence, the crimes and raſhneſs of Montroi, to whom the government of Goa was committed, had nearly involved the ſettlement in ruin. His deſire of revenge upon an individual, whom he had previouſly injured, prompted him to violate the peace ſubſiſting with Idal Cawn. That prince defeated him, inveſted Benaſterin, and might have recovered Goa itſelf, the garriſon of which had been much diminiſhed by Soarez, if timely ſupplies had not fortunately arrived from Europe.

Danger of Goa.

[52] Neuville, vol. ii. p. 287—289, and 351—354, and 376—393, and 405—420. Oſorio, vol. ii. p. 120—143, and p. 173—187.

Malacca,

Malacca, attacked by the king of Bantam, was expoſed to equal, or greater danger; and had, repeatedly, ſuffered the laſt extremities of famine; but, it was ſaved by the exertions of the garriſon, till Meneſes came to its relief, and compelled the enemy to retire. The Portugueze, who had already eſtabliſhed themſelves in the empire of China, were driven out by the inſolence and folly of their commander. The reduction of the iſland of Ceylon, ſo important from its excluſive production of cinnamon, formed a counterpoiſe to theſe numerous misfortunes [59].

Reduction of Ceylon.

1519. Rejection of the offers of Magellan.

It is not one of the leaſt ſingular circumſtances of Emanuel's reign, that a prince, who ſo well knew how to ſelect and to reward talents, ſhould have driven from his dominions, a man inferior neither to Gama, nor to Albuquerque, in ability to ſerve his country. Ferdinand Magellan, like Columbus, withdrew into Caſtile, diſguſted with the refuſal of an inconſiderable addition to his appointments, which he had experienced from the court. Having formed the moſt decided and judicious opinion, relative to the formation and figure of the planet of the earth, he undertook to conduct the Spaniards by a new, and oppoſite courſe, to the Molucca iſlands; which, he aſſerted to be ſituated beyond the imaginary "line of demarcation," by which the popes had divided the eaſtern and weſtern hemiſpheres, between the kings of Spain and Portugal. Cardinal Ximenes, whoſe enlarged mind enabled him to conceive, and whoſe attention to the glory and intereſts of his ſovereign, induced him to profit of the offers of Magellan, was then regent, during the minority of Charles the Fifth. He heſitated not to accept the propoſal, and in defiance of the remonſtrances of the court of Liſbon, ſent him out, at the head of five veſſels. Magellan diſcovered the celebrated Straits, near Cape Horn, which bear his name; ſurmounted the greateſt dangers in his paſſage, between Patagonia and Terra del Fuego; entered, and navigated the great Pacific Ocean,

He enters the Pacific Ocean.

[59] Neuville, vol. ii. p. 467—470, and p. 482—495, and p. 497—513. Oſorio, vol. ii. p. 225—239, and p. 243—255. Lafitau, vol. i. p. 523—560.

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1519.

which Columbus could never effect; and having landed in one of the Ladrone iſlands, was there killed in an action between the natives. His followers did not leſs purſue the object of the expedition; and to the aſtoniſhment of the Portugueze, who little expected ſuch intruders, they arrived in the iſlands of Ternate and Tidor, two of the Moluccas, occupied by Emanuel's ſubjects. We cannot reflect without amazement, or contemplate without admiration, the genius which could firſt form and execute a project ſo vaſt, ſo complicated, and ſo hazardous, as that of ſailing round the globe; nor forbear making a compariſon of the exploits of Magellan, with the expedition of the Argonauts; the conductors of which were regarded by antiquity as demi-gods, and almoſt raiſed to divine honours. In conſequence of Magellan's voyage, the Spaniſh crown aſſerted a right to the Moluccas; and it was not till the ſubſequent reign, that Charles the Fifth, on receiving from John the Third a conſiderable loan of money, at a very critical juncture, conſented to ſuſpend his pretenſions. Columbus had taken as ſevere a revenge on John the Second, for refuſing to employ him in the diſcovery of the new world [60].

Diſputes between the crowns of Spain and Portugal.

1519—1521. Expedition of Sequeira.

The government of Sequeira, who ſucceeded Soarez in India, was not more glorious to his country, than that of his predeceſſor. The empire of the Mammeluke in Egypt, had been overturned by Selim the Firſt, emperor of the Turks; who reduced the kingdom into the form of a province, after the execution of the laſt ſultan, Toman Bai, as Auguſtus had done, after the death of Cleopatra. Succeeding to the political enmities, with the dominions of the Mammeluke princes, Selim prepared to ſet limits to the Portugueze acquiſitions in India; and it was againſt the Ottoman fleet, that Sequeira principally undertook a new expedition to the Red Sea. Like the two preceding ones, under Albuquerque and Soarez, it was accompanied with diſappointment, and attended with misfortunes, reſult-

[60] Neuville, vol. ii. p. 523—530. Oſorio, vol. ii. p. 265—272. La Clede, vol. i. p. 626, 627.

ing

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ing, in a great meaſure, from the ignorance of the Portugueze, reſpecting the currents and navigation of that dangerous gulph [61].

1519—1521. Progreſſive augmentation of the Portugueze power in Aſia.

The procraſtination and irreſolution of Sequeira, were equally fatal to another favourite meaſure of the court of Liſbon; that of obtaining permiſſion, either by force or negotiation, to conſtruct a fort at Diu; a place which, from its poſition, at the ſouthern extremity of the province of Guzurat, was admirably calculated for connecting Perſia with Indoſtan, and for extending protection to Goa, and to Ormus. Melic Jaz, who commanded in the city under the king of Cambay, not only rejected his requeſts, and reſiſted all his attempts; but, obtained ſome ſignal advantages over the Portugueze themſelves. Yet, even under theſe adverſe circumſtances, Emanuel's power and territories continually augmented. An inſurrection, of a ſerious nature, in the Gulf of Perſia, which menaced Ormus, was quelled. The province of the Balaghaut, on the weſtern ſide of the Peninſula of India, and important from its vicinity to Goa, was voluntarily ceded to Mello, governor of that city. In Ceylon, Britto vanquiſhed the natives, who had attempted to expel him from the iſland. Ormus was completely reduced into ſubjection, after a vigorous and nearly ſucceſsful effort on the part of Torun Sha, to become maſter of the citadel. Coutigno, aided by ſome naval forces, maintained ſo long a reſiſtance, that the enemy in deſpair abandoned their project, and quitted the iſland itſelf. Torun Sha was ſoon afterwards ſtrangled by his miniſter Hamed; and a ſon of Zeyfadin, named Mahmud, was declared his ſucceſſor, who concluded a peace with the Portugueze, by which he anew acknowledged himſelf a vaſſal of Emanuel [62].

Unſucceſsful attempt to retake Ormus.

Such was the proſperous ſituation of affairs in Aſia, at the termination of that monarch's reign, who expired at Liſbon, in the fifty-third year of his age, after a diſtemper of ſhort continuance. He was

1521. December. Death, and character of Emanuel.

[61] Neuville, vol. ii. p. 538—543. Lafitau, vol. i. p. 575—586. Oſorio, vol. ii. p. 286—290.

[62] Lafitau, vol. i. p. 586—616. Neuville, vol. ii. p. 566—581, and p. 595—602. Oſorio, vol. ii. p. 319—332.

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ſurnamed the Great, and the Fortunate; titles, to which he ſeems to have had an equal pretenſion. If, in abilities, he was inferior to John the Second, he far excelled that prince in virtue and benignity. His reign is not ſtained with the execution of a duke of Braganza, or the aſſaſſination of a duke of Viſeo. In humanity, juſtice, liberality, and affection for his people, he is ſcarcely exceeded by any prince in hiſtory. Portugal enjoyed, under his mild and equal ſway, a felicity, unparalleled in modern times; and which can only be compared with the tranquillity and happineſs of Rome, under the Antonines. The inferior orders of the people were peculiarly dear to, and protected by Emanuel; in whoſe reign, it was commonly ſaid, that poverty and diſtreſs were baniſhed from Portugal. The epithet of "the Golden Age," was revived, to commemorate the bleſſings of his domeſtic adminiſtration and government; while the external ſucceſs of his arms, the diſcoveries of Gama, and the conqueſts of Albuquerque, combined to elevate the Portugueze ſovereign and nation, to the moſt envied pre-eminence among the European States. Their fleets navigated, and triumphed, form Perſia and Arabia, to the Moluccas, and the confines of China. A great portion of the continent of Africa, on either ſide of the equinoctial line, was ſubjected and colonized. While Mexico and Peru were conquered by Spain, Brazil fell to the ſhare of Portugal, and became eventually, an acquiſition of the higheſt importance. In Morocco, though not uniformly ſucceſsful, Emanuel repreſſed the Moors, and occupied them, by carrying perpetual hoſtilities into their country. If we regard him in private life, he is equally amiable as in his public capacity; free from vices, and exemplary in the diſcharge of every domeſtic duty. From the errors and weakneſſes, inſeparably attached to humanity, he was not exempt, and his ſeverity towards the Jews in the beginning of his reign, admits of no apology; except that which is drawn from the ſpirit of bigotry and perſecution, by which the age itſelf was diſtinguiſhed, and from which the moſt beneficent diſpoſition received a taint. On the whole, he is, perhaps,

Grandeur of Portugal.

haps, of all the princes who have reigned in Europe, ſince the extinction of the Roman empire, the one who has the higheſt claim to the reſpect, as well as to the gratitude and approbation, of mankind [63].

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1521. December.

The crown of Portugal devolved, by Emanuel's death, to his eldeſt ſon, John the Third, who was at that time only in his twentieth year; and the people evinced the warmeſt attachment to their new ſovereign, who, by his conduct and government, juſtified their partiality. The maxims and the miniſters of the late reign, continued, in a great degree, to manage affairs; and ſo profound was the internal tranquillity of the kingdom, that ſcarcely any domeſtic events preſent themſelves, during the firſt years of John, which challenge the attention of hiſtory. It is a curious fact, and almoſt without parallel in the annals of modern nations, that the council of ſtate agitated the queſtion of marrying him to Eleanor of Caſtile, widow of the king, his father; and, however repugnant to all ideas of decorum, as well as ſubverſive of the laws of nature, ſo inceſtuous a union appears, the propoſition was ſtrongly ſupported in the cabinet by the duke of Braganza; nor was it believed to be unpleaſing to the young king himſelf. The indecency of the alliance, at length, cauſed it, nevertheleſs, to be rejected; and in the following year, he demanded, and obtained, the princeſs Catherine, younger ſiſter of Eleanor. The intermarriages of the preſent reigning family of Portugal, equally contrary to the uſages of other nations, and which have hitherto had no imitators, form a ſtriking ſimilarity, in that particular, between the Portugueze manners in the ſixteenth, and eighteenth centuries [64].

Acceſſion of John the Third.

1522. Domeſtic events.

The vigour, which had characteriſed Emanuel's reign, was equally manifeſted by his ſon; and Francis the Firſt, king of France, one of the moſt enterprizing monarchs in Europe, was compelled, by the remonſtrances of the Portugueze embaſſador, to deſiſt from his intention of ſending out a fleet to the Indies [65]. But, this proſperity

1521—1523. Tranſactions in Aſia.

[63] Neuville, vol. ii. p. 606—608. Oſorio, vol. ii. p. 358—363. La Clede, vol. i. p. 646—648. Abregé Chron. vol. ii. p. 132, 133.

[64] La Clede, vol. i. p. 654. Abregé Chron. vol. ii. p. 143. [65] La Clede, vol. i. p. 654.

and

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and energy were not extended to Aſia; where, under the adminiſtration of Edward Meneſes, who had ſucceeded Sequeira, public affairs were haſtening to decay. His venality, indolence, and ſupineneſs were univerſally felt, and produced the moſt ruinous conſequences. At Ormus, Hamed, the inveterate enemy of Portugal, and who had aſſaſſinated his own ſovereign, was replaced in the ſupreme authority, by Meneſes; and the diſgrace of the proceeding was increaſed by the notoriety and publicity of the ſum, paid by Hamed, to obtain his reſtoration to power. Idal Cawn invaded the dependencies of Goa with impunity, and even retook ſeveral places in the vicinity of the city. The perſon of the viceroy himſelf, was not ſecure from danger and inſult. As he ſailed down the coaſt of Malabar, at the head of a numerous fleet, the Samorin of Calicut treated him with indignity, and obliged him to quit the harbour. Inſtead of reſenting ſuch an outrage, he retired to Cochin; where he was purſued by the enemy, who maſſacred many of the Portugueze, and retreated without moleſtation. The valour and conduct of George Albuquerque preſerved Malacca; and Britto nearly effected the complete reduction of the Molucca iſlands, not without exerciſing many acts of violence and barbarity againſt the natives. But theſe ſucceſsful exertions faintly counterbalanced the calamity reſulting from the miſconduct of Meneſes; and the court of Liſbon, alarmed at its effects, determined on ſending out a perſon, capable of remedying the diſorders, occaſioned by the vices and incapacity of the governor [66].

Mal-adminiſtration of the Portugueze.

1524. Arrival of Vaſco de Gama.

The ſelection fell on Vaſco de Gama, who was regarded as the only man adequate to ſo arduous a taſk; and, notwithſtanding his advanced period of life, and numerous infirmities, he cheerfully prepared to embark anew for the ſcene of his early glory and diſcoveries. He arrived ſafely on the coaſt of Malabar; aſſumed the government of India; and by his wholeſome ſeverity, joined to his high reputation for juſtice and ability, began to awaken his countrymen from their inactivity. But, his adminiſtration was ſhort; and

[66] Laſitau, vol. ii. p. 1—45. La Clede, vol. i. p. 651—656.

after

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after ſcarcely exerciſing the functions of his charge more than three months, he expired at Cochin, in the ſeventieth year of his age. Notwithſtanding ſome acts of unjuſtifiable cruelty, which he committed during the progreſs of his wars with the Samorin, and which tarniſh the luſtre of his exploits, he muſt be regarded as one of the greateſt men whom Portugal has produced. His intrepidity, patience, fortitude, and perſeverance, enabled him to ſurmount the difficulties, which preſented themſelves to oppoſe his paſſage round the continent of Africa; and like Albuquerque, he breathed his laſt, in the country where his atchievements had ſecured him immortality [67].

1524. His death, and character. December.

The ſupreme command, by his death, devolved on Henry de Meneſes; nor could a more able ſubſtitute have been found for Gama. His contempt of riches, and diſintereſtedneſs, were equalled by his vigilance and military capacity. Aſſuming the adminiſtration, he immediately ſailed, in order to ſeek, and attack the Samorin. That prince was twice completely vanquiſhed; and theſe victories, which were gained by the Portugueze, under circumſtances of great inferiority and diſparity, reſtored the national reputation throughout India. But, their further progreſs was ſuſpended by the deceaſe of Meneſes; and a period of civil diſſenſion, approaching to anarchy, immediately commenced, which appeared to menace the very exiſtence of the Portugueze power in Aſia [68]. Maſcaregnas, named by the king to the ſucceſſion in the firſt inſtance, was abſent at Malacca, of which city he was governor. Sampayo, who commanded at Cochin, and who was only appointed to that office, in caſe of the deceaſe of Maſcaregnas, availed himſelf of his abſence, to ſeize on the ſupreme authority; nor, on his competitor's arrival, in the following year, would he reſign his uſurpation. Availing himſelf of ſubſequent letters from the court, in which his name was ſubſtituted and preferred to that of Maſcaregnas, Sampayo proceeded to arreſt him on his landing at Goa; from whence he was transferred to the

1525, 1526. Government of Meneſes.

1526—1529. Diſſenſions among the Portugueze.

[67] La Clede, vol. ii. p. 659, 660. Laſitau, vol. ii. p. 45—50.

[68] Laſitau, vol. ii. p. 51—96. La Clede, vol. i. p. 661—667, and p. 670.

citadel

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citadel of Cannanore, and thrown into priſon. So violent an act of injuſtice and oppreſſion excited univerſal reſentment. The friends of the injured and excluded governor, compelled his rival to liberate him from confinement, and to ſubmit their reſpective titles to a fair arbitration, compoſed of thirteen perſons, impartially choſen for the purpoſe. But, in this ſelection, the addreſs of Sampayo, and the exertions of his adherents, triumphed over the ſimplicity and moderation of Maſcaregnas. The government was adjudged to the former; and his rival, no longer attempting to ſtruggle againſt ſuch unequal force, and too patriotic to involve India in civil war, for his private quarrel, embarked for Liſbon, leaving Sampayo in poſſeſſion of the office.

Government, and actions of Sampayo.

Unjuſtifiable as were the means, by which his ſituation was acquired, he was not unworthy of it; and during three years, that he retained the ſupreme power, the enemies of the Portugueze were repreſſed, the dominions of the crown were augmented, and the national reputation for military ſkill and valour, ſuſtained. The coaſt of Malabar was protected, and repeated advantages were gained over the Samorin. Hali Sha, admiral of the king of Cambay, was vanquiſhed in a naval engagement, by Sampayo; and if the diſaffection of his officers had not prevented him from profiting of his victory, the city of Diu itſelf might have been taken. He fortified Ormus, Chaul, and Cannanore; and as the beſt proof of his wiſdom and œconomy, he left to his ſucceſſor, a fleet of one hundred and thirty-ſix ſhips, well equipped. Theſe great qualities were ſullied by avarice and rapacity; and, on his return to Europe, the king ſeverely puniſhed his unjuſt aſſumption of the government: he was fined, impriſoned, and compelled to leave the kingdom [69].

Eſtabliſhment of the inquiſition in Portugal.

If, from Aſia, we turn our view to Portugal, the eſtabliſhment of the inquiſition is almoſt the only memorable event, in the period of time of which we are treating. It was introduced by the king himſelf, with

[69] Lafitau, vol. ii. p. 96—150. paſſim. La Clede, vol. i. p. 670—677. Abregé Chron. vol. i p. 173—194.

a view to repreſs the progreſs of Judaiſm, and Mahometaniſm; and that tribunal ſoon acquired ſuch force, as to be no longer controuled by the authority, to which it owed its exiſtence. Warm remonſtrances were offered, and vigorous oppoſition was made; by the nobility, to its continuance; but John, from principles of a pernicious and miſtaken zeal, maintained the inſtitution; and the court of Rome confirmed its power [70]. 1526—1529.

Acugna, who had been appointed to ſucceed Sampayo, inherited all the virtues of his predeceſſor, without his vices and defects. Under his government, new conqueſts were made, and new territories added, to the Portugueze empire in India. Deman, and Baſeen, two conſiderable places in the Concan, were ſucceſſively taken; and the city of Diu, on which the court of Liſbon had fixed its views, and the poſſeſſion of which was alone wanting to add Guzurat to the provinces already ſubjected, fell at length into the hands of Acugna. The kingdom of Cambay, of which Diu was a dependancy, ranked, at the beginning of the ſixteenth century, among the moſt commercial and extenſive ſovereignties of India. Sultan Badur, who occupied the throne, a prince of talents and ambition, was an inveterate enemy of the Portugueze. He had only recently rendered himſelf maſter of Diu, and expelled the governor, who had long aſſumed and maintained an independence on the king of Cambay. Badur knew the importance and value of the acquiſition; but, preſſed by the arms of the Mogul, and ſurrounded by enemies, he was reduced to the neceſſity of negotiating with the viceroy, who demanded permiſſion to conſtruct a citadel. After a conſiderable time, and many evaſions, Acugna obtained from the ſultan, this conceſſion; and fearful of committing it to hazard, by delay, he immediately repaired to Diu, with a numerous fleet. The ground, deſtined for the fort, was marked out; and ſo anxious was Acugna to avail himſelf of the favourable moment, that in forty-nine days, the

1529—1538. Acugna ſucceeds to Sampayo.

Acquiſition of Diu.

[70] Abregé Chron. vol. ii. p. 172, and p. 223, 224.

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new fortifications were ſufficiently completed, to be ſecure from inſult.

Badur had no ſooner ceded the point deſired, than he repented of his facility, and endeavoured by treachery to regain poſſeſſion of the citadel. To effect it the more eaſily, he demanded an interview, which took place in the port of Diu, on board the veſſel of Acugna; who, aware of the ſultan's perfidious intentions, attempted to anticipate them by ſeizing his perſon. In effecting his eſcape to the ſhore, he was killed by the Portugueze; and his nephew Mahmud was elevated to the throne of Cambay. Induced by the deſire of revenging his uncle's death, and of recovering the citadel of Diu, the new prince was no ſooner eſtabliſhed in the kingdom, than he aſſembled forces, and inveſted the fortreſs. Solyman the Second, Emperor of the Turks, ſent the baſhaw of Cairo to his aid, who joined Mahmud under the walls. They exerted every effort to render themſelves maſters of the place, and even effected a lodgment on one of the ramparts. But, Silveira, who commanded in the citadel, with only ſix hundred men, made ſo reſolute a defence, that, after an incredible ſlaughter, the allies precipitately abandoned the ſiege. The Turkiſh baſhaw regained the Red Sea; and the troops of Mahmud retired into the province of Guzurat; leaving to Sylveira the honour of having, with ſo ſlender a garriſon, rendered abortive the united attempts of two great ſovereigns, to reduce Diu to their obedience. The merits of Acugna, like thoſe of Albuquerque, were repaid with ingratitude; and after an adminiſtration of near ten years, during which he had rendered the moſt important ſervices to his country, he fell under the diſpleaſure of the court, and was recalled with circumſtances of unmerited hardſhip and diſgrace: he was ſucceeded in his dignity, by Garcia de Norogna [71].

Death of ſultan Badur.

Siege of Diu by ſultan Mahmud.

Recall of Acugna.

Events in Portugal.

While the ſplendor of the Portugueze arms was ſo well ſuſtained in Aſia, the internal tranquillity and felicity of the kingdom were

[71] Lafitau, vol. ii. p. 150—275. La Clede, vol. i. p. 687, and p. 690, 691.

diſturbed

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1529—1538.

diſturbed by earthquakes, more violent than thoſe which had happened under Emanuel. Liſbon was almoſt deſtroyed: Santarem, Almerin, and other places in the vicinity of the capital, were ſwallowed up in the earth. Thirty thouſand perſons periſhed in the capital only; and the calamity was rendered ſtill more terrible, by an inundation of the Tagus. The king, and royal family, encamped in tents, during a conſiderable time. Portugal, in every period, appears to have been ſubject to theſe convulſions, which return, at certain intervals, with augmented violence; and the hiſtory of the preſent century bears a ſtriking ſimilitude in this reſpect, to the reign of John the Third, in all its circumſtances. The kingdom enjoyed, notwithſtanding, an uninterrupted peace, and the benefits of a lucrative and extenſive commerce, at a period of time when almoſt all the other European ſtates were involved in wars, and deſtitute of trade or manufactures [72].

1538—1540. Tranſactions in Aſia.

The new viceroy, Norogna, though nephew to the great Albuquerque, and long diſtinguiſhed by his military exploits in Africa, ill ſuſtained in India, either his own reputation, or the glory of his country. By his delays, he loſt the occaſion of attacking and defeating the baſhaw of Cairo, in his flight from before Diu; and that place itſelf owed its preſervation, ſolely to the unconquerable courage and reſources of Sylveira, the governor. Norogna ſullied the national honour, by inſtantly concluding an inglorious peace with ſultan Mahmud; and the conditions, which might have been dictated by the viceroy, were ſo favourable to the king of Cambay, that ſuſpicions, highly injurious to Norogna's integrity, were univerſally entertained. He, in a conſiderable degree, repaired the diſgrace, by effecting a ſolid pacification with the Samorin of Calicut; who, ſinking under accumulated defeats and loſſes, ſubmitted to the terms impoſed on him by his conquerors [73]. The viceroy died ſoon after-

[72] Abregé Chron. vol. ii. p. 202.

[73] La Clede, vol. ii. p. 691—693. Lafitau, vol. ii. p. 276—293. Abregé Chron. vol. ii. p. 233—235.

wards,

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wards, worn out with age and infirmities. He was little regretted; and his ſucceſſor, Stephen de Gama, ſon of the famous Vaſco, poſſeſſed qualities and virtues, worthy of the higheſt ſituation.

1538—1540.

1540—1542. Expedition to the Red Sea.

No enemy remained to vanquiſh, from Ormus to Malacca, or from Guzurat, to the ſouthern extremity of Ceylon; and Gama, in purſuance of orders from the court of Liſbon, undertook an expedition againſt Suez, at the northern termination of the Red Sea, where the fleet of Solyman, the Turkiſh emperor, lay at anchor. But, the Portugueze enterprizes againſt Egypt and Arabia, were always deſtined to be ruinous, or unproductive. In conſequence of a delay in approaching Suez, troops were thrown into the place; and Gama was under the neceſſity of retreating precipitately to his ſhips. Nor was his brother more fortunate, who was ſent, with a body of troops, to the aſſiſtance of the king of Abyſſinia. After penetrating into that unknown and ſequeſtered portion of Africa, and performing exploits of the moſt heroic valor, he periſhed; and the Portugueze under his command, atchieved no object of national importance. The adminiſtration of Gama, during the time that he governed India, was, notwithſtanding, diſtinguiſhed by the moſt beneficent and diſintereſted zeal for the glory of his country. But, the term of it was ſhort; and he was ſuperceded by Alfonſo de Souſa, whoſe rapacity and injuſtice rendered the loſs of his predeceſſor ſtill more lamented [74]. To him ſucceeded the celebrated John de Caſtro.

1542—1545.

1545—1548. Second ſiege of Diu, by Mahmud.

During the ſiege of Diu, which was again attacked by Mahmud, king of Cambay, Maſcaregnas acquired a military reputation, even ſuperior to that which had been attained by Sylveira. In the hiſtory of modern nations, there is ſcarcely any inſtance of more undaunted courage, ſuſtained under the preſſure of famine, for many months, and againſt an enemy ſo ſuperior. Efforts, almoſt above the powers of men, were made by the governor and garriſon, whoſe religious

[74] Laſitau, vol. ii. p. 294—342. paſſim. La Clede, vol. i. p. 694—696, and p. 704, and p. 710, 711.

zeal

zeal aided and inflamed their ardor. They rejected all propoſals of accommodation, even the moſt honourable; and held out, among the ruins of the fortreſs, deſtitute of ammunition or proviſions, till the viceroy came in perſon, to their reſcue. Even after his arrival, their united numbers were ſo comparatively ſmall, that ſafety lay only in ſucceſs. John de Caſtro, and Maſcaregnas, obtained a ſignal victory, and cut to pieces the army of the king of Cambay. It was requiſite to reconſtruct the citadel, which had been demoliſhed by the fire of the enemy; but, the royal treaſury was empty, and no pecuniary reſources preſented themſelves. In this embarraſſment, the viceroy adopted an expedient, which places in a conſpicuous point of view, the elevation of his own character, and the generous promptitude of the Portugueze to contribute towards the public neceſſities. He addreſſed a letter to the inhabitants of Goa, demanding the loan of a conſiderable ſum; and as the ſureſt pledge for their repayment, he ſent them one of his mouſtachios. The money was inſtantly remitted him, with alacrity; and the females of diſtinction, animated with ſentiments of affection for their country, and the deſire of contributing to its glory, voluntarily preſented their jewels, in addition. After re-eſtabliſhing the fortifications of Diu, Caſtro embarked for Goa; into which city he made his triumphal entry, crowned with palm leaves, and accompanied with all the honours of victory. Juſar Cawn, one of the captive generals of the king of Cambay, and ſix hundred priſoners, with trophies, colours, and artillery, followed the proceſſion. The feſtivities laſted ſeveral days; and the ſpectacle itſelf renewed the idea of the Roman triumphs, over vanquiſhed princes and nations. The Portugueze power ſeemed to have attained its ſummit; and in the ſhort ſpace of fifty years, that nation had become miſtreſs of the moſt valuable ports of Perſia, Arabia, and of the Indies. Goa reſembled the capital of a vaſt empire, and the viceroy's court equalled in magnificence thoſe of the Aſiatic princes.

Enemy vanquiſhed.

Viceroyalty, and exploits of Caſtro.

Splendor of Goa.

The

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1515—1548. Death, and character of Caſtro.

The felicity of Caſtro was not, however, without alloy; and his ſenſibility to the diſgrace of his countrymen, who, after making themſelves maſters of the city of Aden, which Albuquerque himſelf could not effect, had precipitately evacuated the place; accelerated his end. He expired at Goa, in the arms of the famous Francis Xavier, whom religious zeal had carried out to India. His virtues and great qualities equal him with the moſt illuſtrious men of antiquity: but, his diſintereſtedneſs placed him, if poſſible, in a more elevated point of view. Anxious only for the ſtate, he deſpiſed all perſonal conſiderations, and expended his private fortune, to ſuſtain the honour and intereſts of Portugal. Such was his poverty, that, after his death, only three ſmall pieces of copper coin were found in his cheſt, together with the portion of his beard, which he had ſent as a pledge for the reſtitution of the money, borrowed for the public ſervice[75].

1548—1554. Extenſive conqueſts, and power of the Portugueze.

The Portugueze power and commerce continued, notwithſtanding, perpetually to augment, in defiance of every obſtacle. Japan was diſcovered, and a trade was begun with that diſtant country, placed at the extremity of Aſia. Settlements were made, and factories eſtabliſhed, on the coaſt of Coromandel. From the mouths of the Ganges, to the ſouthern point of the Peninſula of Indoſtan, the ſhore was occupied by that enterprizing nation. The rich province of Guzurat might be regarded as part of the dominions of John the Third; all the ports of conſequence being poſſeſſed by his ſubjects. The iſland of Ceylon yielded to repeated invaſions; and became tributary, or was completely ſubjected. Malacca, continually beſieged by the kings of Sumatra, and by its antient princes, baffled every attempt for its reduction. The Molucca iſlands, after long exhibiting a ſcene of violence and barbarity, the moſt diſgraceful to the Portugueze name and nation, were forced to ſubmit to the yoke. The cruelties, exerciſed in thoſe remote poſſeſſions, by ſucceſſive governors, equal the enormities of Cortez and Pizarro in America, and cannot be peruſed without horror. Their vaſt diſtance from the ſeat of government, and the

Crimes and enormities.

[75] Lafitau, vol. ii. p. 342—418. Abregé Chron. vol. ii. p. 265—267, and p. 270—273. La Clede, vol. i. p. 711—722, and vol. ii. p. 9—11.

difficulty

difficulty of tranſmitting or receiving intelligence, ſecured impunity for every crime [76].

1554. Domeſtic tranſactions.

In the magnitude of the Portugueze conqueſts, which extended over ſo large a portion of Aſia and Africa, and which form one of the moſt intereſting ſubjects of modern hiſtory, we continually loſe ſight of the kingdom itſelf, from whence theſe revolutions proceeded. The proſperity which attended the arms of John the Third, and the wiſdom of his adminiſtration at home, could not ſecure him from the ſevereſt privations in his own family. Four of his ſons were already dead; and the only remaining one, John, prince of Portugal, having attained to the age of ſixteen, was married to Jane, daughter of the emperor Charles the Fifth. The princeſs was declared to be pregnant, when her huſband was ſeized with a ſlow fever, which encreaſing in violence, terminated his life. This diſaſtrous event was concealed from her, during eighteen days; at the end of which time, ſhe brought into the world a ſon, who was named Sebaſtian. He afterwards ſucceeded to the crown, and became too well known by his misfortunes, and the ruin which he entailed upon his country. In the ſucceeding year, died Louis, duke of Beja, brother to the king, and one of the moſt accompliſhed princes of the age in which he lived. He was commonly ſurnamed "the Delight of Portugal," from his munificence, valour, courteſy, and other virtues. He left one ſon, named Anthony, by a lady of noble birth, called Violenté Gomez; but his legitimacy was never acknowledged, and appears to have been very problematical. After the defeat and death of Sebaſtian in Africa, he made repeated, but ineffectual efforts, to aſcend the throne [77].

Birth of Sebaſtian.

1555.

1557. June. Death, and character of John the Third.

Theſe misfortunes, however great, were obliterated by that which Portugal ſuſtained, in the death of John the Third. He terminated his life and reign in the fifty-fifth year of his age; and the affliction which his ſubjects felt, was augmented by the proſpect of a minority,

[76] Laſitau, vol. ii. p. 419—519, paſſim. La Clede, vol. ii. p. 11—26.
[77] La Clede, vol. ii. p. 26, and p. 30, 31.

with

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with its uſual concomitant evils. The tranquillity, which the kingdom enjoyed, during thirty-five years that he had filled the throne, and the mildneſs of his government, encreaſed the general grief. His enlarged affection for his people was evinced, by his reluctance to impoſe taxes, by his rigid frugality in the expenditure of the public treaſure, and by his attention to every branch of national improvement. Magnificent in his court, he was ſimple and modeſt in his family; he loved and encouraged letters; diſcovered, and protected merit; and blended a princely liberality in rewarding ſervices, with the moſt ſyſtematic œconomy. In talents, energy of mind, and application to affairs, he was inferior to Emanuel: his piety approached to ſuperſtition, and led him into numerous errors. Above all, the introduction of the tribunal of the inquiſition tended to debaſe the national character, and to break the high ſpirit of his ſubjects, which had atchieved ſo many great exploits, under his own, and his father's reign. On the coaſt of Barbary, he adopted a policy, very oppoſite to that of his two immediate predeceſſors, who had attempted to puſh their conqueſts, and to ſubject the kingdoms of Fez and Morocco. John gradually withdrew his troops, and ſucceſſively abandoned Arzila, Safi, Azamor, and many other fortreſſes. Neceſſity dictated this conduct, which was contrary to the popular wiſh. It became impracticable to maintain the acquiſitions in India, unleſs Africa was, in ſome meaſure, relinquiſhed; Portugal not being equal to ſupply the perpetual demand of men and ſhips, requiſite to ſecure the vaſt conqueſts of Albuquerque and his ſucceſſors[78].

Policy of that monarch.

Minority of Sebaſtian.

The period of Sebaſtian's minority, though agitated by ſome ſtruggles between the queen, widow to John the Third, and the cardinal Henry, only remaining ſon of Emanuel; was diſtinguiſhed, nevertheleſs, by internal tranquillity and proſperity. In Aſia, during the twenty years which elapſed after the death of John de Caſtro, the Portugueze power appeared to have ſtruck ſo deep a root, that every attempt to ſubvert it, muſt be ineffectual. But many cauſes contri-

View of the Portugueze power in Aſia.

[78] La Clede, vol. ii. p. 35—38. Lafitau, vol. ii. p. 545. Abregé Chron. vol. ii. p. 328—334.

buted to undermine this greatneſs, and to expoſe it to hazard. The firſt conquerors of India, the cotemporaries of Gama, Almeyda, and Albuquerque, were extinct. Luxury, effeminacy, and all the vices uſually attending them, had ſpread their influence among their deſcendants. Contempt of juſtice, venality, rapacity, and cruelty, had alienated the affections of the natives, who were only held in ſubjection by terror. That ſentiment diminiſhed, as the Aſiatics became gradually more accuſtomed to the European ſyſtem of war, and of military diſcipline. Numbers of Portugueze, unreſtrained either by attachment to their religion, or country, ſerved in the armies of the princes of India, and taught them to oppoſe ſucceſsfully their conquerors. The genuine blood of Europe, which flowed in the veins of the firſt adventurers, was gradually broken down and debaſed, by the marriages which they contracted with the Hindoo and Mahometan women. From theſe unions, ſprang a race of men, far inferior in vigour of mind and energy, to their progenitors[79]. The great ſovereigns of India, though humbled and depreſſed, were not vanquiſhed. They had abandoned the coaſts; but, ſtill occupying the interior provinces, they were capable, by uniting their ſtrength and reſources, of overturning the power of Portugal. Such a combination was, by no means, ideal or improbable; and if effected, very uncommon talents muſt be requiſite to ſuſtain the ſhock. In this ſituation, were all the Aſiatic poſſeſſions of Sebaſtian, at the time when, having attained to majority, he, by one of the firſt acts of his government, appointed Louis d'Ataïde viceroy of the Indies.

1568—1571. Character, and diſpoſition of Sebaſtian.

The character of the young king of Portugal began already to unfold itſelf, and to diſplay thoſe qualities, which were eventually fatal to his country, and to himſelf. An ardent and romantic paſſion for glory, formed the predominant feature of his mind; and to it all the others were ſubſervient. As if to augment its violence, his precep-

[79] Laſitau, vol. ii. p. 602, 603.

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tors, who were principally of the order of the Jeſuits, imbued him with ſo ſtrong a deteſtation of the Mahometan religion, and ſo warm a deſire to ſpread the chriſtian faith, that he anxiouſly anticipated the moment, when he might in perſon carry war into Africa, and exterminate the worſhippers of Mahomet. During ſeveral years, this diſpoſition was controuled by various impediments. His youth, the remonſtrances of his miniſters, and the treaties of peace, ſubſiſting between the Mooriſh kings and the crown of Portugal, impoſed inſurmountable barriers to his zeal, and ambition. But, as he approached to manhood, and as flattery repreſented to him the facility with which his wiſhes might be gratified, he grew more bent on the proſecution of his deſign, and gave ſerious grounds of alarm to his ſubjects. Like Charles the Twelfth of Sweden, to whom, in many reſpects, he bore a ſtriking reſemblance, beauty appeared to have no charms for him, nor to poſſeſs any power of ſeduction over a mind, occupied only by one ſentiment. He even expreſſed an indifference for perpetuating his race, and rejected various overtures of marriage. Yet, full of affection toward his people, he enacted the moſt beneficial regulations for their protection; obſerved rigidly the execution of juſtice; and even addreſſed letters, with his own hand, to the principal magiſtrates of the kingdom, demanding their advice on matters of every kind, in which the public happineſs was intereſted [80].

Combination of the great Aſiatic princes againſt Portugal.

The commencement of Ataïde's adminiſtration was brilliant and ſucceſsful; but, in the midſt of this proſperity, a combination was forming, which threatened the exiſtence of the Portugueze empire in Aſia. Three of the greateſt ſovereigns of the peninſula of India, alarmed at the proſpect of their own approaching ruin, joined to exterminate the common enemy of their religion, independance, and liberty. The plan was concealed for ſeveral years, with profound

[80] La Clede, vol. ii. p. 49—52. Abregé Chron. vol. ii. p. 384, 385.

diſſimu-

diſſimulation, and only became known by the magnitude of the preparations requiſite to carry it into execution. Idal Cawn, king of Viſiapour, Nizam-ul-Muluc, ſovereign of the Decan, and the Samorin of Calicut, were the three principal chiefs. The king of Acheen entered into the league, and undertook to attack Malacca; while Selim the Second, emperor of the Turks, who had ſucceeded to his father Solyman, engaged to ſend a powerful fleet from Suez, to join the confederates. So infallible did the ſucceſs of the ſcheme appear, that the contracting parties not only regulated the future diviſion of the Portugueze dominions, in equal portions; but, appropriated reſpectively to each, their ſhare of the territories. When the plan was ripe for execution, Idal Cawn, at the head of a prodigious army, began his march, and laid ſiege to Goa, in which was Ataïde himſelf. Nizam-ul-Muluc, at the ſame time, ſat down before Chaul. The conduct of the viceroy, under theſe circumſtances, equally wiſe and magnanimous, eminently conduced to diſſipate ſo formidable a combination. In oppoſition to the unanimous opinion of his council, who adviſed him to abandon all the inferior poſts or acquiſitions in various parts of India, and to concentre the whole force of the nation round Goa; he reſolved, not to cede, or relinquiſh any of the numerous dependencies of Portugal; but, to diſpute every inch of ground with his enemies.

Conduct of Ataïde.

The Samorin, after loſing a conſiderable time in the equipment of his fleet, made a late and ineffectual effort, to deſtroy the ſquadron of Maſcaregnas, in the river of Chaul. The Turkiſh gallies, to the number of twenty-five, arrived at Mocha, near the mouth of the Red Sea, on their paſſage to India; but the diviſions which took place between the Turks and Arabians, were ſo violent, as to retard their further progreſs; and the battle of Lepanto, gained ſoon afterwards over the Ottomans, by Don John of Auſtria, obliged the ſultan to recal his forces, and to relinquiſh his deſigns on India. Chaul, though only a ſmall, and ill-fortified town, yet was defended with ſuch valour,

Enemy defeated.

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that Nizam-ul-Muluc at length decamped from before it, and concluded a peace with the Portugueze. Idal Cawn himſelf, after perſiſting ten months in his attempt to reduce Goa, and having loſt his moſt valuable elephants and choiceſt troops before Benaſterin, without making any effectual progreſs, in deſpair withdrew his army, and retired into his own dominions. Malacca, ſo often attacked, was again preſerved by Mello, who, with a very inferior force, defeated the king of Acheen; and this vaſt combination, which ſeemed ready to ſwallow up the power of Portugal in Aſia, only tended to confirm their empire[81].

1572. Recall of Ataïde.

Ataïde's government terminated with the concluſion of the war. A ſucceſſor arriving from Liſbon, he embarked for Europe, and was received on his landing, by the young king, with uncommon demonſtrations of affection and reſpect. But this favour was of ſhort duration; and the important ſervices which he had rendered to his country, by diſperſing and vanquiſhing its enemies, could not protect him from diſgrace. Sebaſtian, incenſed at the freedom with which Ataïde oppoſed his projects of invading Morocco, baniſhed him from his preſence[82]. The triumph of the Portugueze over ſo many princes,

1573. Immenſe magnitude of the Portugueze dominions.

united for their deſtruction, ſecured, nevertheleſs, their future repoſe in India. No ſimilar or equal effort to eject them, was ever afterwards made; and even Acbar, the great Mogul, who reigned, at that period, over a vaſt portion of the Peninſula, and who had recently added the whole kingdom of Cambay to his dominions, yet reſpected theſe formidable neighbours. Such was the extent and magnitude of their poſſeſſions in the eaſt, that it was judged indiſpenſible to adopt a new ſyſtem for their government; and to divide them into three great independent departments. The firſt, with the title of viceroy, extended from the Straits of Babelmandel, round to Cape Comorin; including in its juriſdiction, Goa, Ormus, and the coaſt of Malabar,

[81] Laſitau, vol. ii. p. 601—666. La Clede, vol. ii. p. 199—224.
[82] La Clede, vol. ii. p. 224.

together

together with the iſland of Ceylon. The ſecond comprehended the whole eaſtern ſhore of Africa, from the river of Delagoa, on either ſide of the Tropic of Capricorn; Mozambique, Sofala, and the other ſettlements, to the mouth of the Red Sea. In the laſt, were included Malacca, the Molucca iſlands, and all the eſtabliſhments between the bay of Bengal and China. It is not without admiration that we can reflect on ſuch a tract of coaſt, in the moſt fertile and commercial parts of Aſia and Africa, from the Cape of Good Hope to Japan, being reduced to the obedience of a country, which formed only a diviſion of the Roman province of Spain. The Britiſh empire in India, towards the end of the eighteenth century, vaſt as it muſt be acknowledged, appears ſmall, on a compariſon with that of Portugal, under Sebaſtian[83].

1573, 1574. Imprudent projects of Sebaſtian.

While, in every part of the world, the Portugueze power and dominions acquired ſtrength, the fatal paſſion of their ſovereign for expeditions of foreign conqueſt, prepared the ruin of his country. To ſuch a pitch of infatuation did it lead him, that he projected to embark in perſon for India, as the only theatre worthy of his courage. Alcaſova, his firſt miniſter, and who, to acquire an influence over his maſter, had encouraged and flattered him in all his weakneſſes; terrified at this propoſition, objected to the diſtance of the Indies, and ſubſtituted Morocco in their place. No endeavours, nor remonſtrances of his council, could divert him from his reſolution. The cardinal Henry, his uncle, the only ſurviving ſon of Emanuel, had loſt his influence; and when the celebrated Maſcaregnas, who had gained ſo high a reputation by his defence of Diu, inveighed againſt the abettors of the enterprize, Sebaſtian aſſembled his phyſicians, and demanded of them, whether perſonal courage might not diminiſh with age. They replied in the affirmative; and the king triumphed in their declaration. Under pretence of viſiting the fortreſſes belonging to Portugal on the northern coaſt of Africa, he embarked from Liſbon, with a few followers; having previouſly ſent over

[83] Laſitau, vol. ii. p. 671, and 672.

Anthony

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1573. 1574. He embarks for Tangier.

Anthony, prior of Crato, ſon to the duke of Beja, with ſome hundred ſoldiers. He landed at Tangier; expoſed his perſon, by needleſsly attacking the Moors who collected to oppoſe him; and celebrated, by games and rejoicings, this ſlight ſucceſs. On his return home, he was in imminent danger of periſhing by a ſtorm; and his ſubjects were already under the utmoſt alarm for his ſafety, when he entered the Tagus. The fortunate iſſue of the enterprize ſerved to increaſe Sebaſtian's ardor; and he only waited for a favourable occaſion to give full ſcope to his inclinations [84].

1574. State of Portugal at this period.

If we conſider the political ſituation of Portugal at this period, we muſt admit that it has been rarely ſurpaſſed by any nation, in felicity and ſplendor. The celebrated hiſtorian, who has written the "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," beautifully and juſtly remarks, that "the time which elapſed between the death of Domitian and the acceſſion of Commodus, was, inconteſtibly, that, in which the condition of the human race was moſt happy and proſperous; the vaſt extent of the Roman world being then governed by abſolute power, under the guidance of virtue and wiſdom [85]." If, in like manner, we were called to point out, in modern hiſtory, the period, when any European nation has enjoyed the greateſt portion of felicity; we ſhould name the reigns of John the Second, Emanuel, and John the Third of Portugal. They compriſed, from the year 1481 to 1557, a ſpace of about ſeventy-ſix years; and conſequently, not much inferior in duration to that which elapſed between the acceſſion of Nerva, and the death of Marcus Aurelius. It has even this memorable difference in favour of the Portugueze; that they emerged from obſcurity, into ſplendor, wealth, and conſequence, by the exertion of the moſt heroic qualities; while the Romans, under Trajan and the Antonines, were ſinking faſt into barbariſm.

Its felicity.

[84] Abregé Chron. vol. ii. p. 419, 420. La Clede, vol. ii. p. 53—56.

[85] Gibbon, vol. i. p. 126, 127.

Sebaſtian,

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Sebaſtian, in 1574, was maſter of a great portion of Aſia; and in Africa, he poſſeſſed both coaſts of that immenſe continent; where he might be ſaid to reign from the tropic of Cancer, round to the ſtraits of Babelmandel, in the two hemiſpheres. Brazil, a country of unknown limits and productions, extending from the river Orellana to La Plata, began already to be colonized. The city of St. Salvador was founded under the reign of John the Third; and that of Rio Janeiro, ſoon afterwards [86]. Portugal was miſtreſs of the excluſive commerce of India and the Moluccas, by which all Europe was ſupplied with ſpices; for the ſale of which, marts were eſtabliſhed at Liſbon, Leghorn, and Antwerp. Sebaſtian retained the keys of the Red Sea, and of the gulf of Perſia, by means of Ormus, and of his powerful fleets, with which he had driven the Turks to take refuge in their ports: and he had recently triumphed, by his lieutenants, over the greateſt ſovereigns of Indoſtan, united for his deſtruction. From the mouths of the Euphrates and the Indus, to thoſe of the Ganges, the Portugueze flag impreſſed terror, or extended protection. The nation had no external enemy to dread, except Spain, with whoſe ſovereign Sebaſtian was intimately allied by blood and treaty: they were unmoleſted by the Mooriſh princes of Africa, who only demanded the continuance of peace, and who were not in a condition to act offenſively againſt Portugal. From this eminence they were precipitated, within a few years, by the raſhneſs and folly of Sebaſtian. Anarchy ſucceeded; and made way for a ſtate of depreſſion and ſervitude under the Spaniſh princes, which equalled their preceding grandeur and proſperity; affording to mankind a memorable example of the uncertainty of greatneſs, and of the calamities which one ill-adviſed man may entail upon a country.

1574. Foreign dominions.

Commerce.

Political ſecurity.

Although the power of the crown over all the inferior ranks of ſubjects, was ſcarcely leſs deſpotic in Portugal, than in the neighbouring dominions of Spain; yet much ſtronger traces of the feudal ſyſtem exiſted in the former, than in the latter kingdom. Philip the Second

Limited nature of the royal power.

[86] La Clede, vol. ii. p. 38—43.

had,

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had, in a great meaſure, reduced the nobility of Caſtile, and even thoſe of Arragon, to the condition of the other orders; but, Sebaſtian experienced from his barons, on various occaſions, the moſt pertinacious oppoſition to his will. In 1577, only three years after the period under our review, when he meditated his unfortunate enterprize againſt Africa; the expences neceſſarily incurred by his vaſt naval and military preparations, compelled him to exact unuſual contributions from the nation. The clergy, induced by the approbation of the papal ſee, and the pious nature of a cruzade againſt Mahometans, reluctantly conſented to be taxed at the ſum of one hundred and fifty thouſand crowns. But, neither ſo animating an example, nor the preſſing ſolicitations of a young and popular monarch, could prevail upon the nobles to grant a ſupply towards the expedition. They even ventured, by the mouth of the Count de Tentugal, one of their own body, to remonſtrate, in language approaching to menace, againſt any attempt to infringe their privileges. The principal burthen of the war fell on the people, who obeyed in ſilence, and were ultimately the victims of Sebaſtian's intemperate thirſt of glory [87].

Revenues.

The revenues of the crown in 1574, were eſtimated at about three millions of ducats; a ſum not very ſhort of a million and a half of pounds ſterling. Two-thirds of the amount were furniſhed by Portugal, the poſſeſſions on the coaſt of Guinea, the iſlands of the Atlantic, and the Brazil. The remaining million was derived from the Indies [88]. If we compare it with the enormous receipt of Philip the Second, we ſhall find that it did not exceed an eighth part of the Spaniſh revenues. But, on the other hand, it amounted to above three times the ſum, annually received by Elizabeth, queen of England, from the aggregate of all the taxes and contributions levied on the Engliſh people [89]. The Portugueze ſovereigns, in the ſixteenth century, were, notwithſtanding, by no means, wealthy. Their vaſt

[87] De Thou, vol. vii. p. 605. [88] De Thou, ibid. p. 604.

[89] Hume's Hiſt. of England, vol. v. Append. iii. p. 474.

naval armaments; the military force, conſtantly maintained in ſo many diſtant provinces; and the wars perpetually waged againſt the Aſiatic princes; ſwallowed up the produce of the Indian commerce, and of all the acquiſitions of Gama and Albuquerque [90]. But, if the treaſury was not enriched by thoſe conqueſts, the nation received prodigious advantages from a lucrative traffic, and from the excluſive poſſeſſion of the articles imported from Ceylon and the Moluccas. In this important point of view, Portugal was contraſted with Spain, where the ſovereign alone received the profits of the Peruvian and Mexican mines, while the people derived little benefit from the exploits of Cortez, and the depredations of Pizarro.

Military, and naval forces.

We may form an accurate idea of the naval and military force of the Portugueze kings at this period, by a ſurvey of the preparations made by Sebaſtian, in 1578, for his invaſion of Morocco. The troops, independant of foreign auxiliaries and volunteers, do not ſeem to have exceeded ten thouſand infantry; of which the greater part conſiſted of raw, undiſciplined ſoldiers, deſtitute either of ſubordination, or experience [91]. A long ſeries of peace and tranquillity, if it had not enervated the courage of the nation, had rendered them inexpert in the ſcience of war; few of the adventurers, who embarked for India or Africa, returned to their native country. The fleet, which conveyed the military force to Arzyla, on the coaſt of Morocco, was compoſed of fifty upper-decked veſſels, only five gallies, and near nine hundred boats of every deſcription; theſe latter were principally uſed as tranſports, or victuallers [92]. It is evident, that the kingdom was not competent to any greater exertion, and that Sebaſtian had exhauſted the revenues of the crown, and the reſources of the State, in one ruinous effort.

State of literature.

Letters were held in the higheſt honour, and cultivated with ardour, under the reigns of Emanuel, and John the Third. Bucha-

[90] De Thou, vol. vii. p. 604. [91] Ibid. p. 615. [92] Ibid.

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nan was invited, and retained in Portugal, by the laſt of thoſe monarchs, who reſtored, and eminently protected the univerſity founded at Coimbra [93]. Damianus Goez, by command of the ſame prince, compoſed his Latin and Portugueze hiſtory of Luſitania [94]. Oſorio, biſhop of Sylves, addreſſed his hiſtory of Emanuel, to John the Third; at whoſe preſſing ſolicitation, he exerted his talents in immortalizing the events of the ſixteenth century, which had ſpread the Portugueze name to the remoteſt parts of the globe [95]. As if to ſhed a peculiar luſtre on the period, Camoens was born and flouriſhed under Sebaſtian, and his predeceſſor. The "Luſiade," an epic poem, conſecrated to the great atchievements of his countrymen in Aſia, firſt appeared in 1569, dedicated to Sebaſtian himſelf. It has been eſteemed not unworthy to rank with the moſt ſublime productions of a ſimilar kind, whether antient, or modern. But, to the diſgrace of the age and nation, Camoens, notwithſtanding the beauty and elevation of his genius, periſhed of want and diſeaſes, in the city of Liſbon, only a ſhort time before the final ſubjection of Portugal to the Spaniſh dominion [96].

Camoens.

Survey of the Portugueze in Aſia.

It is not, however, by a review of the Portugueze in Europe, that we muſt appreciate their merit. Aſia was the theatre on which their vices and virtues were diſplayed in full energy, and where they produced the moſt important conſequences. We contemplate with ſurprize, a little kingdom, almoſt unknown previous to the concluſion of the fifteenth century, ſuddenly burſting the limits which nature ſeemed to have impoſed to its progreſs or aggrandizement, and attracting the univerſal attention of mankind. While uninterrupted tranquillity prevailed in Portugal, the energy of the people, aided and directed by the liberality of three ſucceeding princes, firſt diſcovered the paſſage to India, and afterwards conquered a great portion of that country itſelf,

[93] Biogr. Dict. vol. ii. Art. Buchanan.
[94] Biogr. Dict. vol. vi. Art. Goez. Oſorio, Hiſt. de Port, vol. i. p. 3.
[95] Oſorio, vol. i. p. 1—3. Laſitau, vol. i. Preface, p. 9, 10.
[96] Biogr. Dict. vol. iii. Art. Camoens.

The

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1574. Dangers of the navigation to India.

The courage, which was exerted by Gama, and Albuquerque, was of no common deſcription; and the voyages to parts of the earth, ſo diſtant, and ſo little known, were, in themſelves, attended with every poſſible hazard and renunciation. It is not without commiſeration, that we read of the multitude of ſhips, and men, who periſhed by ſhipwreck, famine, and tempeſts, during the firſt fifty years ſubſequent to the paſſage round the Cape of Good Hope. Of three veſſels, which Vaſco de Gama commanded, in 1497, only one returned to Liſbon; and the equipage of the ſquadron, which had originally amounted to one hundred and ſeventy perſons, was diminiſhed to fifty-five [97]. Cabral, who ſucceeded him, in 1500, was ſtill more unfortunate. Before he reached the Cape Verd iſlands, he miſſed one veſſel, of which no tidings were ever received. Four others periſhed in a moment, between the coaſt of Braſil and Africa, in conſequence of a ſudden ſtorm. Not a ſingle individual eſcaped; and among the number loſt, was the celebrated Bartholomew Diaz, who, under John the Second's reign, firſt attained to the Cape which forms the ſouthern extremity of Africa, though he did not double that promontory [98]. In the next year, 1501, Gonſalvo Coello experienced a ſimilar calamity. Four of his ſix ſhips periſhed miſerably, with their crews, before he reached Braſil [99]. Vincent Soldre was loſt, with all his treaſures, in 1503, near the ſtraits of Babelmandel. He diſappeared, without any intelligence being ever obtained of his fate [100]. Such, likewiſe, was the lot of Francis Albuquerque, and Nicholas Coello, in the following year, upon their return home from Cochin [101]. Gama, in his third voyage, in 1524, when the paſſage muſt have been better known, ſaw three of his veſſels founder, or un-

[97] Lafitau, vol. i. p. 117. Oſorio, vol. i. p. 83.

[98] Oſorio, vol. i. p. 105. Lafitau, vol. i. p. 126.

[99] Lafitau, vol. i. p. 137. Oſorio, vol. i. p. 128.

[100] Ibid. p. 157. Oſorio, vol. i. p. 153.

[101] Oſorio, vol. i. p. 171.

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dergo ſhipwreck, before he reached India [102]. Edward Meneſes, who preceded Gama in the government of the Portugueze affairs in Aſia, and his brother, Louis Meneſes, were both loſt, in returning to Europe [103]. It would be endleſs to recount the miſeries and diſaſters which the firſt adventurers underwent, and the many ſpecies of calamity which they ſuſtained, or to which they became victims.

Impediments to the conqueſt of India.

Nor was the conqueſt of India a leſs hazardous and daring atchievement, than its diſcovery and navigation. The Portugueze commanders did not find that country in the ſituation of Peru and Mexico, when invaded by the Spaniards. The Samorin, the kings of Ormus, Cambay, Viſiapour, and Malacca, were powerful, and highly civilized princes. They poſſeſſed fire-arms, artillery, and a degree of military diſcipline. They had large veſſels, far ſuperior in ſize and dimenſions to thoſe of Portugal. If their own ſubjects were not, in general, a martial people, they ſupplied the defect by employing mercenary auxiliaries, who fought with determined courage, and great ſkill. Turks, Patans, Arabs, and Abyſſinians, compoſed a principal part of the armies of the Aſiatic ſovereigns. The Malays were a perfidious and deſperate enemy, difficult to vanquiſh, and more difficult to retain in ſubjection. Venice furniſhed the Samorin with engineers, and perſons verſed in the practice of managing artillery. The Portugueze themſelves had no ſooner arrived in India, than they deſerted from their ſtandards, joined the firſt prince who offered protection or reward, and ſoon inſtructed them in the knowledge of war, as practiſed by their own countrymen. Albuquerque made ſome examples of theſe renegadoes, calculated to ſtrike terror.

Severities exerciſed by the viceroys.

All who were taken priſoners at the ſurrender of Benaſterin, in 1513, were, after being expoſed to the inſults of the people, deprived of their noſes, ears, their right hands, and the thumb of the left hand. In this deplorable condition, he ſent them home priſoners to Portugal.

[102] Laſitau, vol. ii. p. 46.

[103] Ibid. p. 52.

tugal [104]. When he had taken poſſeſſion of Ormus, in 1515, he diſcovered that ſeven Portugueze ſoldiers had paſſed over to the Arabs. He cauſed them to be purſued, brought back, and burnt alive in the ſame boat which had ſerved them to effect their eſcape [105]. Yet, theſe, and other equally ſevere puniſhments, inflicted on them by ſubſequent viceroys, could not cure the evil. CHAP. IV. 1574.

Courage and reſources of the Portugueze.

Greater intrepidity or reſources were never, perhaps, exerted, in the hiſtory of any country, than were evinced by the generals and commanders who conquered India. Almeyda, Albuquerque, and Caſtro, obtained the moſt ſignal victories, under every diſadvantage. The defence of Cochin by Edward Pacheco, may rank with the moſt illuſtrious exploits of the conſular ages of Rome. The two ſieges of Diu have immortalized the names of Sylveira and Maſcaregnas: that of Goa covered Ataïde with equal glory. The Portugueze ſeemed to perform exploits above the powers of man; and in peruſing the narrations tranſmitted of them by the contemporary writers, we may conceive ourſelves among the paladines of romance. No effort was above their ſtrength, or fortitude, or perſeverance, when impelled by honour, and the ſervice of their country. To cite examples, would be to tranſcribe the whole hiſtory of that period: they occur in every page. Mendoza, governor of Ormus, being anxious to tranſmit accounts to the court, of his ſituation, and of the poſture of affairs in Aſia, in 1528; Anthony Terniec voluntarily offered to undertake to carry diſpatches acroſs the unknown deſerts, which divide Baſſora from the coaſt of Paleſtine, and to reach Liſbon by the way of the Mediterranean. He traverſed the great deſert on a dromedary, accompanied only with one Arab as a guide, and ſteering by a compaſs. After encountering every ſpecies of danger, he executed his commiſſion, embarked from Tripoli in Syria, and landing in Italy, got ſafe to Portugal. However familiar the preſent century is become with this paſſage, it was then regarded as almoſt impoſ-

Examples of them.

Terniec's paſſage acroſs the deſert.

[104] Oſorio, vol. ii. p. 87, 88.

[105] Laſitau, vol. i. p. 515, 516.

ſible;

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sible; and Terniec was long an object of wonder to his countrymen, who followed him in crouds, to hear the relation of his adventures[106].

1574. Voyage of Botello.

Bold as that undertaking may be considered, it was eclipsed by another of Diego Botello; who, after the cession of Diu to Acugna, in 1536, set sail from the harbour of the place, with a determination to carry to John the Third the first news of the acquisition, and to anticipate all other intelligence. It can scarcely be credited, that the galley in which he undertook to effect the voyage, was only twenty-two feet in length, twelve in breadth, and six in heighth. He had on board five Portugueze, and some slaves, who were ignorant of his intention; but, partly by force, and partly by promises, he prevailed on them to proceed. During the passage, in consequence of continually exerting his voice to enforce obedience, or to conduct the boat, he was seized with such a total extinction of speech, that, for fourteen days, he could only issue his directions in writing. A mutiny having taken place among his little crew, he steered the galley himself; passed the Cape of Good Hope; touched at the islands of the Azores, in the midst of the Atlantic; and at length entered the Tagus in safety, bringing the earliest information of the event, which spread universal joy over the whole kingdom. It may be justly doubted, whether in the present age, when navigation has attained to so high a point of perfection, and with all the assistance of science, any greater instance of nautical skill, intrepidity, and success, can be adduced. This fortunate temerity caused, however, no little alarm in the court, from the incontestible evidence which it bore to the possibility of traversing the immense ocean between Europe and India, in so small a vessel. To conceal as much as possible, the knowledge of the fact from all foreigners, Botello's galley was burnt by order of the king; and he himself, after performing so unparalleled a voyage, was long left to languish, unrewarded[107].

Incredible success of it.

Exploit of Carasco.

Lopez Carasco, in 1569, being in a ship, on board of which were only forty sailors, was surrounded by the fleet of the king of Acheen,

[106] La Clede, vol. i. p. 677, 678. [107] Lafitau, vol. ii. p. 218—220.

off

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off the harbour of that place, near the ſtraits of Malacca. The enemy had above a hundred ſail; and it was eaſy for Caraſco to avoid them; but, he diſdained flight, and prepared immediately for battle. During three days he ſuſtained the attacks of the whole fleet, and beat off ſeveral of the gallies which attempted to board his veſſel. After diſabling or ſinking near forty of the king of Acheen's ſhips, and killing a vaſt number of his troops, they retreated; and Caraſco arrived ſafely at Malacca [108]. The Portugueze commanders never accepted any terms, however honourable, or advantageous: like the Spartans, at Thermopylæ, they either conquered, or died upon their poſt. During above ſeventy years after the arrival of Gama in the Indies, no inſtance occurs of a ſurrender by capitulation. The firſt example was that of George de Caſtro, in 1574. After gallantly defending the fortreſs of Challe near Callicut, for a conſiderable time, againſt the utmoſt efforts of the Samorin, he was prevailed on by the entreaties of his wife, and by the advice of his officers, to capitulate, before any breach had been effected. For this act of baſeneſs, or timidity, he was afterwards beheaded on a ſcaffold in the city of Goa, at the age of fourſcore years [109].

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Many of the viceroys, or governors, employed under Emanuel and John the Third, practiſed the moſt diſintereſted virtue, and were ſuperior to every temptation of a ſordid nature. At the deceaſe of Henry de Meneſes, in 1526, only a hundred ducats were found in his coffers; and his relations were under a neceſſity of borrowing the money requiſite to defray the expences of his funeral. When frequently importuned by his friends, to pay ſome attention to his private concerns, he replied, "If I live, the king, my maſter, will give me bread: if I die, he will extend his pity to my children [110]." Nugno d'Acugna, who occupied the high ſituation of governor general during ten years, and who might have amaſſed immenſe trea-

Sublime inſtances of virtue and diſintereſtedneſs.

Meneſes.

Acugna.

[108] La Clede, vol. ii. p. 202, 203. Lafitau, vol. ii. p. 655.
[109] Lafitau, vol. ii. p. 667, and p. 676.
[110] Ibid. p. 93—95. La Clede, vol. i. p. 670.

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ſures, expired poor; and when dying, proteſted, that he had not in his poſſeſſion any thing belonging to, or taken from another, except ſix or ſeven pieces of the gold coin of ſultan Badur, which he had preſerved on account of the delicacy of the die, in order to preſent them to the king his maſter [111].

Galvan.

The virtue of Anthony Galvan, who was ſent governor to the Molucca iſlands by Acugna, is ſtill more uncommon, and may vie with that of Phocion, or of Cincinnatus. The delays which were purpoſely framed to prevent his departure from Cochin, being highly prejudicial to the intereſts of the crown of Portugal; and the want of pecuniary funds ſerving for a pretext to detain him, he employed his whole private fortune, which was very ample, in the equipment of veſſels, to carry him to his deſtination. He even ſold his plate and furniture, to ſupply the remaining deficiency. During the period that he governed the Moluccas, order, juſtice, and benevolence characterized all his actions. Yet, this exemplary and generous perſon, who merited ſo highly of his country and of his ſovereign, found all ears and hearts cloſed againſt him, when he returned poor to Liſbon. To the diſgrace of Portugal, Galvan was reduced to ſeek an aſylum, in a public hoſpital of the capital; where, during fourteen years, he continued to attend on the ſick, as the only means of ſubſiſtence, without ever receiving the ſlighteſt aſſiſtance from his ungrateful countrymen [112].

Stephen de Gama.

When Stephen de Gama ſucceeded to the ſupreme government of India, he immediately cauſed an exact inventory to be made of all his effects; in order, by that means, to evince that he did not either wiſh, or intend to augment his fortune, at the expence of the State. Alfonſo de Souſa having ſoon after ſuperceded him, Gama, previous to his embarkation for Europe, ordered a new eſtimate of his property to be completed; by which it appeared, that he had expended a very conſiderable part of it for the king's ſervice [113].

[111] Lafitau, vol. ii. p. 284—286.

[112] Ibid. p. 222—234, and p. 286.

[113] Ibid. p. 294, and p. 319.

John

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1574. John de Caſtro.

John de Caſtro, viceroy of India, covered with glory, acquired by the greateſt victories, declared on his death-bed, that, "having, on "account of the public neceſſities, contributed, or advanced every "thing belonging to himſelf, he was even deſtitute of common neceſ-"ſaries; that he had not the means wherewith to purchaſe a pullet, "which his phyſicians had ordered him; and that he muſt call on "the State to ſupply him with food, during the ſhort time that he "might ſtill remain alive [114]." It is difficult to parallel, and impoſſible to exceed theſe ſublime inſtances of diſintereſtedneſs, among the moſt illuſtrious characters of antiquity.

Crimes and vices of the Portugueze.

But while we pay the juſt tribute of praiſe and admiration to ſuch exemplary diſplays of virtue, it would degrade the truth of hiſtory, if we were to conceal, that they were contraſted with equal vices and crimes. The Portugueze ſeemed to conſider India as belonging to themſelves excluſively, from the inſtant of its diſcovery; though they were compelled to aſſume the language of entreaty, in order more effectually to become tyrants. Even to the king of Cochin, who, from their firſt arrival, adhered to them inflexibly, and incurred every hazard by his attachment, they behaved with ingratitude and injuſtice. Towards thoſe princes, who ventured to oppoſe or impede their eſtabliſhment, they acted with relentleſs violence, and obdurate cruelty. Too many proofs of this aſſertion, are furniſhed by their own writers. Many of them are ſhocking to humanity, and call for execration. Vaſco de Gama, on his ſecond voyage, in 1502, met with the "Mœris," near the coaſt of Malabar; a very large veſſel, belonging to the ſultan of Egypt, bound from Calicut to Mocha. He inſtantly attacked her, and plundered her cargo, which was exceedingly valuable. Having then ſelected, from among the crew and paſſengers, twenty children, whom he deſtined for a monaſtic life, in the convent of the Virgin, at Belem, near Liſbon; he proceeded to ſink the ſhip itſelf, with near three hundred perſons on board. Not being able to effect it ſo ſpeedily as he deſired, he had

Tyranny.

Cruelty.

Acts of violence, committed by Vaſco de Gama.

[114] Laſtau, vol. ii. p. 415—418. La Clede, vol. ii. p. 10, 11.

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the barbarity to ſet fire to the veſſel, and to conſume in the flames theſe innocent and unfortunate victims. On his approach to Calicut, finding that the Samorin would not enter into ſuch terms of accommodation as he had propoſed, he cauſed fifty fiſhermen, whom he had captured off the harbour, to be hanged. After the execution, performed in ſight of their countrymen on the ſhore, he ordered the hands and feet to be cut off from the dead bodies; and having collected them on a raft, he took advantage of the tide, to ſet them afloat, and tranſport them to land. Oſorio ſcarcely expreſſes any condemnation of this laſt act of atrocity, which he coldly attributes to the admiral's reſentment of the Samorin's duplicity [115]. Even Albuquerque himſelf is not exempt from the imputation of great ſeverity, towards the inhabitants of Ormus, and on other occaſions. Goëz, who commanded a veſſel in the fleet of Laurence Almeyda, in 1506, being on the coaſt of Malabar, and ſeparated from the reſt of the fleet, fell in with a ſhip, the captain of which produced a paſſport from Britto, governor of Cannanore. Confiding in its protection, he attempted no reſiſtance; but Goez, ſtimulated by avarice and rapacity, affected to doubt its authenticity, or to regard it as extorted by compulſion. Under theſe pretences, he firſt plundered the veſſel, and next proceeded to ſew up the crew in the ſails: he then threw them into the ſea, and ſunk the ſhip with his cannon. Though this action, committed with deliberate cruelty on defenceleſs men, ſailing under the ſafeguard of Portugal, was equally deteſtable and impolitic; and though the inhabitants of Cannanore, driven to madneſs by the ſight of the dead bodies which floated to the ſhore, immediately roſe, and laid ſiege to the citadel; yet Almeyda, then viceroy, no otherwiſe puniſhed Goez, than by depriving him of his commiſſion, and withdrawing from him his future friendſhip [116].

Enormities of Goez.

[115] Oſorio, vol. i. p. 131, 132. and p. 133. Lafitau, vol. i. p. 171, 172, and 173. Neuville, vol. ii. p. 93, and 94.

[116] Oſorio, vol. i. p. 261, 262. Lafitau, vol. i. p. 228, 229.

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The Molucca iſlands, which, from the valuable nature of their productions, were objects of the higheſt attention to the crown of Portugal, exhibited a continual ſcene of oppreſſion and enormities. Aerio, king of the iſland of Ternate, was twice ſent to Goa, loaded with irons, by the governors; and twice conducted back to his dominions with honour, by order of the viceroy, John de Caſtro. In 1557, Edward de Sa was ſent to command in Ternate. He ſeized on Aerio, his aunt, and brother, and having chained them to a cannon in the citadel, he forbad any ſuſtenance to be given them. The indignation of the Portugueze, and of the natives, obliged him to relax from this ſavage order; and he then attempted to poiſon them, but ineffectually. After retaining Aerio eighteen months in priſon, he was releaſed, and reinſtated in his dignity by the Portugueze themſelves; who, by a juſt retribution, depoſed de Sa, and threw him into the confinement, from which they had delivered the captive king [117]. Lopez Meſquita, who ſucceeded to the place of Edward de Sa, ſurpaſſed him in profligacy and barbarity. His nephew, Alfonſo Pimentel, with his own hand, murdered Aerio, by ſtabbing him in three places, with a poniard. The crime was aggravated by the circumſtance of the king's being unarmed, and having come to juſtify himſelf to the governor, for ſome pretended infractions of treaty. Aerio, expiring, exclaimed to his aſſaſſins, "Why do you thus kill the moſt faithful vaſſal of the king, my lord, "and your maſter?" He had been, during thirty-five years, and notwithſtanding a thouſand injuries, conſtantly attached to Portugal. Meſquita even refuſed his body to the tears and ſupplications of his queen and daughters: he cauſed it to be cut in pieces, put into a cheſt, and thrown into the ſea. It is only juſt to add, that John the Third was no ſooner informed of theſe crimes, than he ordered Meſquita to be transferred in chains to Ternate, there to ſuffer the puniſhment of a public and ignominious death. The veſſel, which carried him from

Similar cruelties practiſed in the Molucca iſlands.

Aſſaſſination of Aerio.

[117] La Clede, vol. ii. p. 34. Lafitau, vol. ii. p. 452—456.

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Malacca, being attacked and taken near the iſland of Java, Meſquita periſhed, fighting deſperately, though loaded with heavy irons [118]. His exceſſes, and thoſe of the preceding governors of Ternate, ſo alienated the natives, that they, in the courſe of a few years, drove the Portugueze out of all the Molucca iſlands.

Crimes of Meſquita.

Another Meſquita, being in command of a ſquadron, appointed to act againſt the Samorin of Calicut, in 1562, renewed the cruelties of Goëz, almoſt in the ſame place, in the vicinity of Cannanore. Having captured, at different times, twenty-four veſſels of the enemy, he ſunk them, and afterwards deliberately put to death, the crews. Some, he beheaded; others, he hanged; and many of them he cauſed to be ſewn up in the ſails of their own ſhips, and thrown to the waves. Far from inflicting any exemplary puniſhment on Meſquita, the Count de Redondo, then viceroy, in reply to the Samorin's complaints, anſwered coolly and inſultingly, that "they were diſ-"obedient ſubjects, who had committed the acts in queſtion, and that "he might take, and puniſh them, if he could [119]." The dagger, or poiſon, were frequently, and avowedly, adminiſtered by the governors, and officers, to ſuch perſons as they either dreaded, or could not otherwiſe vanquiſh. During the time of Manuel de Lima's government of Ormus, in 1548, an Abyſſinian, by name Abdalla, revolted, intercepted the Portugueze commerce in the gulf of Perſia, and ſpread terror over the whole adjoining country. Lima, having ineffectually attempted to reduce this rebel by force of arms, had recourſe to a Gallician, who undertook to aſſaſſinate him in his camp, for a ſtipulated recompence. He performed the ſervice, and received the reward promiſed; nor was any diſapprobation expreſſed by Garcia de Sa, or Cabral, who then governed India, at the public commiſſion of ſo baſe a crime [120]. Louis de Ataïde, when viceroy himſelf, did not ſcruple to cauſe Cutial, admiral of the Samorin's fleet, and who had been taken priſoner by the chance of war, in a naval en-

Poiſon, and murder.

[118] La Clede, vol. ii. p. 197, and p. 205, 206. Laſitau, vol. ii. p. 457—462.

[119] Laſitau, vol. ii. p. 584, 585.

[120] Ibid. p. 420, 421.

gagement,

gagement, to be poiſoned at Goa, in 1571. The bravery and high reputation of Cutial, were his only faults, and proved fatal to him[121]. It muſt be owned, that it was not thus the Romans, under the Emilii, and the Scipios, ſubjected their enemies. 1574.

Princes of Aſia, ſent as captives to Goa.

Goa preſented continually the melancholy ſpectacle of Aſiatic princes, conducted in chains to the feet of the viceroys, demanding redreſs for wrongs committed, which they rarely obtained. As early as the year 1515, the great Albuquerque, deſirous to retain Torun Sha, king of Ormus, in continual dependency and apprehenſion, cauſed fifteen princes of the royal blood, who had been deprived of their eyes, to be tranſported to Goa, with their wives and families[122]. During ſome years, they were liberally maintained at the public expence, and treated with humanity. But, before 1540, the ſurvivors were fallen into a condition ſo abject, that one of them conſtantly ſat under a tree, demanding alms in theſe words: "Give charity to a "poor prince, whoſe eyes have only been put out, in order to de- "prive him of his dominions[123]." Mahmud, king of Ormus, who had been conducted in irons to Goa, under the government of Nugno d'Acugna, pleaded his own cauſe, in 1544, before Alfonſo de Souſa, and the ſupreme council of the Indies. He declared, that "the Portugueze had proceeded to ſuch extremities of violence "againſt him, as to tear out the hair of his beard, to throw his "turban on the ground, and even to tie him down, under the falſe "pretence of his being inſane." Souſa, equally convinced of his innocence and ſanity of mind, cauſed him to be ſent to his capital, with honour. But, in doing this apparent act of juſtice, he committed a no leſs cruel outrage on the unhappy prince. Previous to his embarkation and return, he compelled Mahmud to reſign all his rights of independant ſovereignty; and, by an authentic inſtrument, to make over his revenue to the crown of Portugal, in diſcharge of

Treatment of the king of Ormus.

[121] Lafitau, vol. ii. p. 654, 655.
[122] Ibid. vol. i. p. 514. Neuville, vol. ii. p. 463.
[123] Lafitau, vol. ii. p. 331, 332.

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debts pretended to be due by him to John the Third, his liege lord. As a compenſation for the loſs of his revenues, the debt was declared to be expunged, and a certain annual eſtabliſhment was fixed for his future ſupport [124]. The hiſtory of the Engliſh in Bengal, as well as in other parts of Indoſtan, within the laſt twenty years, may furniſh too ſtriking a ſimilarity to the conduct of the Portugueze, in many particulars. After theſe renunciations, Mahmud was allowed to reviſit Ormus; but, no ſooner was he arrived, than his perſecutors, who had inſulted and ſent him priſoner to Goa, adminiſtered poiſon to him, of which he died. No puniſhment was inflicted, nor even enquiry made, into the authors of ſo execrable a crime.

Other examples of ſimilar enormity.

A petty prince, in the neighbourhood of Cochin, on the coaſt of Malabar, whom the Portugueze diſtinguiſhed by the name of "the "Pepper King," from the great quantity of that ſpice which was produced in his territories, having incenſed Francis de Sylva, governor of the citadel of Cochin, periſhed in a ſtill more lamentable manner. He, and all his wives, were burnt in their own palace, by Sylva; not being able to effect their eſcape, before they were ſurrounded with the flames. This event happened under the government of Cabral, in 1549 [125]. The women and children were generally maſſacred, whenever a place was entered by ſtorm. Numberleſs inſtances might be cited of this kind. At the ſack of Tatta, on the banks of the Indus, by Peter Barretto, in 1555, beſides eight thouſand perſons, who were put to the ſword, even the animals found in the city were involved in the undiſtinguiſhing carnage [126]. The rapacity of the viceroys and inferior officers, was not leſs flagrant, than their cruelty. The kings of Ormus, Cannanore, and Cochin, groaned beneath intolerable vexations and oppreſſions. Even the the ſanctity of religion afforded no protection; and the Hindoo Pagodas were plundered and violated by the Portugueze, wherever

Rapacity of the viceroys.

[124] Laſitau, vol. ii. p. 332—334.
[125] Ibid. p. 426—428.
[126] Laſitau, vol. ii. p. 536, 537.

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their ſituation expoſed them to attack. The court of Liſbon, though at firſt, from a ſpirit of bigotry, it encouraged theſe enormities, attempted afterwards to reſtrain them; and expreſſed ſtrong condemnation of the principle, which dictated ſuch profanations. Alfonſo de Norogna, during his viceroyalty, in 1552 and 1553, committed extortions upon the princes of Cotta, Columbo, and Ceitavaca, in the iſland of Ceylon, ſo exorbitant and accumulated, that the complaints of thoſe wretched ſovereigns reached the ears of John the Third. Norogna was ordered to make reſtitution; but, no otherwiſe puniſhed [127].

Religious zeal.

To the wanton abuſe of power, and the cravings of avarice, was unhappily joined a third paſſion, frequently more violent, ſanguinary, and deſtructive, than the two former; religious zeal. It operated with unreſtrained influence, from the higheſt to the loweſt orders; and with greater force, becauſe it was regarded by them as a virtue. India was no ſooner conquered, than every part of the country was inundated with monks of St. Francis and St. Dominic. The Jeſuits, under Francis Xavier, followed, in 1542. That intrepid zealot came out to Goa, in the fleet of Alfonſo de Souſa, with the dignity of Apoſtolic Nuntio [128]. After rapidly viſiting almoſt all the countries of Aſia, from Guzurat to the Philippine iſlands, in order to propagate the catholic faith; he expired, as he was on the point of landing in the empire of China.

Rage for making proſelytes.

Catherine, queen regent of Portugal under the minority of Sebaſtian, obtained a bull from Paul the Fourth, occupying the chair of St. Peter in 1559, by which Goa was erected into an archbiſhoprick; to which ſee, Cochin and Malacca were declared ſuffragans [129]. Biſhops were even ſent into Abyſſinia, by the deſire of John the Third; and miſſionaries penetrated into the interior provinces of that barbarous and unknown country, where they excited troubles,

[127] Laſitau, vol. ii. p. 492—505, and p. 335—337, and p. 425, 426.

[128] Laſitau, vol. ii. p. 320—324.

[129] Ibid. p. 563.

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troubles, and were either maſſacred, or died miſerably [130]. The inquiſition was not formally eſtabliſhed at Goa, before 1548; but, its ſpirit and genius preceded its regular introduction. Under Alfonſo de Squſa, in 1544, a Jew phyſician, who refuſed to be converted to the Chriſtian faith, was publicly burnt in that city, by a ſlow fire [131].

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Number of converts.

The obſtinacy of one unhappy man was, however, amply compenſated, by the multitudes of Perſians, Hindoos, and Malays, who embraced chriſtianity. Ormus ſwarmed with proſelytes [132]. The prince of Tannor, on the Malabar coaſt, came to Goa, in 1549; and was ſolemnly baptized, with the utmoſt pomp and public demonſtrations of feſtivity [133]. The king of Candy, in the iſland of Ceylon, had previouſly declared his deſire to be received into the boſom of the church, and had ſent an embaſſy for the purpoſe, to John de Caſtro, then viceroy. But, his ſincerity was exceedingly queſtioned; becauſe he demanded the aſſiſtance of a military force, as the price of his converſion. His ſubſequent conduct proved, that he only made it a pretence, to conceal his hoſtile purpoſes; for no ſooner was the body of troops, which he obtained, arrived near his capital, than he attacked, and endeavoured to cut them in pieces [134]. If the Portugueze had contented themſelves with receiving voluntary proſelytes, or with attempting to inculcate on the natives the truths of chriſtianity, they would have been entitled to the higheſt applauſe; but, their zeal knew no limits, and reſpected no obligations. The Hindoos were compelled to renounce their religion, by menaces of death; and captives, taken in war, were immediately converted by the ſword. It can ſcarcely, therefore, be matter of ſurprize, that, aided by thoſe weapons, nothing could reſiſt the progreſs of the catholic religion.

General reflexions.

Such are ſome of the reflexions which occur, upon reading the hiſtory of this period; and ſuch appear to have been the Portugueze

[130] Lafitau, vol. ii. p. 564—571.
[131] Ibid. p. 342.
[132] Ibid. p. 435, 436.
[133] Lafitau, vol. ii. p. 436—439.
[134] Ibid. p. 440—443.

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of the ſixteenth century. The diſcovery, and conqueſt of ſo many rich and commercial provinces of Aſia, opened a new theatre for the diſplay and exerciſe of the moſt heroic virtues, and of the moſt deſtructive vices. The former do not excite admiration more forcibly, than the latter inſpire deteſtation and diſguſt: the impartiality of truth demands, that both ſhould be held up in their proper and genuine colours. It is, however, in itſelf, a portion of time, ſtrongly diſcriminated from that, which either preceded, or followed it; and muſt ever be regarded as pregnant with events highly deſerving commemoration, and as containing matter peculiarly curious and inſtructive to poſterity.

CHAP. V.

ITALY.

General ſtate of Italy, in the middle of the ſixteenth century.—Review of the hiſtory of Savoy, from the acceſſion to the death of Charles the Third.—Reign of Emanuel Philibert to the year 1574.—State of Savoy at that period.—Military force.—Marine.

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General aſpect of Italy, in the ſixteenth century.

ITALY, about the middle of the ſixteenth century, preſented, in many of its great ſubdiviſions, nearly the ſame aſpect, which it now wears. Savoy was ſubject to its dukes; who were then, as they ſtill continue to be, the guardians of the Alps, from their being in poſſeſſion of the principal defiles in that range of mountains: and conſequently, they could either greatly impede, or facilitate, the entry of any foreign enemy; peculiarly, of the French.

Venice, and Genoa, occupied almoſt the ſame portion of Lombardy, which they ſtill hold; and the ſame tract of ſea coaſt, along the Adriatic, and Mediterranean ſeas. Milan was then ſubjected to Spain, by the extinction of the family of Sforza; as it now is, to the houſe of Auſtria. Parma belonged to the houſe of Farneſe; Ferrara, and Modena, to a branch of that of Eſté. Advancing ſouth, beyond the Apennines, Florence, after many fluctuations and changes of government, had ſubmitted to Coſmo de Medicis; who, ſome years afterwards, received from the ſovereign pontiff, Pius the Fifth, the title, ſtill borne by the preſent poſſeſſors, of Great Duke of Tuſcany. The patrimony of the church, though ſomewhat inferior in extent to its actual boundaries, obeyed the biſhop of Rome. The moſt material difference in the political map of Italy, as it then exiſted, compared with that which it now exhibits; was, that the two kingdoms

of

of Naples and Sicily, which in this century have been revived and re-united in a collateral branch of the houſe of Bourbon, were then comprehended among the numerous provinces of the Spaniſh monarchy, and adminiſtered by viceroys, ſent from Madrid. Mantua, in that age, was governed by the family of Gonzaga; as Ferrara was, by that of Eſté. Thoſe duchies have ſince been ſwallowed up; the former, within the laſt eighty years, in the houſe of Auſtria; the latter, before the cloſe of the ſixteenth century, in the papal dominions. The inferior princes and republics of Italy, were too feeble and inſignificant, to merit attention or enumeration. Sardinia was included in the dependencies of Spain. Corſica obeyed the Genoeſe. We ſhall review theſe different ſtates, and begin with Savoy.

SAVOY.

1504—1515. State of Savoy at the acceſſion of Charles the Third.

It is only with the acceſſion of Charles the Third, that the hiſtory of that duchy becomes entitled to attention, or implicated in the wars, negotiations, and general policy of Europe. By the death of his elder brother, Philibert the Second, without iſſue, Charles ſucceeded to his dominions, at the age of eighteen years. His territories, though not extenſive, were yet conſiderable from their poſition; and that importance was augmented by the circumſtance of Louis the Twelfth, then king of France, being engaged, throughout his whole reign, in continual attempts to conquer, or to retain the duchy of Milan; the only acceſs to which, lay through Savoy and Piedmont. Beſides this circumſtance, peculiar to the time, ſeveral provinces, not at preſent ſubjected to the dukes of Savoy, were then included in their patrimonial inheritance. Breſſe, and Bugey, now a part of France; the cities of Geneva and Lauſanne, as well as all that beautiful tract of country, extending along the northern bank of the lake of Geneva, denominated the "Pays de Vaud," formed a part of his dominions. During the firſt ten years of his reign, Charles not only

Extent of territory.

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1504—1515.

secured the tranquillity of his subjects, but, obtained a degree of respect and consideration from foreign powers. He joined in the celebrated league of Cambray, against Venice; aided Louis the Twelfth, on his various expeditions into the Milanese, and enjoyed an eminent place in the friendship of that monarch [1].

1516—1519.

The accession of Francis the First to the crown of France, appeared to cement the union of Charles with a prince, who stood in so near a degree of consanguinity with him; Louisa of Savoy, his sister, being mother to the new king. But, it was from this quarter, that he was destined to receive the greatest injuries, and to experience the most humiliating mortifications. Though he had assisted Francis, and furnished him with men, provisions, and artillery, before the battle of Marignan, and had consequently been highly instrumental towards obtaining the victory gained over the Swiss by the French at that place; yet, these obligations were soon obliterated. On very slight and vague pretences, the king declared war on him; and was only restrained by the spirited remonstrances of the Swiss cantons, which were accompanied with menaces, from entering, and invading Savoy [2].

1520—1533. War between Francis the First, and Charles the Fifth.

The death of the emperor Maximilian the First, and the elevation of his grandson, Charles of Austria, king of Spain, to the imperial throne; two events, which took place in the following year, opened a new scene in Europe, and placed the duke of Savoy in a situation of infinite peril and delicacy. Hostilities soon commenced between Francis and the young emperor; and although the theatre of the war was, at first, principally in the Netherlands, yet, it was speedily transferred to Italy. All the pretensions of Louis the Twelfth, to the dutchy of Milan, had devolved to his successor, who prepared to enforce them in person. Dissatisfied with the conduct of his generals, the king of France invaded the Milanese, at the head of a powerful army; and Charles

[1] Guichenon, Histoire de la Maison de Savoye, folio, vol. i. p. 620—625.
[2] Ibid. vol. i. p. 625—629.

yielded

yielded him a free paſſage through his dominions, while he, at the ſame time, affected, and endeavoured to obſerve a rigid neutrality. Francis was vanquiſhed at Pavia, and carried a priſoner to Madrid. In this ſtate of depreſſion, the duke of Savoy exerted his utmoſt efforts, combined with thoſe of Louiſa, his ſiſter, queen regent of France, to procure the king's releaſe; and he took the ſame moderate and active part in the negotiations, which preceded and produced the treaty of Cambray, not many years afterwards. Services, ſo reiterated, and ſo diſintereſted, ſeemed to preclude the apprehenſion of any attack from a ſovereign, connected with him by blood and friendſhip. But, many ſubjects of diſcontent were gradually generating between the two princes, which terminated in ſeparation and hoſtility. Charles had entered into ties of marriage and of policy, with the emperor. He had eſpouſed Beatrix, daughter of Emanuel, king of Portugal, and ſiſter to the empreſs, Iſabella, wife of Charles the Fifth. He had ſent his eldeſt ſon, Louis, prince of Piedmont, into Spain, there to be educated. He had received from his imperial majeſty, the donation of the county of Aſti; renewed a general treaty of friendſhip with him; and had refuſed to give up the caſtle of Nice to pope Clement the Seventh, for the purpoſe of an interview between that pontiff and the king of France. Such multiplied cauſes of alienation ſunk deep into the mind of Francis, who only waited for a proper occaſion, to make the duke feel the utmoſt weight of his reſentment[3].

Cauſes of the rupture between France and Savoy.

While the ſtorm impended from that quarter, a misfortune, to which Charles was ſcarcely leſs ſenſible, befel him in another part of his dominions. The city of Geneva, over which the preciſe extent of his power and rights of ſovereignty had always been involved in ſome obſcurity and doubt; after contracting an alliance of confraternity with the two cantons of Bern and Friburg, expelled its biſhop. The doctrines of Luther, which were diffuſed over all Ger-

1534. Revolt and independence of Geneva.

[3] Guichenon, vol. i. p. 630—636.

many,

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1534. many, had been eagerly and generally imbibed in Geneva, where they had made a rapid progreſs. Charles, irritated at the conduct of the inhabitants, ſent an army to inveſt the city; but, the protection afforded them by their new allies, and the ſupport, openly given them by Francis, compelled him to deſiſt from the ſiege. He might ſtill have retained his civil ſupremacy, if he would have conſented to ſacrifice the epiſcopal juriſdiction, and to allow the exerciſe of the reformed religion. But, on theſe points he was inflexible; and the city, ſuſtained by its own ſtrength, and by the forces of the two cantons, ſhook off all allegiance to the duke of Savoy. Such was the origin of this celebrated republic; which, ſurrounded by numerous and powerful ſtates, deſtitute of territory, and continually menaced by its original ſovereigns, has, yet, for more than two centuries and a half, maintained its independence; and ſtill exiſts, a ſtriking monument of the advantages which reſult from religious toleration, and civil liberty [4].

1535—1538. Conqueſt of Savoy by the French. The revolt of Geneva was ſpeedily followed by decided hoſtilities, on the part of Francis. His troops entered, and ſubjected, almoſt without oppoſition, the two provinces of Breſſe and Bugey. Savoy made hardly a greater reſiſtance: Chambery ſurrendered, and Montmelian capitulated on the firſt ſummons; while the duke made loud, but ineffectual reclamations, to the emperor, for aſſiſtance. Profiting of Charles's diſtreſs and incapacity to reſiſt, the canton of Bern improved the occaſion to invade his dominions. Their forces over-ran the "Pays de Vaud," the Genevois, and the duchy of Chablais, with the ſame facility, that the French had done in another quarter. Even the inhabitants of the "Valais," lying between Switzerland and Savoy, took up arms, and ſeized on a portion of Charles's territories, contiguous to their own; and this example was followed by the canton of Friburg.

Subſequent loſſes.

[4] Guichenon, vol. i. p. 636—639. L'Art de verifier les Dates, tome iii. folio, p. 611, 612.

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1535—1538.

The principality of Piedmont ſtill remained to the duke; but, Chabot, at the head of the French army having croſſed the Alps, before the paſs of Suza had been ſecured, Charles abandoned Turin, and retired to Verceil, carrying with him the ducheſs, and his ſon. Beſides his capital, almoſt all the principal places and fortreſſes had been ſubdued by the generals of Francis: Pignerol, Chieri, and Carignan, fell ſucceſſively into their hands. Only a ſmall portion of Piedmont, the mountainous province of Aoſte, ſeated in the center of the Alps, and the city of Nice upon the Mediterranean, remained unſubjected, and conſtant in their allegiance. In this deplorable ſituation, his public misfortunes were aggravated by a private calamity; the loſs of Beatrix, ducheſs of Savoy, who died at Nice, after having ſuſtained with uncommon fortitude, the numerous evils by which ſhe was ſurrounded. Her death had been preceded by that of Louis, prince of Piedmont, which happened in Spain [s].

1538—1541. Depreſſed ſtate of Charles the Third.

The ſhort truce which had been agreed on between the emperor and the king of France, being only preparatory to an interview, in which a peace might be finally ſettled, Nice was fixed for the place of their conference. The reigning pope, Paul the Third, undertook to mediate between the two ſovereigns; and he demanded of Charles, that the caſtle of Nice ſhould be delivered over into his poſſeſſion, as a depoſit, during forty days. But, the duke, rendered cautious by adverſity, and equally diſtruſting his allies and his enemies, refuſed to confide his only remaining fortreſs to any hands, and pertinaciouſly adhered to his reſolution. Upon the prolongation of the truce, which took place ſhortly afterwards, he was, however, reduced to receive Spaniſh garriſons into the towns of Verceil, Aſti, and Foſſano, places which had not been hitherto reduced by the French; and this involuntary compliance left him nearly deſtitute of either territory or revenue. Francis had the

[s] Guichenon, vol. i. p. 640—646, and p. 657, 658.

cruelty

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cruelty to propoſe to him, in the ſubſequent year, to cede the county and city of Nice, in exchange for a pecuniary compenſation; but Charles rejected the propoſition with diſdain, and ſent the king word, that "he was determined to die count of Nice[6]."

1542—1544. Siege of Nice, by Barbaroſſa.

On the renewal of war between the emperor, and the king of France, Piedmont became again the ſcene of hoſtilities; while its unfortunate ſovereign was a paſſive ſpectator of the calamities, entailed upon his people. The celebrated Barbaroſſa, admiral of the fleet of Solyman the Second, emperor of the Turks, having joined the French gallies, commanded by the count d'Enghien, at Marſeilles, they arrived before Nice, with two hundred ſhips. The city ſuſtained all the attacks of the enemy, during twelve days; at the end of which time, the governor, Montfort, capitulated, and retired into the caſtle, determined there to reſiſt to the laſt extremity. The combined forces of Solyman and Francis perſiſted in the ſiege, and made every effort to become maſters of the fortreſs. But, after ſuſtaining conſiderable loſſes, they were obliged to abandon the enterprize, and to retire with precipitation and diſhonour. This only inſtance of Charles's good fortune, was, nevertheleſs, productive of no further advantage; and the battle of Ceriſoles, gained by the count d'Enghien, ſoon afterwards, over the imperial forces, completed the diſaſters of his reign. The remaining places of ſtrength, which he ſtill continued to occupy in Piedmont, immediately opened their gates, and received French garriſons. At the treaty of Crepy in Valois, concluded in the autumn of the ſame year, between the emperor and France, only a few inconſiderable towns were reſtored to him: the far greater part of his dominions was held by the two rival powers, in ſequeſtration; and the duke ſaw himſelf equally deſpoiled by thoſe with whom he was allied, and by thoſe againſt whom he had fought[7].

French and Turks repulſed.

Treaty of Crepy.

[6] L'Art de verif. vol. iii. p. 625. Guichenon, vol. i. p. 647—649.

[7] Guichenon, vol. i. p. 649—654.

The

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1545—1553. Renewal of hoſtilities.

The deceaſe of Francis the Firſt produced no change in the meaſures or policy of the French court. Henry the Second, who ſucceeded to the throne, adhered to his father's ſyſtem; and far from relinquiſhing his acquiſitions beyond the Alps, he, ſoon after his acceſſion, viſited Piedmont in perſon, and made a public entry into Turin, as into a part of his hereditary poſſeſſions. Hoſtilities having taken place between Henry and the emperor, Briſſac, who commanded the French forces in that country, inſtantly recommenced his attacks upon the towns occupied by the Spaniards; ſeveral of which he captured almoſt without oppoſition. The duke was unable to check his progreſs; and the generals of the emperor, unprepared, either retreated before the enemy, or made a feeble and ineffectual reſiſtance. Such was the ſtate of depreſſion in which Charles's affairs were involved, when he breathed his laſt, at Verceil, at the age of ſixty-ſix years. His rights, rather than his dominions, deſcended to his only remaining ſon, Emanuel Philibert, who was then ſerving in the armies of Charles the Fifth, on the frontiers of Picardy [s].

Death of Charles the Third.

His character.

Charles the Third, duke of Savoy, one of the moſt unfortunate princes of his time, poſſeſſed many of the virtues, which, in a period of tranquillity, would have ſecured his own felicity, and that of his ſubjects. Beneficent, liberal, juſt, clement, and anxious for the protection of his people, he had the calamity to be born in an age, when theſe qualities could not be exerciſed, or be productive of benefit. Situated between two great and rival monarchs, he was alternately ſacrificed by both, as their policy or intereſts dictated. He poſſeſſed talents more adapted to a private, than a public ſtation. Capable of forming his plans with judgment, he was irreſolute, indeciſive, timid, ſlow, and embarraſſed. From theſe defects in his character and meaſures, reſulted the facility, with which, not only the French, but, his leſs powerful neighbours, invaded and ſubjected his dominions. He negotiated, or remonſtrated, when arms alone could

[s] Guichenon, vol. i. p. 654, 655.

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1545—1553. afford protection. Incapable of extending any assistance to his subjects, his death may be regarded as an event equally beneficial to them, and happy for himself[9].

1553. Accession of Emanuel Philibert. Few sovereigns have ever acceded, under more adverse circumstances, than Emanuel Philibert, whose sword seemed to be almost his sole inheritance: but, the endowments of his mind counterbalanced the severity of his fortune, and enabled him to retrieve the losses and disasters, which had resulted from his father's want of energy and decision. He had early evinced a martial propensity, and had been initiated in the rudiments of war, under the most celebrated captains of the sixteenth century. Charles the Fifth, impressed with the great military capacity of Emanuel Philibert, conferred on him the supreme command of his forces; and the prince was occupied in opposing Henry the Second, when he received the intelli-

1554. gence of his father's death[10]. That event was succeeded by new misfortunes in his hereditary dominions. The French continued to advance, and became masters of almost all the remainder of Piedmont; while the Turkish fleet, appearing on the coast, menaced Nice with a second attack.

1554—1557. State of Piedmont. From this period, till the peace concluded at Cateau in Cambresis, the history of Savoy cannot, with strictness, be said to have any existence; the duchy being, in a great measure, lost, and incorporated with the French monarchy. The fortune of the war, which had been so favourable to France beyond the Alps, was even long

Battle of St. Quintin. doubtful on the side of Flanders. But, the ability of Emanuel Philibert, and the imprudence or misconduct of the constable Montmorency, who was opposed to him, brought the affairs of their respective sovereigns to a decisive issue, at St. Quintin. The victory remained with the Spaniards, and was one of the most memorable, recorded in history. Montmorency fell into their hands; and if the

[9] Guichenon, vol. i. p. 656. [10] Ibid. p. 660—667.

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timid, or jealous policy of Philip the Second, had allowed him to profit of the conſternation ſpread among the enemy, it is highly probable, that he might have derived advantages ſtill greater from it, than thoſe which the battle of Pavia had formerly enabled Charles the Fifth to exact from France [11]. A ſecond victory, which was obtained over the French, in the following year at Gravelines, by the count Egmont, accelerated the concluſion of peace between the two crowns. One of the moſt material articles, and which furniſhed matter for long diſcuſſion and delay, was that relative to the reſtitution of Savoy and Piedmont, to the duke. Humbled as France had been by repeated defeats, the kingdom was yet fertile in reſources to continue the war; and it was found impracticable to obtain more than a partial reſtoration of the territories, conquered by Francis and Henry, from Charles the Third. By the treaty of Cateau in Cambreſis, the two kings ſtill retained many important places and garriſons, ſituated in the center of Emanuel Philibert's dominions. The partition was, however, unequal; France continuing to keep Pignerol, Quiers, Chivas, and even Turin itſelf; while Spain only held Verceil and Aſti. The marriage of Margaret, ſiſter to Henry the Second, with the duke of Savoy, formed the bond of this pacification; and the nuptials were ſhortly after ſolemnized at Paris, without ceremony, and in the utmoſt privacy, while Henry, mortally wounded in a tournament by the count of Montgomery, lay expiring. So unexpected and critical a cataſtrophé might have delayed, if not altogether ſubverted the treaty recently concluded. But, the French miniſters did not chuſe to commence the new reign, by a violation of public faith; and the young king, Francis the Second, iſſued orders, immediately after his acceſſion, to execute rigorouſly the articles of the late peace. Savoy, with its capital, Chambery, and the fortreſs of Montmelian, were, in conſequence, delivered up to commiſſioners; and

1558, 1559. Peace between France and Spain.

Death of Henry the Second.

Reſtitution of Savoy, by France.

[11] L'Art de Verif.° vol. iii. p. 625.

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1559. the provinces of Breſſe and Bugey were ſurrendered in the ſame manner. Briſſac attempted to reſiſt the reſtitution and evacuation of the places in Piedmont; but, upon the ſecond mandate from his court, he obeyed, and complied with the ſtipulations of the treaty [12].

1560—1563. The duke of Savoy, meanwhile, having reſigned the government of the Netherlands, prepared to return to his own country, from which he had been ſo long an exile. His arrival at Nice was celebrated with demonſtrations of general joy. The inhabitants, accuſtomed to a foreign tyranny, haraſſed by hoſtile armies, and deprived of the preſence or protection of their native ſovereign, regarded his reſtoration as a new æra, from whence order and tranquillity were to ariſe. It is, in fact, from this period, that the reign of Emanuel Philibert may be properly ſaid to commence: previous to the reſtitution of his dominions, he was only a ſoldier of fortune.

Adminiſtration of Emanuel Philibert.

His adminiſtration juſtified the expectations of his ſubjects, and evinced, that his talents for government and legiſlation, were not inferior to his military capacity. The re-eſtabliſhment of public juſtice, formed the firſt object of his ſolicitude: the protection of letters and arts, the foundation of ſeminaries for learning, and the moſt enlarged principles of policy, diffuſed felicity over a country, which had been for many years unaccuſtomed to the bleſſings of peace and ſecurity. All Italy ſeemed to participate in the happineſs, cauſed by his return, and by the voluntary expulſion of the French from Savoy. It was not, however, by any means, complete, while Turin, and ſo conſiderable a tract of Piedmont, remained ſtill in their poſſeſſion. The duke long exerted, ineffectually, every argument, to induce the court of France to relinquiſh the places, occupied by their troops. Marſhal Bourdillon oppoſed the ſame remonſtrances to ſuch a ceſſion, as Briſſac had formerly made: but, the juncture was more favourable.

[12] Guichenon, vol. i. p. 675—678. L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 625, 626.

Francis

Francis the Second had been ſucceeded by his brother, Charles the Ninth, a minor, under the regency of Catherine of Medicis, his mother; and Emanuel Philibert's ducheſs had recently given him a ſon, which ſtill more cloſely connected him with that crown and family. In theſe circumſtances, the French court iſſued orders to reſtore Turin, and the other places in their poſſeſſion; accepting in compenſation for them, Pignerol, Perouſa, and Savillan. Philip the Second followed the example, by relinquiſhing his portion of Piedmont; and Emanuel Philibert ſoon afterwards made his public entry into the capital of that province [13].

1560—1563.

Reſtitution of Turin,

The ſucceſs which had attended his negotiations with Charles the Ninth, in ſome meaſure marked his exertions to recover the territories, unjuſtly diſmembered by the Swiſs, during the reign of his father. The canton of Bern, after long delays, conſented to reſtore all the country of the Chablais, lying to the ſouth of the lake of Geneva; but, they pertinaciouſly declared their reſolution, rather to have recourſe to arms, than ever to cede the "Pays de Vaux," or the city of Lauſanne. The duke was, therefore, obliged to content himſelf with this partial reſtitution. Anxious to regain Geneva, he ſent perſons to inſpect the fortifications of the place, and entertained views of ſurpriſing it, when unprepared for defence; but, the apprehenſion of being involved in a war with the Helvetic confederacy, overawed, and compelled him to deſiſt from his intentions. Elevated as was the mind of Emanuel Philibert, and beneficent as was his general adminiſtration, he yet partook of the intolerant and perſecuting ſpirit, by which the age in which he lived, was characteriſed. His deteſtation of hereſy, and the admonitions of the Holy See, induced him to attempt the extirpation of the reformed religion; which, ſheltered in the vallies among the higheſt Alps, had there made a conſiderable progreſs. His forces, not without difficulty and reſiſt-

1564—1566.

and of the duchy of Chablais.

Perſecution of the reformed religion.

[13] Guichenon, vol. i. p. 678—684.

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1564—1566.

ance, triumphed over the mountaineers of Angrogno, and reduced them to ſubmit to the terms which he dictated, by which liberty of conſcience was granted them, under certain conditions. With this only exception, which is to be principally attributed to the genius of a century, when theological controverſy and hatred had pervaded every claſs of ſociety, the tenor of his public conduct, and the maxims of his government, were dictated by equal wiſdom and humanity. The aggrandizement of his dominions, the introduction of ſcience, and the ſecurity of his people, formed the perpetual objects of his care, at the ſame time that he ſyſtematically rejected every allurement of ambition, and deprecated the renewal of war, although eminently endowed with qualities to carry it on with ſucceſs. While, on one hand, he refuſed to liſten to the propoſals of Solyman the Second, the Turkiſh emperor, who offered him the poſſeſſion of the iſland of Cyprus, which had been unjuſtly uſurped by the Venetians, from his anceſtors; on the other, he adopted the wiſeſt precautions to protect his ſubjects, and to preſerve them from foreign invaſion. Conſcious that the calamities of his father's reign had originated in that prince's want of timely application to put himſelf in a poſture of defence, he not only began the conſtruction of a citadel at Turin: but he levied a body of infantry and cavalry, throughout Savoy and Piedmont; which, being always completely diſciplined and appointed, might be ready to repel an enemy, on the firſt alarm [14].

Wiſe and vigorous policy of Emanuel Philibert.

1566—1574.

Ever attentive to the proſperity, and juſt augmentation of his territories, the duke, without having recourſe to arms, compelled the inhabitants of the "Valais" to reſtore to him the part of the province of Chablais which they had ſeized, and retained. But, apprehenſive of the conſequences, that might reſult from the commotions by which France was agitated, he wiſely refuſed to abſent himſelf from his own dominions, at a time when his preſence might pre-

He declines the command of the chriſtian fleet againſt Selim the Second.

[14] Guichenon, vol. i. p. 685—687.

vent

CHAP. V. 1566—1574.

vent the introduction of ſimilar calamities into Savoy. Philip the Second, and the Venetians, having, in alliance with the Holy See, equipped a great naval armament to combat the Turks, Pius the Fifth, the reigning pope, propoſed to offer the ſupreme command of the fleet, to Emanuel Philibert, as to the ableſt general in Europe. He declined, however, ſo diſtinguiſhed a ſtation, from a regard to the protection of his ſubjects; but, deſirous of atteſting his adherence to the cauſe, he ſent his gallies to ſerve under Don John of Auſtria, at the battle of Lepanto. The arts of peace, and the introduction of the benefits which only reſult from order and public ſecurity, engroſſed his principal attention. His ill health having obliged him to interrupt theſe occupations, he repaired to the baths of Savona; at which place he received the intelligence of the acceſſion of Henry the Third to the French crown, by a meſſenger whom the king diſpatched to him, previous to his eſcape from Cracow [15].

Felicity of Savoy, at this period.

There is ſcarcely any example of a ſtate, ſo ſpeedily and completely retrieved from ruin, in the courſe of a few years, as that which Savoy preſents, under Emanuel Philibert. At his father's deceaſe, except Nice, he could hardly be ſaid to poſſeſs any patrimony, or territory. Two great monarchs, on oppoſite pretences, of amity, and of enmity, occupied his capital, fortreſſes, and provinces. The Swiſs cantons had joined to deſpoil him; and little probable proſpect preſented itſelf of ever compelling, or perſuading ſuch powerful States, to evacuate their conqueſts, and withdraw their garriſons. But, fortune combining with the qualities of Emanuel Philibert, and aided by the victory of St. Quintin, produced that extraordinary event. He had the glory of emancipating his ſubjects, and of reſtoring Savoy to its juſt rank and preponderance in the ſcale of the Italian powers. In 1574, although France ſtill retained ſome places of conſequence, and the "Pays de Vaux" was loſt, Emanuel Philibert was in a ſituation,

[15] Guichenon, vol. i. p. 687—691.

to

CHAP. V.

1574.

to render his alliance equally important to Philip the Second, and to Henry the Third. His vicinity to the Milaneſe, which was a province of Spain, and the eaſe with which he could defend or invade it, made him dreaded by the former prince. The French could neither penetrate into Italy, nor deem the ſouthern provinces of Dauphiné and Provence ſecure, unleſs by his permiſſion and conſent. His people enjoyed the advantages of peace, without being unprepared for war; and a wiſe adminiſtration had not only obliterated the paſt calamities, but diffuſed general felicity over the country.

Revenues.

It is difficult to aſcertain, or even to form any accurate idea of the ſum to which the revenues of Savoy annually amounted, at this period; but, they were, probably, very inferior to thoſe of Tuſcany. The mountainous regions of the Alps, covered with perpetual ſnows, and inhabited by a race of ſhepherds, or laborious peaſants, could ill furniſh ample pecuniary ſupplies. The fertile principality of Piedmont, was of a ſmall and limited extent. Nice, the only port, poſſeſſed by Savoy on the Mediterranean, was rather a naval arſenal, than a place of trade. We may judge how contracted were Emanuel Philibert's revenues, by his not diſdaining to receive a penſion from the kings of France and Spain, at the ſame time, and to retain it during his whole life. It was given him, under the form of a company of men at arms, conſiſting of a hundred ſoldiers each, clothed, appointed, and paid by the reſpective ſovereigns. He was the only inſtance of an independent prince, in the ſervice of two great, and frequently hoſtile powers [16].

Military force.

That the military forces of Savoy were not very inconſiderable, appears from the aid ſent by the duke to Charles the Ninth, in 1567, which did not fall ſhort of three thouſand infantry, and near ſeventeen hundred cavalry [17]. In 1574, in order to obtain from Henry the Third, reſtitution of Pignerol and its dependencies, he offered that monarch a body of three or four thouſand auxiliary troops, to ſerve

[16] Brantome, vol. ii. Capit. Etrang. p. 458.

[17] Guichenon, vol. i. p. 638.

againſt

againſt the Hugonots: but theſe ſoldiers, newly levied, and ill equipped, ſeem to have performed no efficient ſervice [18]. Savoy was not deſtitute of a marine. Beſides the naval force maintained at Nice, which was deſtined to protect the coaſts againſt Turks, or pirates, who infeſted the Mediterranean; Emanuel Philibert cauſed ſeveral gallies to be conſtructed at Ripaille, a ſmall port and town on the lake of Geneva, which he ſtrongly fortified. They were intended to ſecure the excluſive navigation of that extenſive lake; to overawe the canton of Bern, and to intimidate the city of Geneva [19]. In order to form, and perpetuate a body of naval officers, he revived, in 1572, the order of St. Maurice, originally inſtituted by Amadeus the Eighth, one of his predeceſſors, and excluſively affected to perſons of condition ſerving on board the gallies [20].

CHAP. V.

1574. Marine.

[18] Brantome, vol. ii. Capit. Etrang. p. 159, 160.
[19] De Thou, vol. x. p. 650.
[20] Guichenon, vol. i. p. 690.

CHAP. VI.

VENICE.

Review of the Venetian hiſtory, from the beginning of the thirteenth century.—Gradual aggrandizement of the Republic in Albania, Dalmatia, and Lombardy.—Seizure of the iſland of Cyprus.—Grandeur, power, and elevation of Venice, at the cloſe of the fifteenth century.—Cauſes of its decline.—League of Cambray.—Inroads of the Turkiſh ſultans, on the territories of the Republic.—Conqueſt of Cyprus, by Selim the Second.—State of Venice, in 1574.—Commerce of the Republic, at that period.—Dominions.—Naval force.—Arts, and magnificence.

CHAP. VI.

State of Venice, during the middle ages.

DURING the darkneſs and barbariſm, which overſpread Europe in the middle ages, Venice lays peculiar claim to attention. That celebrated Commonwealth, which aroſe among the marſhes of the Adriatic, was, by its ſituation, eminently qualified for carrying on an extenſive and advantageous commerce. The ſpirit, which animated its government and citizens, was widely different from the genius of chivalry; and prompted to a line of public conduct, leſs generous and romantic, but far more wiſe and beneficial. When almoſt all the other European ſtates, inflamed with the paſſion of reſcuing the Holy Land and Sepulchre from the Infidels, engaged in expeditions to Syria, Venice lent her aid and co-operation. But, ſteady to her intereſts, the Senate took effectual care to ſtipulate for advantages, which might compenſate for the fleets and armies, equipped to proſecute theſe diſtant and precarious conqueſts. Valuable commercial immunities, exemptions from the payment of duties, even the poſſeſſion and

Wiſe policy of the Republic.

ſovereignty

CHAP. VI.

ſovereignty of many diſtricts on the coaſt of Paleſtine, were ceded to the Venetians, by the princes who engaged in the firſt Cruſades; and the Republic thus derived power and wealth, from the exertions which impoveriſhed the ſurrounding countries.

1202. Aggrandizement of Venice.

This ſyſtematical regard to the augmentation and aggrandizement of the State, appears, in no tranſaction of the time, ſo ſtrongly diſplayed, as in the part which Venice took, when Conſtantinople was attacked, and the Greek empire ſubverted by the Latins, at the commencement of the thirteenth century. While the moſt diſintereſted zeal actuated the adventurers, aſſembled to embark for the recovery of Jeruſalem, no entreaties or arguments could induce the Venetian Senate to furniſh the fleet requiſite for their tranſportation, without the previous payment of eighty thouſand marks of ſilver. The princes and chiefs being unable, after every effort, to advance much more than a moiety of the ſum demanded, Dandolo, then doge, and the head of the Republic, contrived to turn even this circumſtance to its advantage. He prevailed upon the Cruſaders, in conſideration of the Senate deſiſting from their claim to the remainder of the money ſtipulated, to aid him in ſubjecting the city of Zara, capital of Dalmatia, which was ſpeedily reduced to the obedience of Venice, by their united arms [a].

1203. Acquiſitions, and conqueſts in the Levant.

The ſame intereſted and ſagacious policy, always vigilant to improve the opportunities which fortune might preſent, for encreaſing the dominions of the State, is viſible in the partition, made by the conquerors, after the capture of Conſtantinople. Dandolo, in the name of the Republic, and as her repreſentative, received not only all the iſlands of the Archipelago, and many valuable ports in the Helleſpont, and the Morea; but, one half of the imperial city itſelf was ceded, in full ſovereignty, to the Venetians. The marquis of Montferrat, to whom the iſland of Candia, in the Mediterranean, had fallen, was induced to ſell that valuable poſſeſſion to them, for

[a] Hiſtoire de Veniſe, par l'Abbé Laugier, 12 tomes, vol. ii. p. 165—186.

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1203. the ſum of a thouſand marks of gold; and they effected its complete reduction ſoon afterwards. It had been preceded by the attack and conqueſt of Corfu, another iſland, far inferior in ſize; but, from its poſition, near the entrance of the Adriatic, highly eſſential to the protection and ſecurity of the Venetian commerce. Colonies were ſent into both theſe; and every meaſure for their improvement, which wiſdom could dictate, was embraced by the Senate. Cephalonia, Negropont, and the principality of Achaia, ſucceſſively implored their aid, and voluntarily ſubmitted themſelves. The Venetian induſtry kept pace with the progreſs of their arms, and rendered Venice, before the middle of the thirteenth century, the wealthieſt

1204—1350. Wars with the Genoeſe. and moſt proſperous city of Europe. The long wars, to which a ſpirit of political and commercial rivality gave birth, between Venice and Genoa, retarded the progreſs of the former ſtate, during a great

1379. part of the fourteenth century. The Commonwealths of Rome and Carthage, in antiquity, had not contended for the empire of the Mediterranean, with greater pertinacity; and the Genoeſe had even reduced their rivals to a ſtate of ſuch humiliation, that they appeared to be on the point of complete extinction. Chiozza, ſituated in the Adriatic, and in the immediate vicinity of Venice, fell into their hands; while that capital itſelf was cloſely inveſted on every ſide, by the victorious enemy. But, the imprudent ſecurity of the Genoeſe, and the deſperate valour of the Venetians, extricated them from their ſituation, and reſtored them to their former greatneſs. The enemy was repulſed, the war transferred to their own coaſts, and a peace finally took place, by which every acquiſition was mutually reſtored [2].

1381—1405. Venice acquires territories on the continent of Italy. No ſooner was this ſtorm paſt, which had menaced the Republic with ruin, than ſhe turned her views towards the acquiſition of a territory on the neighbouring ſhore of Italy. Hitherto, her conqueſts, however important and conſiderable, had been effected at

[2] Laugier, Hiſtoire de Veniſe, paſſim.

a diſtance

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1381—1405.

a diſtance from the capital; and Venice poſſeſſed ſcarcely any thing beyond the marſhes with which ſhe was ſurrounded. Availing herſelf of the favourable circumſtances which preſented themſelves, ſhe ſoon obtained a footing on the Continent. The province of the Treviſane, with the city of Treviſo itſelf, was ſubjected, before the concluſion of the fourteenth century; and early in the enſuing one, more valuable dominions were acquired. Verona, Vicenza, and Padua, had been, for many years, in the poſſeſſion of the family of Scala; from which, they paſſed into that of Carrara. Francis the Second, then lord of thoſe cities and their dependencies, was the moſt powerful and formidable neighbour of the Commonwealth, on account of his vicinity to the city of Venice. He had given umbrage to the Senate by various acts of treachery or violence, and had become equally obnoxious to his own ſubjects, by his exactions and oppreſſions. War was declared againſt him; and though he made a long and deſperate defence, he was deprived of his territories, taken priſoner, and conducted to Venice. Vicenza and Verona voluntarily transferred their allegiance from Francis de Carrara, to the Venetian ſtate. Padua, after a ſiege, ſurrendered, and was in like manner incorporated into the Republic, with the unanimous conſent of its citizens. Their immunities and privileges were carefully preſerved by the enlarged policy of Venice, which, in conſequence of theſe augmentations of territory, began to aſſume a conſiderable rank among the Italian ſtates. The immenſe reſources which that people poſſeſſed, may be, in ſome degree, eſtimated by the expences incurred during the proſecution of the war againſt Carrara. They are aſſerted to have amounted to the incredible ſum of two millions of ducats[3]. No European power, except Venice, could have ſuſtained, in the period of which we are treating, ſo vaſt an expenditure[4].

Policy, and wealth of the Republic.

1405—1440. Foreign conqueſts, and dominions.

While they were thus becoming powerful at home, their foreign dominions augmented in a ſimilar proportion. Many cities of Al-

[3] Near nine hundred thouſand pounds ſterling.

[4] Laugier, vol. v. p. 194—245. Modern Univerſal Hiſtory, vol. xxvii. p. 113—121.

bania,

CHAP. VI. 1405—1440.

bania, Epirus, and Greece, implored their protection, and ſought to be received into the rank of ſubjects. The terror of the Turkiſh arms, which menaced the Greek empire with ſpeedy and total ſubverſion, was the principal motive to induce theſe petty ſtates to reclaim the Venetian interpoſition. Argos and Napoli de Romania were ſold by their poſſeſſor to the Republic, for a very inconſiderable ſum. Lepanto, in the Morea, followed their example; which was imitated by the city of Patras. The province of Friuli fell into the hands of the Venetians, after a vigorous reſiſtance. Proſecuting their conqueſts, they ſucceſſively invaded, and ſubdued, the territories of Iſtria, Dalmatia, and Albania, on the eaſtern ſhore of the Adriatic. The iſlands of Curzola, Lezina, and many others which were dependencies of Dalmatia and Albania, experienced the ſame fate; and ſoon after the commencement of the fifteenth century, the vaſt tract of country, extending from the mouths of the river Po, to the frontiers of Epirus, was completely reduced to the obedience of the Commonwealth.

Albania and Dalmatia ſubdued.

Attentive to the advantages of peace, and the protection of commerce, the Senate, in the following year, renewed the treaty ſubſiſting with the ſultan of Egypt. The productions of India, tranſmitted by the Red Sea, and the Nile, to Alexandria, were there received by the Venetians, and circulated over all Europe. Their utmoſt exertions were made, to ſecure the excluſive poſſeſſion of this inexhauſtible ſource of wealth, ſo eſſential to their grandeur. On every ſide, the Republic continued to extend its power and territory. Corinth was ceded to them by the Greek prince, or deſpot of the Morea, who dreaded its falling into the hands of Amurath the Second, the Turkiſh emperor. The two provinces of the Bergamaſque and the Breſcian, which formed part of the dependencies of the Milaneſe, were ſubjected, after a war of long continuance, ſuſtained againſt Philip Viſconti, duke of Milan. That prince relinquiſhed his title to Breſcia and Bergamo, by a treaty of peace, which took place be-

Commerce of Venice.

Further acquiſitions.

tween him and the Venetians. To theſe acquiſitions, was added Ravenna, which, after having been mortgaged by its ſovereign to the Republic, was voluntarily yielded to it, ſome years afterwards, by the inhabitants [5]. CHAP. VI. 1440.

Encouraged by the facility with which ſo many cities and provinces were conquered or obtained, the Senate ventured on an act of uſurpation, the moſt unjuſtifiable. The houſe of Luſignan reigned in Cyprus; and James, the laſt male of that family, having died, his dominions were ſecured by the powerful interpoſition of the Venetians, to his widow, Catherine Cornaro, niece of Andrew Cornaro, a ſenator of Venice. She was ſolemnly adopted by the Commonwealth; and in conſequence of that protection, ſhe received from the ſultan of Egypt, to whom the kingdom of Cyprus was tributary, the inveſtiture of it; though the right of blood had unqueſtionably devolved to Charlotte of Luſignan, ſiſter to the deceaſed king. After having enjoyed the external honours of royalty during ſeveral years, the Senate, apprehenſive that Catherine might transfer her claims to ſome other ſtate, and eager to gain poſſeſſion of ſo rich a prize, compelled the unfortunate queen to ſign her own abdication. She conſented with reluctance; embarked on board a Venetian fleet, ſent to eſcort her; and was detained in honourable captivity, during the remainder of her life, at the caſtle of Azolo, in the Treviſane. The ſtandard of St. Mark was immediately diſplayed at Nicoſia, and Famagoſta, the two capitals of Cyprus. No attention was paid to the reclamation of Louis, prince of Savoy, who had married Charlotte of Luſignan; and the Egyptian ſultan having inveſted the embaſſador, ſent by Venice, with the accuſtomed formalities, on condition of receiving a yearly tribute of eight thouſand ducats [6], the iſland of Cyprus was completely reduced to the obedience of the Republic [7]. 1440—1490. Uſurpation of the iſland of Cyprus.

[5] Laugier, vol. v. and vi. paſſim.

[6] A ſum not very ſhort of four thouſand pounds.

[7] Laugier, vol. vi. paſſim, and vol. vii. p. 477—480. Mod. Univ. Hiſt. vol. xxvii. p. 217, 218.

So

CHAP. VI.

1490—1499. Ceſſion of various places in the kingdom of Naples, to Venice.

So inconteſtible a proof of ambition, and ſo flagrant a violation of all the principles of juſtice, did not fail to excite condemnation, and to ſpread an alarm throughout Italy. But, the Venetian power, cemented by wiſdom, and ſuſtained by commerce, continued ſtill to make new acquiſitions, on every ſide. Trani, Otranto, and Brindiſi, on the coaſt of Calabria, were ceded to them by Ferdinand, king of Naples, as the price of a body of auxiliaries, lent to that prince. Gallipoli, another important port and city of the ſame province, had been previouſly taken by their forces, from the predeceſſor of Ferdinand. Louis the Twelfth, king of France, contributed, from his eagerneſs to gain admiſſion into Lombardy, towards their aggrandizement; and previous to his attack upon the Milaneſe, in the beginning of his reign, he, by treaty with the Venetians, diſmembered from that duchy, the territory of the Cremoneſe, the city of Cremona, and other poſſeſſions ſituated between the Po and the Adda. An army commanded by Alviano, ſpeedily took poſſeſſion of them, almoſt without oppoſition [6].

1500. Elevation and grandeur of the Republic, at this period.

It is at this era, with the concluſion of the fifteenth century, that we may date the higheſt point of elevation, to which Venice attained; and from which ſhe almoſt immediately and rapidly began to decline. It may be worthy of attention, to conſider the Republic in her zenith, and to remark the high ſituation, to which induſtry, policy, and vigour had gradually conducted her, in the courſe of about three hundred years.

Dominions.

The Venetian dominions compriſed ſome of the moſt fertile provinces of Italy, from the mouths of the Po, to the confines of Carniola, and the Tyrol; together with a conſiderable tract of coaſt in the kingdom of Naples. The whole eaſtern ſhore of the Adriatic, a great part of Epirus and the Morea, together with the two iſlands of Candia and Cyprus, gave them an unlimited command of the Mediterranean and the Levant.

Forces.

Theſe vaſt dominions were protected by a conſiderable army, and a ſtill more formidable navy. Their arſenal was conſtantly ſupplied with every ſpecies of military weapons, and artillery; nor could any European ſtate vie

[6] Laugier, vol. vii. p. 433—435, and vol. viii. p. 58—61, and p. 95, and p. 107—110.

with

CHAP. VI. 1500.

with them in the celerity and facility, of equipping a fleet [7]. The commerce of Europe, and of Aſia, centered in the harbour of Venice; and how careful the Senate was, to defend and augment this ſource of their greatneſs, is evident, from their vigilant and unremitted attention to retain the friendſhip of the Mammeluc ſultans of Egypt, as well as of the Turkiſh emperors. Repeated commercial treaties were made with thoſe princes, in the courſe of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, notwithſtanding the prejudices which then prevailed, and which ſtigmatized as impious or criminal, all intercourſe and connexions with the enemies of the chriſtian faith [8]. The manufactures of glaſs and chryſtal were confined to the Venetians excluſively, and were principally carried on at Murano, one of the marſhy iſlands in the vicinity of the capital. Their beauty and rarity rendered them the admiration of all the European nations [9]. Trade.

The revenues of the Republic were not only very conſiderable; but, ſuch was the wealth diffuſed by commerce, among every claſs of the people, that, when the public treaſure was drained by the continual and expenſive wars in which they were almoſt unremittingly engaged, reſources were never wanting to find ſupplies. It is not without aſtoniſhment, that we peruſe the accounts tranſmitted by the moſt accurate hiſtorians of the age, on this article. The ſhort war, carried on againſt Hercules, duke of Ferrara, and which ſcarcely laſted more than two years, coſt three millions ſix hundred thouſand ducats of gold [10]. No ſovereign in Europe, at that period, could have found means to raiſe ſo vaſt a ſum. In order to reimburſe the public treaſury, exhauſted by ſuch an expenditure, the Senate, immediately after the termination of hoſtilities in 1484, laid very ſevere duties on all foreign articles of merchandize imported into Venice. Every veſſel entering the ports of the Republic, was compelled to pay one hundred ducats, for the per- Revenues.

[7] Mod. Univ. Hiſ. vol. xxvii. p. 246, 247.
[8] Laugier, vol. vii. p. 474—477, and p. 376, 377.
[9] Laugier, vol. vii. p. 41.
[10] Mod. Univ. Hiſ. vol. xxvii. p. 214. Above a million and a half ſterling.

CHAP. VI. 1500.

miſſion to drop anchor; thirty *per cent.* on the cargo; ten pence on every meaſure of wheat; and five ducats on the meaſure of oil, in addition to the duties previouſly exacted. Such impoſitions were nearly equal to a prohibition, and gave riſe to ſtrong, but ineffectual remonſtrances, from the city and republic of Raguſa [11].

Wiſe and beneficent policy.

The adminiſtration of Venice was not only wiſe and vigorous; but, gentle and beneficent. The people were attached to their governors, by the ſecurity which they enjoyed, and by the execution of the laws. Verona, Vicenza, Padua, Ravenna, and many other petty ſtates, eagerly ſought to be admitted into their protection, and to become members of the Venetian Commonwealth. They expelled their antient poſſeſſors, and opened their gates to receive the delegates ſent by the Senate. Even in the moſt diſaſtrous periods, their allegiance and fidelity remained unſhaken, and bore the ſtrongeſt teſtimony to the lenity and wiſdom of the government.

Luxury and wealth.

Luxury and ſplendor were no where arrived to ſo great a heighth, during the fifteenth century, as at Venice. When the emperor Frederic the Third, and Leonora his wife, viſited that city, in 1452, their reception was beyond meaſure, magnificent. The ſtreets were hung with ſcarlet and purple ſilks, or cloth. Crowns of gold, ornamented with jewels, were preſented to their imperial majeſties; and the Venetian ladies offered the empreſs a cradle, and dreſs for a child, ſtudded with gold, diamonds, and pearls, of immenſe value [12]. Theſe marks of opulence and liberality were again exhibited, on Frederic's ſecond viſit to Venice, in 1469. He himſelf, and all his attendants, who were very numerous, were entertained at the expence of the Senate, during his reſidence in their dominions [13].

Letters, and ſcience.

Nor were the arts and learning in leſs eſtimation, than wealth and commerce. The library of St. Mark was one of the earlieſt, and beſt endowed collections of that nature, which took

[11] Laugier, vol. vii. p. 444—447.
[12] Ibid. p. 40, 41. Mod. Univ. Hiſt. vol. xxvii. p. 183, 184. Note.
[13] Laugier, vol. vii. p. 232.

place

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place in Italy, the nurſe of ſcience. Petrarch, ſo celebrated for his genius and productions, gave birth to the inſtitution, in 1365; and the preference which he made of Venice above any other of the Italian cities, for depoſiting his literary treaſure, proves how worthy he eſteemed the Venetian people to poſſeſs ſo valuable a bequeſt. The Senate received it with public teſtimonies of gratitude and ſatisfaction [14]. Above a hundred years afterwards, in 1468, the learned cardinal Beſſarion augmented it, by the preſent of his numerous manuſcripts. His letter to the doge, Chriſtopher Moro, and the anſwer of that ſupreme magiſtrate to the cardinal, are among the moſt curious and precious monuments, tranſmitted to us. They give an inconteſtible proof of the high veneration, in which learning was held at Venice, and of the reſpect paid to men of letters [15]. The invention of printing was brought thither from Germany, in 1460, by Nicholas Jenſon; who, from the ample privileges, granted him by the Senate, ſpeedily amaſſed a conſiderable fortune [16]. Neither Rome, nor even Florence, in the fifteenth century, afforded the ſame ſecurity and protection to the arts, as Venice could beſtow. The power of the popes was not yet ſufficiently eſtabliſhed in the former city; and Florence, even under Coſmo and Lorenzo de Medicis, was agitated by popular convulſions.

Printing.

1500—1508. Cauſes of the decline of the Republic.

The diſcovery of a paſſage to India, round the Cape of Good Hope; an event, which no wiſdom could have foreſeen, previous to its accompliſhment; and the effects reſulting from which, no exertions of the Venetian policy or arms could avert; gave the firſt mortal wound to a fabric, reared with ſo much ſkill. It took place at the cloſe of the fifteenth century, and ſoon transferred the commerce of the eaſt, from the Adriatic to the Tagus; from Venice, to Liſbon. Another event, which accelerated the downfall of the Republic, happened nearly at the ſame period, or followed it in quick

[14] Laugier, vol. iv. p. 164—167. [15] Ibid. vol. vii. p. 222—231. [16] Ibid.

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1500—1508. League of Cambray.

ſucceſſion. Louis the Twelfth, king of France, diſpleaſed at the Senate for having ſigned a truce with the emperor Maximilian the Firſt, againſt whom they were jointly engaged in war, determined on their humiliation. To effect it, he united with his natural and implacable enemies, Maximilian, and Ferdinand the catholic king of Spain, for the deſtruction of Venice; the only ally beyond the Alps, upon whoſe friendſhip and adherence he could, or ought to have relied. Julius the Second, then occupying the papal ſee, together with the dukes of Savoy and Ferrara, acceded to this formidable confederacy. Its object was no leſs, than to reduce Venice to her original condition, and to confine her dominions to the marſhes, in which the city is ſituated, after having divided her ſpoils among the members of the league [17].

1509—1516. A ſingle battle, gained by Louis, in perſon, over Petigliano and Alviano, the Venetian commanders, near Agnadel, decided the fate of the Commonwealth. So unexpected was the victory, and ſuch was the conſternation, which it occaſioned, that all reſiſtance ſeemed to ceaſe, on the part of the vanquiſhed. Breſcia, Bergamo, and Cremona, were immediately ſurrendered to the French. Verona, Vicenza, and Padua ſent their ſubmiſſions to Maximilian, and poſſeſſion was taken of them by his commiſſaries. The papal troops over-ran the territory of Ravenna; while the provinces of Iſtria and Friuli were inundated with German forces; and of all the Venetian poſſeſſions in Italy, only the city of Treviſo ventured to ſhut its gates againſt the enemy. Had the king of France, or the emperor, availed themſelves, without delay, of theſe advantages, it is probable that Venice itſelf muſt have fallen, and the Republic have been annihilated. But, the miſunderſtanding, and oppoſition of intereſts, among the princes who compoſed the confederacy, gave the Senate time to recover from their panic and depreſſion. Padua was regained by a fortunate effort, and twice reſiſted the utmoſt efforts of Maximilian to reduce it anew

Conqueſts of the confederates.

[17] Laugier, vol. viii. p. 186—205.

anew to his obedience. This ſucceſs was followed by the capture of Vicenza. The Venetians, awakened from their lethargy, made incredible exertions to ſave, and extricate the Commonwealth. Louis, the moſt formidable enemy with whom they were engaged, ſenſible of the error which he had committed, and diſguſted with his allies, quitted the league; and ſoon afterwards, joined himſelf by treaty with the Republic, againſt thoſe very powers, with whom he had ſo lately acted in concert. Under the preſſure of a long and diſaſtrous war, the Senate and people evinced an unſhaken fortitude; and repeatedly diſdained to liſten to any overtures for peace, except ſuch as were conſiſtent with their dignity, and which would reinſtate them in their loſt poſſeſſions. Francis the Firſt, who ſucceeded Louis the Twelfth, adhered to his predeceſſor's engagements with Venice. Breſcia and Bergamo were retaken by their joint arms; and at the treaty of Bruſſels, between Francis and Maximilian, it was ſtipulated, that Verona, the ſole remaining conqueſt of the latter, ſhould be reſtored to its antient maſters. Of all the dominions or dependencies of the Republic, only Cremona, and ſome inconſiderable towns of Lombardy, were torn from her, by the confederates, who aſſociated for her ruin [18]. It is not without amazement, that we contemplate the reſources of a commonwealth, able to reſiſt, and to diſſipate a combination of the moſt powerful monarchies and ſtates; equal to ſuſtaining an uninterrupted ſeries of operations, naval and military, for above ſeven years; and concluding the war, by a recovery of almoſt all her poſſeſſions. Her induſtry, trade, and manufactures, which were ſtill vigorous, enabled the government to ſupport the immenſe expenditure of public money; and the wiſdom of the Senate appeared in no act, more eminently conſpicuous, than in the modes adopted for raiſing it, without oppreſſing, or exhauſting their ſubjects [19]. But, the ſource from which theſe ſupplies had long been drawn, being on its decline, the ſtate, en-

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1509—1516. Efforts of the Venetians.

Reſources of the Venetians.

1517, 1518.

[18] Laugier, vol. viii. and ix. paſſim. Mod. Univ. Hiſ. vol. xxvii. p. 245—297. Mezerai, Hiſ. de France, vol. vii. paſſim.

[19] Laugier, vol. viii. p. 460.

feebled

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feebled by its efforts, and poſſeſſing no means of repleniſhing its coffers, gradually ſunk in the ſcale of the European ſyſtem.

1519—1552. Vigilance of the Republic.

After the death of the emperor Maximilian, Italy ſaw itſelf in danger of ſubjection, from his ſucceſſor, Charles the Fifth. That prince, poſſeſſed of the kingdom of Naples by deſcent, and of the duchy of Milan by arms, overawed and intimidated the ſurrounding ſtates. The Venetian Senate, true to the balance of power, and watchful over their own intereſts, remained firm in their alliance with France, for ſeveral years; and actively oppoſed the further progreſs of the imperial aggrandizement. It was not till Francis the Firſt, occupied by his pleaſures, negligent of the concerns of his crown beyond the Alps, and compelled by the incapacity of his generals, to abandon the Milaneſe, no longer extended protection to his allies; that the Republic, unwillingly, quitted him, and entered into connexions of policy with Charles the Fifth. When the French monarch, rouſed from his inaction, invaded Italy, and marched towards Milan in perſon, the Senate renewed the antient treaty of offenſive alliance with him; but, apprehenſive of the vengeance which the emperor might inflict on them, they kept it ſecret, till the fortunate iſſue of the ſiege of Pavia, then beſieged by Francis, ſhould enable them to divulge their change of ſyſtem. The battle of Pavia, and the impriſonment of the French king, left them, in common with the reſt of Italy, almoſt at the mercy of the imperial court. In this critical ſituation, they took meaſures to ſecure themſelves from the danger which impended, by contracting an alliance with the pope and the Florentines, for mutual preſervation. On the releaſe of Francis from his captivity at Madrid, Venice inſtantly ſigned with him the treaty of Cognac, and ſuſtained her part, for ſeveral years, in the hoſtilities, which were recommenced between France and the emperor. Abandoned by her ally at the peace of Cambray, the Senate made honourable conditions for the Republic, at Bologna, and neither ſacrificed her rights, nor departed from her dignity.

1524.

1527.

1529.

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dignity [20]. But, profiting by her paſt experience, impoveriſhed by the expenditure of more than five millions of ducats, and annually diminiſhing in the extent of her commerce; Venice could never afterwards be drawn into any offenſive operations, in favour of either Charles, or Francis. The inſidious propoſitions of the former, and the magnificent promiſes of the latter prince, were equally ineffectual to induce, or terrify the Senate. Always armed for the protection of their own dominions, and prepared to puniſh any infraction of the treaties ſubſiſting with foreign powers, they adhered to the moſt rigid neutrality. Henry the Second, king of France, inflamed with an hereditary paſſion to reconquer Naples and Milan, found the ſame ſteady reſiſtance, when he repeatedly attempted to involve Venice in the quarrel. The Republic appeared no more among the allies, or auxiliaries, and left the two crowns to decide their differences, without entering the liſts [21].

1529. Pacific ſyſtem of Venice.

A more formidable adverſary, than the houſe of Auſtria, attracted all the attention, and demanded all the vigilance of the Venetian government. The Turkiſh power had, for above two hundred years, been advancing with rapid ſtrides, and ſeemed to menace them with the moſt ſerious calamities. As early as the beginning of the fifteenth century, Amurath the Second, then emperor of the Turks, had deprived the Republic of the city and territory of Salonichi, the Theſſalonica of antiquity; though ceded to Venice by the Greek emperor, John Paleologus, to whom it rightfully belonged [22]. Mahomet the Second, ſon and ſucceſſor of Amurath, by the capture of Conſtantinople, became an object of dread to all the chriſtian ſtates; but to none ſo peculiarly as to the Venetians; who, from the number and importance of their poſſeſſions in the Archipelago, the Morea, and along the coaſts of Greece, had every reaſon to dread the attacks of ſo

1400—1481. Turkiſh affairs.

Progreſs of the Ottoman emperors.

[20] Laugier, vol. ix. p. 387—390, and vol. x. p. 42—48. Mod. Univ. Hiſ. vol. xxvii. p. 367, 368.

[21] Laugier, vol. x. p. 79—84. Mod. Univ. Hiſ. vol. xxvii. p. 371.

[22] Hiſtory of the Ottoman Empire, by Demetrius Cantemir, part i. book ii. p. 84.

ambi-

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ambitious and powerful a neighbour. Induced by theſe conſiderations, the Senate, only two years after the extinction of the Greek empire, concluded a ſolemn treaty of peace and commerce with Mahomet; but, he adhered to his engagements no longer than they appeared compatible with his intereſts; and hoſtilities commenced between the fleets, near the gulf of Corinth. The Venetians were repulſed before that city, and obliged to retreat in diſorder [23]. In the enſuing year, they entered into an alliance with the ſophy of Perſia, and the prince of Caramania, againſt Mahomet; but, neither the aſſiſtance of thoſe ſovereigns, nor the efforts of the Republic, could impede the progreſs of the Turkiſh emperor. After taking Athens by ſtorm, he appeared before the iſland of Negropont, the Eubœa of the Greeks, at the head of three hundred ſhips, and ſeventy thouſand troops. The city made a brave and deſperate reſiſtance; but, at length, ſurrendered, together with the iſland itſelf [24]. Undiſmayed by their misfortunes, the Senate ſuſtained the war for ſeveral years, almoſt unſupported by any other European ſtate, againſt the whole power of the Ottoman empire, conducted by Mahomet. Croia, in Albania, together with many inferior places, were ſucceſſively loſt. Dalmatia was ravaged; and even Friuli was twice invaded by the baſhaw of Boſnia, who ſpread terror to the gates of Treviſo, and the neighbourhood of Venice. The garriſon of Scutari, alone, repulſed the Turks, and reſiſted their attacks; but, in order to obtain a peace, it became indiſpenſible to cede that important place. Mahomet dictated the terms of pacification; retained all his moſt valuable conqueſts; exacted a tribute of ten thouſand ducats annually, as the price of his friendſhip; and became more formidable than ever to the Republic. He adhered, nevertheleſs, inviolably to the treaty till his death [25].

Peace concluded with Mahomet the Second.

[23] Laugier, vol. vii. p. 107—111.

[24] Ibid. p. 181—188, and p. 203—205, and p. 231—238. Vanel. Hiſ. des Turcs, 4 vols. vol. ii. p. 117—127.

[25] Vanel. vol. ii. p. 131—138, and p. 147—160.

On

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1481—1512. Negotiations with Bajazet the Second.

On the acceſſion of Bajazet the Second, that prince renewed and confirmed the peace, ſigned by his father; but, the Senate having, not long afterwards, gained poſſeſſion of the two iſlands of Zant and Cephalonia, ſituated near the mouth of the Adriatic, the Turkiſh emperor inſtantly demanded them, as dependencies of his dominions. Terrified at the menaces with which the requiſition was accompanied, the Republic did not venture to reſiſt. A ſort of compromiſe was obtained from the indulgence of the Porte. Cephalonia was delivered up to the baſhaw of the Morea; and Zant remained to the Venetians, upon payment of an annual tribute of five hundred ducats. This conceſſion having appeaſed the ſultan, he allowed them to enjoy a precarious repoſe for ſeveral years; when his ambition prompting him to new enterprizes, he recommenced hoſtilities. Appearing in perſon before Lepanto, while his fleet precluded all ſuccours by ſea, the garriſon capitulated; and various cities in the Morea followed the example. The Venetians, notwithſtanding, procured an honourable peace from Bajazet; who, attacked in Europe, by the kings of Hungary and Poland, and in Aſia, by the ſophy of Perſia, readily liſtened to the propoſals of accommodation, made him by the Venetian emſador. Cephalonia was reſtored to the Republic, and all the commercial immunities, enjoyed by the nation in the Ottoman dominions, were confirmed. During the ſtate of depreſſion, to which Venice was reduced by the effects of the league of Cambray, it was even determined in the Senate, to implore the protection and aſſiſtance of Bajazet; but, the emperor Maximilian having raiſed the ſiege of Padua, and their affairs aſſuming a more favourable aſpect, the meaſure was not carried into execution [26].

1512—1520. Conduct of Selim, and of Solyman, towards Venice.

Selim the Firſt having dethroned his father, and ſeized on the Turkiſh empire, found too much occupation in ſubjecting his dominions, and extirpating the adherents of his brother Achmet, to per-

[26] Cantimir, part i. book iii. p. 116—142. Vanel, vol. ii. p. 171—232. paſſim.

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mit of his carrying war into the territories of Venice. He readily confirmed the ſubſiſting treaty, and ſecured his tranquillity in that quarter. But, no ſooner was he liberated from his domeſtic embarraſſments, than he prepared to fall upon the province of Dalmatia, and aſſembled forces at Valona, on the coaſt of Epirus, for the purpoſe. Death prevented his further proſecution of the deſign; and Soly-

1521.

man the Second, his ſon, began his long and memorable reign, by the warmeſt demonſtrations of amity towards the Republic. During near fifty years that he occupied the throne, only one rupture took place between them; into which the Venetians were reluctantly drawn by the emperor Charles the Fifth, and the reigning pope, Paul the Third. For eighteen years ſubſequent to the acceſſion of Solyman, that enlightened and magnanimous prince treated the Senate with peculiar diſtinction; continued to the ſubjects of Venice, the enjoyment of all their commercial privileges; and repeatedly terminated, by a prompt accommodation, the accidental cauſes of miſintelligence which aroſe. His ambition, and thirſt of glory, were principally directed againſt Hungary, the houſe of Auſtria, and the Perſians. Barbaroſſa, the ableſt naval commander of his age, and the ſcourge of the chriſtian ſtates, was placed by him at the head of the Ottoman fleets, which carried deſolation along the coaſts of Calabria, Apulia, and Sicily. Rhodes, at an early period of his reign, was ſubjected, after a long and heroic defence, made by the knights of St. John of Jeruſalem.

Rupture with Solyman.

The capture of ſome Turkiſh gallies near the entrance of the Adriatic, which had been miſtaken by the Venetians for pirates, firſt alienated the mind, and roufed the indignation, of the ſultan. The artifices and expoſtulations of Charles the Fifth, who exerted every endeavour to involve the Venetians in a war againſt Solyman, widened the breach. After vehement debates in the ſenate, and great irreſolution, it was, by a very ſlender majority, reſolved to join the league of the pope and the emperor, againſt the Turks. This determination, embraced contrary to the opinions of the wiſeſt members of the legiſ-

lature,

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1521—1540.

lature, was productive only of loſs and misfortune to the State. The combined fleets atchieved no enterprize of moment. Andrew Doria, who commanded in chief, neglected, or refuſed the faireſt occaſions of combating Barbaroſſa with advantage. Procraſtination, or diſtruſt and jealouſy, characteriſed every operation of the imperial commander, and impeded the general ſucceſs. Wearied with theſe obſtacles, injured in their trade, incapable of ſupporting the heavy pecuniary impoſitions laid on to maintain the war, betrayed by their own miniſters, and receiving no eſſential ſervice from their allies, the Senate condeſcended to ſue for a ſeparate peace. Solyman, after a ſhort delay, and affected reluctance, conſented to treat; but, it was, as a conqueror, who grants and dictates to a vanquiſhed enemy. Napoli di Romania, and Malvaſia, the only two remaining poſſeſſions in the Morea, were ceded to him, as the price; and three hundred thouſand ducats were paid to the Turkiſh ſultan, to reimburſe him for the expences of a war, which had produced to the Republic only injury and diſhonour [27].

Peace concluded.

1540—1566. Long period of peace.

Inſtructed by experience, the Senate embraced more ſalutary meaſures, and determined to cultivate aſſiduouſly the friendſhip of the Porte. Conſcious of the great diſparity of their force, annually diminiſhing in their revenues, and incapable of recovering the commerce, which fortune had thrown into the poſſeſſion of the Portugueze; Venice no longer ſtood forward, after the middle of the ſixteenth century, either in the commotions of Italy, or againſt the Ottoman power. Peace was the only object of their counſels, and a rigid neutrality, the firſt meaſure which they purſued, for its attainment. Their apprehenſions of irritating the Turks, and their dread of another rupture, were ſuch, that, to avoid it, they thought ſcarce any conceſſion too important. This timidity was evinced by their promptitude and anxiety, to ſtifle every occaſion of quarrel, and to purchaſe a continuance of tranquillity,

[27] Vanel, vol. ii. and iii. paſſim. Cantemir, part i. book iii. p. 174—204. Laugier, vol. ix. paſſim, and p. 564—579.

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by preſents to the vizier and principal miniſters at Conſtantinople. Solyman, who wanted not enemies to occupy his arms, graciouſly accepted their proffered friendſhip, and remained, till the end of his life and reign, in amity with the Republic. An uninterrupted peace of near thirty years, ſeemed to have obliterated all animoſities, and to have extinguiſhed any cauſe for a rupture. But, theſe appearances ſoon changed, on the acceſſion of Selim the Second; and Venice, long diſuſed to hoſtilities, was unwillingly compelled again to arm for her own protection [28].

1566—1570. Attack of Cyprus, by Selim the Second.

The new ſultan did not immediately evince his intention to infringe the treaties, ſubſiſting between the Turks and Venetians: on the contrary, he began by confirming them; but, his ſubſequent conduct ſoon diſplayed his real determination. The iſland of Cyprus had, for more than half a century, excited the ambition of the Ottoman princes; who, after having exterminated the Mammelucs, and ſubjected Egypt, had ſtill permitted this tributary kingdom to remain in the hands of the Republic of Venice. Selim was allured to attempt its reduction, by many motives; the fertility of the ſoil; its vicinity to Syria and Egypt; and the probable eaſe with which the conqueſt might be effected. The Senate, unwilling to engage in war, was incredulous, and negligent in arming for its defence: while the Turkiſh fleet landed, inveſted Famagoſta, and beſieged Nicoſia, the two capitals. The latter city, vigorouſly preſſed, and ill prepared for reſiſtance, was taken after a ſiege of fourteen days; but, Famagoſta repulſed the aſſailants [29].

1570. League, formed for reſiſting the Turks.

Meanwhile, the Venetian government, reluctant to commence hoſtilities, but reduced to that neceſſity by the arrogance and attacks of Selim, aſſerted its antient courage, and prepared vigorouſly to repel the invaders. A great league was formed for their protection, with the Holy See, and Philip the Second of Spain. Reſources, adequate to the emergency, were found in the patriotiſm of every claſs

[28] Vanel, vol. ii. p. 450—508. paſſim. Laugier, vol. x. p. 1—135. paſſim.

[29] Laugier, vol. x. p. 135—202.

of

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of ſubjects. The greateſt exertions were made in fitting out a formidable and well-appointed fleet. Succours were ſent to the Cypriots; and after many delays, the combined forces of Spain, Rome, and Venice, effected their junction. But, the oppoſite intereſts of the confederate powers; the inſincerity and duplicity of Philip; and the numerous impediments to any joint plan of offenſive operation, rendered all theſe preparations abortive. The firſt naval campaign produced ſcarcely any event of moment. The illuſtrious victory of Lepanto, gained over the Turks, was not improved, and did not regain the iſland of Cyprus. Famagoſta, after ſuſtaining above a year's ſiege, and having been reduced to extremities, capitulated. Cyprus became a Turkiſh province. No effectual impreſſion could be made on the Ottoman dominions, in Albania, or Epirus. Their fleet, which ſeemed to have been annihilated by Don John of Auſtria, at Lepanto, was ſpeedily refitted, and appeared on the coaſt of the Morea, under the command of Ulucciali, ready to try anew the chance of war. Selim relaxed in none of his demands, and menaced Dalmatia with his forces. A third campaign had only evinced the impracticability of effecting any enterprize, with the combined ſquadrons; and Philip's reluctance to lend his aid towards recovering Cyprus, or permitting his gallies to become ſubſervient to the Venetian greatneſs, was manifeſt and inconteſtible. Pius the Fifth, who had enthuſiaſtically ſupported the war, in a double capacity, as a ſovereign and a pontiff, was no more; and Gregory the Thirteenth did not poſſeſs the energy or affection to the cauſe, which had diſtinguiſhed his predeceſſor in the chair of St. Peter. France was in alliance with the Porte; and the other European ſtates were either unable or unwilling to aſſiſt the Venetians. Abandoned to their own ſtrength, they felt their inſufficiency to combat the power of the Turkiſh empire, then in its meridian; and their alliances had hitherto only aggravated their misfortunes. In this ſituation, they opened a negotiation for peace, at Conſtantinople; and Selim, ſatiſ-

1570.

1571. Battle of Lepanto.

Unſucceſsful campaigns.

1572.

1573.

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1573. fied with his acquiſition of Cyprus, readily conſented to a ſeparate treaty, which was purchaſed on the part of the Republic, by a ceſſion of that iſland, and the payment of a conſiderable ſum to the ſultan. They were too well juſtified, by his late conqueſt, and by their own ſtate of depreſſion, in concluding the war, at any price; and even Philip himſelf expreſſed neither indignation nor ſurprize, at their having withdrawn from a confederacy, which had not profited of the moſt ſignal victory ever obtained over the Ottomans, or atchieved any enterprize beneficial to the Venetians [30].

Separate peace, made by Venice.

1574. State of Venice at this period.

It is at this æra, with the termination of the Turkiſh war, that it may be proper to take a view, and form an eſtimate, of the ſituation and reſources of Venice. That Republic no longer occupied the place which ſhe had filled in the European ſyſtem, at the beginning of the ſixteenth century. Her dominions had ſuffered great dilapidations, from the ſucceſſive inroads of the infidels; and ſome of her moſt fertile colonies, or provinces, had been ſubjected to the Mahometan power. Albania, Epirus, Greece, the Morea, Cyprus, and many of the iſlands in the Archipelago, had been once theirs, in whole, or in part; but, were ſo no longer. The remaining poſſeſſions of Dalmatia, Candia, and Corfu, were held by a precarious tenure. Many channels of commerce were dried up, and no new ones were opened. The ineſtimable monopoly of the ſpice trade, which had for ages rendered them opulent, was irrecoverably tranſferred to another nation; and all the commodities of Arabia and India found their way into Europe, by the paſſage round the Cape of Good Hope. It was impoſſible for human wiſdom to diſcover a remedy adequate to redreſſing this injury. Even the navigation of the Adriatic, over which Venice had always arrogated a ſort of excluſive ſovereignty, was become very inſecure. The Turkiſh admiral, in 1571, during the war, had advanced ſo far up it on the Dalmatian coaſt, as not only to deſolate the iſlands of Curzola and Lezina, but,

Diminution of territory, and of trade.

[30] Cantemir, part i. book iii. p. 222–225. Vanel, vol. iii. p. 27—92. Laugier, vol. x. p. 202—282.

to

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to ſtrike terror into Venice itſelf [31]. Beſides theſe enemies, a nation of pirates, called Uſcoques, whoſe principal retreat was at the town of Segna in Mœlachia, on the eaſtern ſide of the gulf, being ſecretly protected by the houſe of Auſtria, committed perpetual depredations on the veſſels of the Republic. They were, indeed, repeatedly, purſued and deſtroyed; but, they as conſtantly revived, and renewed their enormities [32].

Revenues.

With the territories and commerce of Venice, neceſſarily ſunk their revenues, which were exceedingly diminiſhed; and which had been exhauſted by the late onerous and expenſive war, to ſuch a degree, that expedients the moſt pernicious, had been, of neceſſity, adopted, in order to raiſe funds for its proſecution. The incredible ſum of three hundred thouſand ducats a month, was not more than adequate to the various demands, during the hoſtilities with Selim; which had coſt the Republic twelve millions of ducats [33]. Fourteen *per cent.* intereſt was given by the State, for money lent to the public, at that time [34]. Yet, every expedient to find ſupplies, would have been inſufficient, if Pius the Fifth, in his zeal againſt the Turks, had not authorized the government to levy three-tenths of the whole revenues of the clergy, throughout the Venetian dominions [35]. Gregory the Thirteenth was not ſo liberal of the eccleſiaſtical property. A portion of the public domain was ſold in 1570, to enable the Senate to ſuſtain the war. Theſe expedients forcibly evince the exhauſted ſtate of the exchequer [36]. Men, as well as money, were wanting; and in 1571, all exiles were recalled and pardoned, on condition of ſerving on board the fleet. Exemption during four years, from every burden or pecuniary impoſition, was, at the ſame time, granted to ſuch perſons, as voluntarily embarked againſt the enemy [37].

Depopulation.

[31] Laugier, vol. x. p. 232—234.
[32] Ibid. p. 110, 111, and p. 123—125.
[33] Above five millions, ſterling.
[34] Mod. Univ. Hiſt. vol. xxvii. p. 384, and 433. Gregorio Leti, vol. iv. p. 51 and 52.
[35] Laugier, vol. x. p. 206.
[36] Ibid. p. 176.
[37] Ibid. p. 221.

Notwith-

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1574. Dominions of Venice.

Notwithſtanding theſe diminutions of their former ſplendor, commerce, and greatneſs, Venice, in 1574, remained a powerful ſtate. Beſides the provinces of Lombardy, ſubject to the Republic; Friuli, Iſtria, and Dalmatia, together with the two iſlands of Corfu and Candia, continued to acknowledge her dominion. All theſe territories united, formed a very conſiderable power, as compared with thoſe of Italy. After the entire extinction of the trade with India, by the Red Sea, which had taken place before this period; the Venetians were ſtill in poſſeſſion of almoſt all the commerce, which was carried on with the coaſt of Barbary, the Levant, and the Turkiſh empire. Their veſſels navigated the German ocean, and ſupplied the Engliſh with many articles of convenience or luxury. Henry the Eighth encouraged and protected them, during his whole reign; and all the privileges which he had accorded, were confirmed by the regency, under Edward the Sixth; to whom, on his acceſſion, the Senate had deputed an embaſſador, to ſolicit the continuation of their antient immunities, and freedom of importation [37]. With all the circles of Germany, a great intercourſe was carried on, by means of land carriage, through the Tyrol; and Venice derived immenſe profits, from this branch of her induſtry. No ſtate, except Tuſcany, in the ſixteenth century, had made ſuch exertions, in draining and cultivating their waſte lands. Large tracts, in the Treviſane and Paduan, were, by order of the Senate, in 1557, completely reſcued from the ſtagnant waters, with which they had been previouſly covered, and rendered productive [38]. Every regulation, which could ſuſtain, or perpetuate the grandeur of the commonwealth, was enacted, and enforced, by the wiſdom of the government. Bergamo and Udine, two important frontier cities, the one towards Milan, and the other on the ſide of Carniola, were fortified in 1567, and rendered as nearly impregnable, as the art of engineers could effect, in that age [39]. The arſenal had been burnt in

Navigation, and commerce.

[37] Laugier, vol. x. p. 64, 65. [38] Ibid. p. 106, 107. [39] Ibid. p. 137.

the

the year 1569; and this calamity, it was apprehended, had much encouraged Selim to come to an immediate rupture with the Republic. It was reconſtructed without delay, and rendered more capacious and magnificent [40]. CHAP. VI. 1574.

The Venetian navy was formidable, numerous, and regulated with the utmoſt care. On emergencies, a great fleet could be equipped with aſtoniſhing celerity. An extraordinary proof of their ability in this reſpect, though on a ſmaller ſcale, was exhibited to Henry the Third, when at Venice, in 1574. While a collation was ſerved up to him in the hall of the arſenal, a galley was begun, conſtructed, and finiſhed, with every requiſite for putting to ſea, in the ſhort ſpace of two hours [41]. At the commencement of the Cyprian war, in 1570, ninety-one gallies, beſides other veſſels of ſmaller dimenſions, were completely fitted for ſea, in the courſe of a few days [42]. In the following year, at the battle of Lepanto, the Republic had one hundred and ten gallies in their diviſion of the confederate fleet; and the ſucceſs of that memorable victory, was allowed to have been eminently due to the ſuperior conſtruction of the Venetian ſhips, and to the dexterity of their nautical operations [43]. Such was their naval reputation and ſtrength, that had the Senate made an early and vigorous exertion of it againſt the Turks, when they firſt invaded Cyprus, inſtead of relying on Philip the Second, and the league; it is more than probable, that Selim might have been reduced to abandon his project upon the iſland, or that he would have permitted the Republic to retain it, on receiving an augmentation of the annual tribute. Marine.

If Venice had, however, declined in ſolid greatneſs, ſhe nevertheleſs retained all the external elegance of a proſperous and opulent commonwealth. The city was adorned with the productions of art and genius, which vied in its embelliſhment. Palladio and Sca- Arts, and magnificence.

40 Laugier, vol. x. p. 143—145.
41 Ibid. p. 301.
42 Ibid. p. 159.
43 Laugier, vol. x. p. 245, and 248. Gregorio Leti, vol. iv. p. 52.

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mozzi reared the moſt ſumptuous palaces along their canals, and carried architecture to its higheſt point of beauty. Sanſovino, and many others, adorned the ducal palace, with models of perfection in ſculpture. The Venetian ſchool of painting produced a Titian, a Paul Veroneſe, and a Tintoret[44]. Strangers, from every part of Europe, eagerly crouded to the capital of a Republic, not more renowned for its ſevere poli cand wiſdom, than abundant in all the ſofteſt gratifications of refinement and luxury. The reception given to Henry the Third, on his paſſage from Poland into France, in the year 1574, exceeded, in ſplendor and diverſity of magnificent exhibition, any thing which had been ſeen or imagined in the ſixteenth century. The deſcriptions of thoſe feſtivals, left us by cotemporary hiſtorians, fill the mind with aſtoniſhment, at the taſte and grandeur which characterized all the diverſions and ſhews, invented to celebrate the viſit of the king of France[45].

[44] Laugier, vol. x. p. 94, 95, and 137.

[45] Ibid. p. 290—307.

CHAP. VII.

TUSCANY.

Riſe of the Republic of Florence.—Elevation of the family of Medecis.—Character and actions of Coſmo de Medecis.—Adminiſtration of Lorenzo.—Expulſion of his ſon.—Appearance, and death of Savonarola.—Revival of the Republic.—Reſtoration of the Houſe of Medecis.—Their ſecond expulſion.—Siege of Florence.—Reign and death of Alexander.—Election of Coſmo.—State of Florence at that period.—Reign, and actions of Coſmo.—Siege, and reduction of Sienna.—Title of Great Duke of Tuſcany, conferred on Coſmo.—Felicity of his government.—His domeſtic misfortunes.—His death, and character.—State of Tuſcany, in 1574.—Manufactures.—Commerce.—Arts.—Forces.—Population.—Felicity, and proſperity of Coſmo's reign.

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Intereſt, excited by the hiſtory of Florence,

THE intereſt which is excited by the hiſtory of ſtates and kingdoms, does not always bear a proportion to their extent or magnitude. The empire of Ruſſia, which prevails over ſo large a portion of the earth, awakens little curioſity, till the genius of Peter the Firſt introduced civilization, and brought his ſubjects forward to notice, as members of a ſyſtem, connected, in all its parts, by the common bonds of ſimilarity of manners and civil policy. Florence, on the contrary, ſmall and contracted in its territory, yet forcibly arreſts the human mind, and engroſſes its moſt ſerious attention. As early as the beginning of the fourteenth century, at a period when England, France, and the northern powers were immerſed in barbariſm, and occupied only with the ferocious amuſements of chivalry; 1300—1400.

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1300—1400.

State of the Republic, in the middle ages.

that celebrated city and republic had emancipated itſelf from the chains of feudal tyranny, and aſpired to national freedom. Convulſed by internal diſſenſions, torn by contending factions, and, like Athens, ſuffering many of the characteriſtic calamities, inſeparable from a democratic form of government; Florence ſtill advanced progreſſively in ſome of the moſt glorious attainments, which diſtinguiſh a civilized ſtate of ſociety. The majeſty of the Roman juriſprudence was revived in their laws, which protected and ſecured the enjoyment of property. General induſtry and emulation were excited, by the proſpect of civil honours and offices, to which all the citizens of the twenty-one tribes were eligible. Arts and letters, which follow in the train of liberty, ſeemed to have fixed their favourite reſidence in Tuſcany. Danté, the father of Italian poetry, preceded Petrarch and Boccace, whoſe productions immortalized their country. Cimabue reſtored and renewed the art of painting; in which he was even excelled by his diſciple Giotto, whoſe talents embraced the ſiſter ſciences of ſculpture and architecture. Florence enjoyed a fair proportion of that trade, which Italy then carried on, almoſt excluſively. Confraternities, or companies, protected by municipal regulations, were eſtabliſhed in the city. National banks facilitated the intercourſe of commerce: manufactures of wool, and of ſilk, produced no inconſiderable profits to the adventurers, engaged in thoſe fabricks. Opulence reſulted from ſuch numerous ſources of advantage; and the firſt gold coin, which Europe had ſeen, ſince the deſtruction of the Roman empire, was ſtruck by the Florentines[a].

1400—1428. Origin of the family of Medecis.

From the boſom of commerce, ſprung the illuſtrious family of Medecis, which, in celebrity, has eclipſed thoſe of almoſt all the ſovereigns of Europe. John de Medecis, whoſe influence and aſcendancy in the councils of the Commonwealth, aroſe not more from his vaſt poſſeſſions, than from his virtue and beneficence, was the firſt banker

[a] Galluzzi, Hiſtoire de Toſcane, vol. i. Introduction, p. 11—17. Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 752, 753.

and

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and merchant of Italy. Cardinal Colonna, after his elevation to the chair of St. Peter, by the name of Martin the Fifth, when reduced to apply to him for pecuniary assistance, scrupled not to pledge to him the pontifical crown; and afterwards created him duke of Monteverdi. At his death, notwithstanding the immense treasures which he bequeathed to his family, yet so boundless had been his largesses and donations to the necessitous among his fellow-citizens, that he was attended to the grave by a prodigious concourse of his weeping countrymen, and honoured with the title of "Father of the Poor[a]." Cosmo, his eldest son, succeeded to his virtues, and far excelled him in strength of genius, power, and reputation. Banished from Florence by a triumphant faction, he was recalled, only to enjoy an augmented degree of public confidence. Without the name, or odious appellation of prince, he became the real chief and head of the Republic, as Pericles had been of Athens. His influence, always exerted to produce the most beneficial and laudable effects, attained a solidity and strength, which no despotism could have conferred. Constantly engaged in commerce, he employed and enriched a multitude of persons, who, in return, sustained his own greatness. Modest and simple in his exterior, he mixed among the citizens as an individual, and avoided all demonstrations of unnecessary pomp, or splendor. His vessels traded to every port; and his factors at Constantinople, Cairo, and along the coasts of the Lesser Asia, enjoyed the most distinguished consideration. The sultans of Egypt, the emirs of Babylon, and the Turkish emperors, were, all, connected with him by commercial ties. The Paleologi, in whose family expired the empire of Constantinople, sold him the jewels and splendid furniture of the imperial palaces, during the state of depression to which they were reduced, previous to their final destruction, by Mahomet the Second. But, Cosmo derived a higher claim to the admiration of his cotemporaries and of posterity, than com-

1400—1428.

1428—1464. Cosmo.

His character, commerce, and wealth.

Protection of letters.

[a] Galluzzi, Histoire de Toscane, vol. i. Introduction, p. 20—22.

merce

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1428—1464.

merce or riches could confer, by his princely protection of letters; and this part of his character has eminently conduced to the fame, which he enjoys in hiſtory. The memorable æra, diſtinguiſhed by the name of "the age of the Medecis," commenced with Coſmo; and forms an epocha in the annals of literature. His houſe was the aſylum of genius and talents, from every part of Italy and Greece. The moſt precious manuſcripts, preſerved by his care, from the barbarous rage of the Turks, and purchaſed by his order, were tranſmitted to future times. Numbers of learned men, driven by the Turkiſh ſultans, to take refuge in Florence, and other Italian ſtates, received from his bounty, a liberal proviſion, and repaid him by their grateful eulogiums. More fortunate in the cloſe of life than Pericles, Coſmo, after having preſided during thirty years, over the Republic, and having embelliſhed the capital by monuments of utility and magnificence, expired in a very advanced age, and free from the infirmities with which it is uſually accompanied. His memory was inexpreſſibly dear to his countrymen, who inſcribed, by a public decree, on his tomb, the glorious title of "Father of his Country[3]."

Death of Coſmo.

1464—1472. Peter of Medecis.

His wealth and influence, but neither his genius, nor enlarged beneficence, deſcended to Peter, his only ſon. Indolent, and incapable of application, he devolved on others the buſineſs of the State. Oppreſſed with maladies, he equally wanted vigour of body and of mind, adequate to his high ſituation. Yet, beneficent, liberal, and of unſullied probity, his father's reputation and virtues ſuſtained him; and even extricated him from repeated conſpiracies, to which he had nearly fallen a victim. His life and adminiſtration were terminated by a premature end, the reſult of an infirm and ſickly conſtitution; and the elevation to which the family of Medecis had attained, ſeemed to be menaced with extinction, by this event; Lorenzo, the

[3] Galluzzi, Hiſtoire de Toſcane, vol. i. Introduction, p. 22—29. Machiavel, book iv, v, vi, and vii, paſſim. L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 753, 754. Mod. Univ. Hiſt. v. xxxvi. p. 302—304.

eldeſt

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eldeſt of the two ſons of Peter, having ſcarcely attained to manhood, and a powerful faction having carried war into the dominions of the Commonwealth [4].

Lorenzo of Medecis.

But, Lorenzo of Medecis was deſtined to perpetuate, and to augment, the glory of his anceſtors. Endowed with all the qualities, which had ſo eminently appeared in Coſmo, he evinced himſelf worthy to ſucceed to the civil and military ſupremacy of the Republic. His active exertions, joined to an experience beyond his years, enabled him ſpeedily and honourably to terminate the hoſtilities, which the enemies of his father had carried on againſt Florence. The city of Volterra having revolted, and thrown off its allegiance, was reduced by Lorenzo, to capitulate; and his clemency toward the culpable and vanquiſhed citizens, augmented the general eſteem and affection, which he had previouſly acquired. His power, exerted for the benefit of the people, began already to take the deepeſt root.

Conſpiracy againſt Lorenzo.

But, a deſperate and numerous faction, with which Sixtus the Fourth, who then occupied the papal ſee, was not aſhamed to connect himſelf by the cloſeſt ties, determined on his extermination, and that of his family. It conveys to us a faithful, though a revolting picture of the ſpirit of the age and of Italy, to conſider, that the ſcene of this aſſaſſination, in which the ſupreme head of the chriſtian church was deeply and perſonally implicated, was the cathedral of Florence; and the moment, deſtined for its completion, that, in which the elevation of the hoſt, the moſt ſolemn act of the catholic religion, inſpired the multitude aſſembled before the altar, with proſtrate awe and veneration. Julian, the younger brother of Lorenzo, periſhed by the daggers of the aſſaſſins; but he himſelf, though wounded, had time to eſcape, and to preſerve his life. The Florentines, irritated by ſo daring and impious a murder, roſe, and executed ſpeedy vengeance upon the conſpirators. The archbiſhop of Piſa, who, notwithſtanding the ſanctity of his character and office, had, like Sixtus,

[4] Galuzzi, Hiſtoire de Toſcane, vol. i. Introduction, p. 29, 30. Machiavel, book vii.

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assumed a principal part in the plot, was hanged, in his pontifical habit, at the windows of the palace of the Republic; and the attempt to extinguish the power and family of the Medecis, only contributed to confirm the authority of Lorenzo, and to endear him to his countrymen [5].

His wise, and able government,

Incapable of remorse, but stung with indignation and shame at the failure of the enterprize, Sixtus, unmoved by the efforts which Lorenzo made to obliterate the transaction, and to regain his friendship, not only lanced the malediction of the church against the Republic; but, engaged Ferdinand, king of Naples, to aid him in his vengeance, by marching an army against Florence. The city was already on the point of being invested; and the family of Medecis, unequal to so formidable a confederacy, seemed to be menaced with destruction, when it was extricated, by a magnanimous and successful resolution of Lorenzo. In this act, we again recognize the manners and genius of a century, widely dissimilar from that in which we live, and resembling the simplicity of the primitive ages of the world. Confiding in his own talents, capable of planning and executing the boldest designs, and, prepared, if necessary, to sacrifice himself for the Commonwealth; he quitted Tuscany, carried with him as hostages, the principal youth of the city, and embarked for Naples, to plead his own cause with Ferdinand, and convince him of the injustice of the hostilities, in which he had been engaged by the resentment of Sixtus. The experiment succeeded, and justified Lorenzo. Won by his eloquence, and convinced by his arguments, the king of Naples, notwithstanding the remonstrances of his ally, withdrew his forces from Tuscany. He even entered into the closest ties of policy with the house of Medecis; and during a revolt of his barons, which took place some years afterwards, he received from the voluntary gratitude of Lorenzo, so effectual a military and pecuniary support, as enabled him to repress the insurrection, and

[5] Machiavel, book viii. Galuzzi, Histoire de Toscane, vol. i. Introduction, p. 30—33.

preserve

preſerve the prerogatives of his crown. Even the pope, menaced by the Turks, and alarmed at the capture of Otranto by Mahomet the Second, ſubmitted to demand aſſiſtance from the man, whom he had ſo long injured and perſecuted [6].

His meaſures for ſecuring the grandeur of his family.

Covered with perſonal glory, attained by his public ſervices and exertions, Lorenzo de Medecis directed his attention towards confirming the greatneſs of his family, while he laboured to augment the felicity of the commonwealth, and to preſerve the repoſe of Italy. He formed an alliance for the defence of his houſe, with the king of Naples, and the duke of Milan, two powerful princes, between whoſe dominions Tuſcany was ſituated. Apprehenſive of the Venetians, he negotiated, in order to ſet limits to the ambition of that formidable Republic, and to repreſs her conqueſts. His cabinet was the center of the political intereſts and ſecrets of the ſurrounding princes; who, during the laſt four years of his life, referred their diſputes to his arbitration and juſtice. In his management of the Florentines, he exerted the moſt conſummate wiſdom, while he emulated the magnificence of the Cæſars, in the ſhews and entertainments with which he gratified their leiſure. We behold with aſtoniſhment a private citizen, inveſted with no ſovereign authority, and only governing by the aſcendancy of his virtues; who diſtributed largeſſes to his fellow-ſubjects, with unſparing liberality, at the ſame time that he conſtructed fortreſſes for the protection of their territories. The ſplendor and expence which characterized his public games, recal the idea of the Roman diverſions in the Circus, and are unlike any thing which the laſt, or preſent century has exhibited. The ſuperb carouſals and entertainments of Louis the Fourteenth, at Verſailles, were only deſigned to gratify his miſtreſſes, or his courtiers. Lorenzo's, were for the Tuſcan people. His factors in Egypt furniſhed him with wild beaſts, which were tranſported at his expence, to Florence; and renewed the ſpectacles given by Auguſtus

Magnificence of Lorenzo.

[6] Machiavel, book viii. Galuzzi, Hiſtoire de Toſcane, vol. i. Introduction, p. 33, 34.

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to the conquerors of the world. Repreſentations of the fables and atchievements of the heroes of antiquity, races, and ſcenic entertainments, were intermingled with tournaments and martial exerciſes [7].

Splendour of his reputation.

Such was his reputation beyond the Alps, that Bajazet the Second, emperor of the Turks, and Matthias Corvinus, king of Hungary, ſent embaſſies of friendſhip to him; and the Egyptian ſultans laid at his feet, all the moſt coſtly productions of Arabia and India. Towards the termination of his life, he withdrew his immenſe property from commerce, and realized it by the purchaſe of lands. Snatched away, at an early period, and in the vigour of his age, he left his country and Italy equally to lament his loſs. It was the æra of calamity to both, and of the ruin of his family. He was juſtly ſurnamed the "Magnificent," and "the Father of Letters." No prince, in any age, exceeded him in his protection of the arts, and his munificence to men of genius. The palace of Lorenzo, was a Lyceum; and to enumerate thoſe, who were the conſtant objects of his favour and liberality, would be to commemorate every perſon, whom the fifteenth century produced, of merit or eminence. Leonardo Aretino, and Poggio, two of the fineſt writers of that age, preſided over his education. Politian, Picus of Mirandola, Laſcaris, Chancondilas, and many others, illuſtrious in the annals of literature, were his conſtant gueſts, and the companions of his leiſure. He embelliſhed Florence, founded the univerſity of Piſa, and was himſelf a diſtinguiſhed writer, in various ſpecies of compoſition [8].

His death.

1492—1494.

With him expired the political importance of the houſe of Medecis; which, unlike that of other princes, was not ſupported by military force, but derived its principal ſtrength from the benign effect of virtue and capacity. Peter, the eldeſt ſon of Lorenzo, inherited neither his father's genius, nor qualities of the heart. Intoxicated with power, incapable of adapting himſelf to the manners of the people whom he

Peter the Second.

[7] Machiavel, book viii. Galuzzi, Hiſtoire de Toſcane, vol. i. Introduction, p. 35. Varillas, Hiſtoire Secrete de la Maiſon de Medecis, p. 144—147.

[8] Varillas, p. 158—164. Galuzzi, ibid. L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 755.

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1492—1494.

was designed to govern, and destitute of application; his person and administration became odious to the Florentines. Meanwhile, a great revolution was on the point of taking place in Italy, which demanded, in the chief of a free and tumultuous Commonwealth, pre-eminent talents, to direct, or withstand. Charles the Eighth, king of France, invited by Louis Sforza, duke of Milan, prepared to assert his claim to the kingdom of Naples, and crossed the Alps at the head of a powerful army. Peter of Medecis, attached by policy and treaties to the Arragonese princes, then reigning at Naples, attempted to resist the French invaders: but, on their approach, passing rapidly from one extreme to another, he embraced the fatal measure of going to meet, and conciliate the favour of Charles. The same experiment, which, in the able hands of Lorenzo, had retrieved his own affairs and those of his country, produced, in the unskilful management of Peter, only complete destruction. He was compelled to surrender the principal fortresses of the Republic, as hostages for his fidelity. So degrading a sacrifice of the national honour and security, instantly alienated from him every heart; and yielding to the impulse of his fears, he precipitately fled from Florence, quitting, without an effort, the most enviable sovereignty, ever attained, or enjoyed, by any prince. His evil destiny, in defiance of the most favourable occasions, prevented his re-establishment; and, after various unsuccessful attempts to recover his patrimony and dignity, he perished at the mouth of the river Garigliano, the Liris of antiquity, in the kingdom of Naples; a memorable example of the precarious nature of human grandeur and felicity [9].

Invasion of Italy, by Charles the Eighth.

Expulsion of the Medecis.

Death of Peter.

1494—1498.

Florence, by this rapid and unexpected revolution, became free; and the first use which the citizens made of their newly-recovered liberty, was, to plunder the effects of the family, from whose government they were emancipated. All the precious manuscripts, and collections of art, which Cosmo and Lorenzo, during sixty years,

Appearance, character, and execution of Savonarola.

[9] Varillas, p. 202—209. Galuzzi, vol. i. Introd. p. 36—41. Guicciardini, book i.

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1494—1498.

had amaſſed with care and expence, were defaced and ſcattered. The ſtatues of the Medecis were thrown down; and the leaders of the faction, which aſſumed the conduct of the Republic, employed the eloquence and zeal of Savonarola, to ſuſtain the people in their antipathy to the late government. This Dominican monk, by the energy of his popular declamation, by the auſterity of his manners, and by the claims to prophetic powers, which he boldly aſſerted, was, during a few years, the principal engine, by which the multitude was retained in ſubjection. But, a ſcarcity of proviſions, for which no alleviation was to be found, as formerly, in the liberality of the Medecis, added to the indiſcreet vengeance exerciſed againſt the adherents of that exiled houſe, gradually indiſpoſed and alienated the people. Alexander the Sixth, who then filled the chair of St. Peter, and againſt whoſe enormities Savonarola had fearleſsly declaimed, aided his enemies; and the unfortunate monk, delivered over to juſtice, and abandoned by the people, who ſo lately idolized him, periſhed in the flames [10].

1498—1512. State of Italy, and of Florence.

The princes of the houſe of Medecis continued, notwithſtanding, to wander in a ſtate of exile and indigence, through the courts of Italy; while Florence, though in poſſeſſion of freedom, yet, agitated by factions, neither enjoyed tranquillity, nor influence. Europe had, beſides, recently undergone a vaſt alteration; and that change had been peculiarly inimical to the Italian ſtates. The genius of Columbus diſcovered America, nearly at the ſame time that the perſeverance of Gama effected a new paſſage to India. The antient ſyſtem of commerce was overturned: Portugal and Spain became poſſeſſed of the trade, previouſly enjoyed by Florence, Venice, and the ſurrounding Republics; which gradually loſt, with the ſource of their wealth, their power and conſequence. To add to the misfortune, ſince the invaſion of Charles the Eighth, Italy had been perpetually laid waſte by foreign nations. Naples, in poſſeſſion, alternately, of Louis the Twelfth, and Ferdi-

[10] Varillas, p. 212—217. L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 755, 756.

nand

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1498—1512.

nand the Catholic, had finally been ſubjected by the latter power; and, no longer governed by its own ſovereigns, ſunk into a Spaniſh province. Milan was nearly in a ſimilar ſituation. Piſa had thrown off the yoke of Florence, and maintained its independence for many years, notwithſtanding the utmoſt efforts to reduce the city to obedience. John, cardinal of Medecis, ſecond ſon of Lorenzo, and who afterwards became known in hiſtory, on his elevation to the pontificate, by the title of Leo the Tenth, had already conciliated the affection of his countrymen, by the love of letters, and liberality of diſpoſition, ſo characteriſtic of his family. Julius the Second, who had ſucceeded to Alexander the Sixth in the holy ſee, was irritated againſt the Republic, for having allied itſelf with his enemies; and Soderini, the chief of the faction oppoſed to the Medecis, wanted the capacity requiſite to ſuſtain him in the arduous elevation, to which he had been raiſed, of perpetual dictator [11].

1512—1527. Reſtoration of the Medecis.

Under theſe circumſtances, it was not difficult for the cardinal of Medecis, aided by an army compoſed of the Spaniſh and papal troops, to re-enter Florence, and to re-eſtabliſh his houſe in their antient luſtre, after having been ejected eighteen years. Lorenzo, ſon of Peter, under the direction of Julian, his uncle, aſſumed the ſupreme adminiſtration; and the election of Leo the Tenth to the papal ſee, in the ſucceeding year, confirmed the authority of his nephew and brother. But, both thoſe princes were ſoon carried off by early and premature deaths, without leaving any legitimate iſſue in the male line. Catherine of Medecis, ſo famous in the annals of France, was daughter to Lorenzo. The government of Florence devolved on another deſcendant of the ſame family, Julius, cardinal of Medecis; who, in his turn, was raiſed to the chair of St. Peter, by the name of Clement the Seventh. Under his protection and ſuperintendance, tranquillity was preſerved for ſeveral years. Alexander, a natural ſon of Lorenzo the Second, (or, as was

[11] Galluzzi, vol. i. Introd. p. 48—54. Varillas, p. 217—246.

aſſerted,

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1512—1527.

asserted, of Clement himself,) by a slave, was destined, when he should arrive at manhood, to support the grandeur of the house of Medecis, and to fill the office of head of the Commonwealth. In this selection, the pontiff passed over and excluded Hyppolito, an illegitimate son of Julian, brother to Leo the Tenth; and who, both from the circumstances of his descent on the mother's side, as well as from the qualities of his mind and character, was far more worthy of the elevation [12].

1527—1529. Revolt of the Florentines.

The faction which had expelled Peter of Medecis in 1494, though quelled, was not extinct; and during the calamities of Clement's pontificate, when the imperial troops sacked Rome, under the constable of Bourbon, and became masters of the person of the pope himself, Florence again revolted. Cardinal Passerini, who administered the affairs of the government in his name, was driven out; and a democratic form of constitution was revived. Every outrage, which a furious and irritated populace could heap upon the sovereign pontiff, and his house, was committed. Clement was declared guilty of treason against the Commonwealth, and his memory loaded with opprobrium. In the perusal of the Florentine history, we are perpetually reminded of that of Athens, under Philip of Macedon. But, the triumph of freedom was transient. By the treaty of Barcelona, between Charles the Fifth and the pope, the restoration of the Medecis was principally stipulated; and the emperor consented to give his natural daughter, Margaret, in marriage to Alexander, as chief and representative of the family. Driven to despair by this agreement, the Florentines, though abandoned by Francis the First and the Venetians, yet determined on resistance. The forces of Charles, commanded by Philibert, prince of Orange, invested the city, and became masters of it, after a siege which lasted eleven months. Alexander, on his arrival, was invested with the dignity of first magistrate, and declared duke of Florence. Mea-

Siege, and reduction of Florence.

1530.

[12] Galluzzi, vol. i. Introd. p. 54—61. Varillas, book vi. Guicciardini. Paul Jovius.

sures

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1530.

ſures of ſeverity were adopted to confirm his power. The citizens were, by an arbitrary edict, deprived of all arms or weapons whatever, and it was already agitated to conſtruct a citadel for their complete ſubjugation [13].

Alexander of Medecis. 1531—1537.

Notwithſtanding theſe precautions, the death of Clement ſhook the authority of the newly reſtored prince, which was already enfeebled by his vices and incapacity. Cruel, vindictive, rapacious, inſolent, and abandoned to diſſolute pleaſures, Alexander became univerſally odious. The proſcription and puniſhments, inflicted on his enemies or opponents, heightened the public deteſtation. Hyppolito, to whom he had been unjuſtly or capriciouſly preferred by the late pope, having retired to Rome, began to collect adherents, and to entertain hopes of ſupplanting his relation. Charles the Fifth had not yet accompliſhed the nuptials of his daughter with the young duke of Florence, and might transfer to Hyppolito the hand of Margaret, and the government of Tuſcany. The two competitors prepared to plead their reſpective cauſes in perſon, before the emperor, who was at Naples, recently returned with glory from his expedition againſt Tunis. But, poiſon, adminiſtered by Alexander to his couſin and rival, terminated the conteſt, and carried off Hyppolito, at Iſtri, in the vicinity of Gaieta. This event, however criminal and atrocious, left no alternative to Charles, except that of reſtoring Florence to liberty: an expedient from which he was deterred by his conſciouſneſs of the tumultuary nature of a popular government, and by the known partiality of the inhabitants to France, their antient ally. Yielding, therefore, rather to neceſſity, than inclination, he celebrated the marriage of Margaret with Alexander, and confirmed him in his ducal dignity; though, upon conditions, which left him little more than a nominal ſovereignty, and which virtually annexed Tuſcany, as he afterwards openly did Milan, to the other dominions of the Spaniſh monarchy. The duke, triumphant over

His vices, and maladminiſtration.

[13] Galuzzi, vol. i. Introd. p. 61—68. L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 757.

all

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1531—1537. Aſſaſſination of Alexander.

all his opponents, and elated with ſo powerful an alliance, returned to Florence, where his oppreſſions and irregularities were redoubled in violence. But, their duration was very ſhort: in imitation of the younger Brutus, who liberated Rome from ſervitude, Lorenzo of Medecis, the miniſter of his pleaſures, and nearly allied to him by blood, aſſaſſinated him, and reſcued his country from ſo ignominious and degrading a tyranny [14].

1537. By the unexpected death of Alexander, the Florentine ſtate relapſed into a ſituation, ſimilar to that in which it ſtood, at the concluſion of the memorable ſiege, in 1530; and might be regarded as at the diſpoſal of the emperor, who had already conferred it on its late poſſeſſor. But, the reſcript, ſolemnly publiſhed by Charles, at the time when he inveſted Alexander with his dignity, decreed, that on failure of male iſſue, the neareſt relation ſhould ſucceed. The ducheſs, Margaret, exhibited no ſymptoms of pregnancy; and the only iſſue of the duke, was an illegitimate ſon, ſcarcely three years of age. In this dilemma, the cardinal Cibo, who wiſhed to prefer the claim of the infant, was over-ruled by ſome of the principal ſenators; and Coſmo of Medecis, ſecretly introduced into the city, was declared "chief of the Republic and its "dependancies." His right of conſanguinity was very remote, as he only derived his deſcent from John, father to the celebrated elder Coſmo, by a younger ſon; but, though only eighteen years old, he had already, in addition to the exterior graces of perſon, given indications of vigour and capacity of mind. His father had, at an early period of life, acquired great military renown, while in command of the papal armies, and had left behind him a reputation dear to his countrymen, and to all Italy. No ſooner was the election of Coſmo notified to the people, than the intelligence excited univerſal joy, and was received with general acclamations. Precautions, for ſecuring tranquillity, were inſtantly taken; and meſſengers were diſpatched to Charles the Fifth, then in Spain, to requeſt his approbation of Coſmo,

Elevation of Coſmo.

[14] Galluzzi, vol. i. Introd. p. 68—74. Guicciardini, paſſim.

as

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as ſucceſſor to Alexander. A ſort of indirect, and ambiguous conſent was obtained in a few weeks, which ſeemed to flow, more from the difficulty of ſeizing on Tuſcany by open force, than from any affection on the part of the emperor, towards the new prince [15]. 1537.

State of Florence at this period.

The condition of Florence, as a city, and a republic, at this æra, was truly deplorable. In the lapſe of only forty-five years, ſince the death of Lorenzo the magnificent, its commerce, opulence, and grandeur had been completely ſubverted. To ſuch diſtreſs were the inhabitants reduced, when the capital ſurrendered to the Imperial general, in 1530, that, in order to raiſe the ſum of forty thouſand ducats, which were to be diſtributed among the victorious ſoldiery, it had been neceſſary to have recourſe to the ornaments and plate of the churches [16]. During the ſhort time, which Alexander held the ſupreme power, he only aggravated the burdens, and augmented the poverty of the people. The rich tract of flat country in which Piſa is ſituated, capable of producing the moſt plenteous ſupplies of corn and grain, was deſolate, depopulated, and covered with marſhes [17]. Piſtoia, another principal city, was torn by factions, which impeded agriculture, and threatened to produce famine [18]. Even, in the vicinity of Florence, ſo deſerted was the country, that the wolves, in great numbers, committed devaſtations on the flocks, attacked the peaſants, and rendered it requiſite for the government to offer rewards for their extermination [19]. So depreſſed were the manufactures, that thoſe of glaſs, wax, and many others, had totally diſappeared during the ſiege, and had not revived ſince that period. A ſtriking proof of the decline of the elegant arts, was exhibited, by the neceſſity of cauſing all the plate and decorations for the marriage of Coſmo, even two years after his acceſſion, in 1539, to be made at Naples. No workmen, capable of executing thoſe articles of luxury, were to be found in Florence [20].

Manufactures.

[15] Galluzzi, vol. i. p. 3—18.
[16] Ibid. Introd. p. 76, and p. 291.
[17] Ibid. vol. i. p. 315.
[18] Galluzzi, vol. i. p. 18, 19, and p. 315
[19] Ibid. p. 316.
[20] Ibid. p. 303, 304.

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1537. Revenues.

The revenues of the State bore a proportion to its other wants. All the ſevere impoſts, or oppreſſive modes of extorting money, invented and practiſed by Alexander, ſcarcely raiſed them to four hundred thouſand ducats annually [21]. Coſmo could not hope, unleſs by enriching his people, to maintain them at, and ſtill leſs, to augment them beyond that ſum. His ſituation was precarious, dependant, and altogether at the arbitrary pleaſure of Charles the Fifth. The fortreſſes of Piſa, Leghorn, and even of Florence itſelf, were occupied, and garriſoned by Spaniſh forces, who owned no allegiance except to the emperor [22]. The republican party was numerous in the capital, and already collecting on the frontiers, to overturn the new government. Paul the Third, the reigning pope, and Francis the Firſt, king of France, were diſpoſed to aid them, and to diſpoſſeſs Coſmo of his dominions.

1537—1540. Vigorous government of Coſmo.

Under circumſtances ſo adverſe and unpropitious, that prince found reſources in the energy of his talents, his promptitude, and indefatigable exertions. Having provided for the ſafety of the capital, by ſome wiſe and ſevere regulations, he put himſelf at the head of a body of troops; marched to meet the exiles, who had already, under the command of Philip Strozzi, entered on the territories of Florence; and obtained a deciſive advantage over them at Monte Murlo. Strozzi himſelf, together with his principal adherents, were taken, and conducted to the citadel. Juſtly elated with this fortunate commencement, which Coſmo conſidered as the æra of his real acceſſion, he immediately evinced his determination to reign, and to ſhake off the fetters, with which he had hitherto been confined. The ſtate of dependance, in which the Senate, as well as the Imperial miniſters, reſident near his perſon, had held him, appeared unworthy of a ſovereign, endowed with qualities fitted to command. While, on one hand, he, therefore, reſtrained and diminiſhed the power of the council, aſſociated with him in the government; he diſpatched a courier

He endeavours to emancipate Tuſcany.

[21] Galluzzi, vol. i, p. 296, 297. About one hundred and eighty thouſand pounds, ſterling.
[22] Ibid. p. 17, 18.

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1537—1540.

to acquaint Charles with his victory, and to demand Margaret, widow of his predeceſſor, in marriage. The Spaniſh court, rendered complying by Coſmo's ſucceſs, confirmed his title, without delay, in the moſt ample terms; and he then aſſumed the denomination of duke of Florence, from which he had previouſly abſtained. To the propoſition for his natural daughter, Charles diſſented; but, with expreſſions of high conſideration for Coſmo, and aſſurances that his Imperial majeſty would recommend, and provide him a wife. Margaret was ſacrificed to her father's policy and ambition, who compelled her reluctantly, to eſpouſe Octavio Farneſe, grandſon to Paul the Third. Eleanor, daughter of Don Pedro de Toledo, viceroy of Naples, was the perſon ſelected by him for Coſmo, as the union would bind the duke ſtill more cloſely to the intereſts of Spain; and the nuptials were ſolemnized with great magnificence, amidſt the acclamations of the Tuſcan people [23].

His nuptials.

1540—1543. Wife, and politic adminiſtration of Coſmo.

The line of public conduct, purſued by Coſmo, evinced the ſtrength of his capacity; and betrayed, at an age when the paſſions uſually take the lead, a judgment and aptitude for affairs, which partook more of the riper period of life. Unſeduced by pleaſure, or indolence, his attention to conſolidate his recent greatneſs, was unremitted, and his vigilance ever on the watch, to anticipate danger, or attack. The machine of government was conducted with a firm and ſteady hand. Every proper precaution to prevent internal commotion, was taken. The delicate and unpopular meaſure of an augmentation of the taxes, indiſpenſible for the defence of his dominions, was ſuſtained on his part, with becoming reſolution, and ſubmitted to, on that of his ſubjects, almoſt without a murmur. His activity in perſonally inſpecting all the departments of ſtate, enabled him to form a correct eſtimate of its ſituation, and to adduce a remedy to its diſorders. He viſited, ſucceſſively, every part of Tuſcany;

[23] Galluzzi, vol. i. p. 18—59. L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 757, 758.

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1540—1543.

cany; ordered the conſtruction of forts, at Arezzo and Piſtoria; repaired the fortifications of Piſa, while he gave directions for draining the adjacent country; regulated the modes of paying the public contributions, and inſtructed himſelf in the grievances of his ſubjects. With equal wiſdom and beneficence, he cauſed grain to be imported from Sicily, and diſtributed or ſold to the people, during a ſeaſon of ſcarcity; and this act of munificence acquired him deſerved popularity. Towards Paul the Third, who had laid Florence under an interdict, and omitted no means of exciting diſaffection, or revolt, Coſmo uniformly acted with firm, but, temperate dignity. In his reſearches after thoſe who had been concerned in conſpiracies or inſurrections, with a view to reſtore the antient commonwealth, greater ſeverity was exerciſed, and capital puniſhment, or exile, inflicted. Conſcious of the effect of objects, even the moſt inanimate, which are conſtantly acting on the ſenſes, he transferred his reſidence from the old palace of the houſe of Medecis, to that denominated "the Palace of the Republic;" in order that the perpetual view of an edifice, once ſacred to freedom, might not painfully remind the Florentines of the extinction of their liberties. In theſe meaſures, we recognize the talents of a ſtateſman, and the qualifications of a prince, who was not undeſerving of the elevation, to which he had been conducted by fortune [24].

He procures the recall of the Spaniſh troops.

But, the moſt important object remained yet uneffected; and Coſmo could only regard his condition as a ſplendid vaſſalage, while the garriſons of Piſa and Leghorn were compoſed of Spaniards, and even the citadel of Florence was in poſſeſſion of the emperor. Availing himſelf with addreſs, of the neceſſities of that monarch, he prevailed on Charles to reſtore to him the fortreſſes, on payment of a conſiderable ſum of money; and on his engaging to protect againſt all invaders, peculiarly the French and Turks, the cities of Piombino and

[24] Galluzzi, vol. i. p. 59—88.

Sienna,

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Sienna, together with the coaſts of Tuſcany. It is only from the moment of this evacuation, that his reign may be juſtly dated; and that, having completed his emancipation from a foreign yoke, he could adopt, without controul, ſuch principles, as, while they conſolidated his own authority, might eſtabliſh the felicity of his people [25].

1543.

1543, 1544. Meaſures for ſecuring the repoſe of Tuſcany.

Animated equally with gratitude towards the emperor, as his benefactor, and induced by a conſideration of his own true intereſts; Coſmo, during the war, which ſpeedily commenced between Charles the Fifth and Francis the Firſt, evinced his ſteady adherence to the former prince. Barbaroſſa, commander of the Ottoman fleet, having, in conjunction with that of France, appeared in two ſucceſſive years, off the coaſt of Tuſcany; the duke not only took the moſt vigorous and efficacious meaſures for defending his own dominions; but, he extended ſuccours to the neighbouring ſtates. Piombino, and the iſland of Elba, ports of the higheſt importance, ſituated in the center of the Florentine territories, were held by James, count of Appiano, as fiefs of the empire, and owned no allegiance or ſubjection to Coſmo. Unable to withſtand the combined forces, and deſtitute of troops or reſources, Appiano, on the approach of Barbaroſſa, reluctantly called on the duke for protection. Piombino was ſaved by the prompt introduction of a body of Tuſcan ſoldiery, and the Turkiſh admiral was compelled to relinquiſh his prey. The Republic of Sienna, which had long been in a ſtate of internal declenſion, and alternately governed by the French, or the Imperial faction, poſſeſſed a tract of coaſt, not leſs important, comprehending in it, the maritime places of Orbitello and Porto Ercolé. The latter of theſe was captured, and reduced to aſhes, by Barbaroſſa; and the former only eſcaped a ſimilar fate, by the exertions of the duke, who ſent immediate aſſiſtance to the garriſon [26].

1545—1548. He attempts to gain Piombino.

Conſcious of the value of Piombino and its dependencies, by which Tuſcany might with facility be invaded, in the moſt vulnerable quarter;

[25] Galluzzi, vol. i. p. 90—96.

[26] Ibid. p. 97—118.

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1545—1548. quarter; and the inability of ſo feeble a feudatory as Appiano, to maintain theſe expoſed poſſeſſions, being manifeſt; Coſmo exerted every endeavour to induce the emperor, as ſovereign of the fief, to compel the poſſeſſor to alienate it in his favour, on receiving for it an adequate indemnification. But, Charles, diſtruſtful, and rendered ſuſpicious by the duke's anxiety to become maſter of Piombino, was long undecided. Even, after his apprehenſions that the place might be ſeized on and retained by France, had induced him to admit Coſmo to take poſſeſſion of it, as a depoſit; he reſumed the donation in a few weeks, and cauſed it to be garriſoned with Spaniſh forces. Humiliating as was this treatment, and ſubverſive of his views, the duke ſubmitted, and waited till a more favourable juncture ſhould

1549—1551. enable him to reſume his exertions with better ſucceſs[27]. Meanwhile, his vigilance and attention to public affairs, were unintermitted. During the temporary tranquillity, which took place between the crowns of France and Spain, after the deceaſe of Francis the Firſt, he was not inattentive to any tranſaction, by which his own power, or the

Able policy, and great exertions of Coſmo.

happineſs of his ſubjects, could be affected. All his internal regulations were dictated by policy, and carried into effect with vigour. He conſtructed an arſenal at Piſa; relieved his people from the ſevere misfortunes, cauſed by an inundation of the river Arno, which had deſolated Florence and the ſurrounding country; and ſuperintended with minute ſolicitude the progreſs of arts, manufactures, and commerce. His coffers were conſtantly full; and his credit ſuch, as to enable him, on emergency, to command ſtill more ample funds, both at home, and in foreign ſtates. Nor were his inſpection and care confined to Tuſcany: Julius the Third was elevated to the papal ſee, principally by his recommendation and aſſiſtance; while, at the ſame time, he opened a negotiation with Henry the Second, king of France, and even eventually ſigned a treaty of neutrality with that

[27] Galluzzi, vol. i: chap. v. and p. 172—184.

power,

power, in caſe of a future rupture between the French and Charles the Fifth [28]. CHAP. VII.

The penetration of Coſmo had anticipated, and foreſeen, that hoſtilities would recommence in every part of Italy, as ſoon as the French monarch conceived himſelf able to reſume his father's quarrel againſt the emperor; and the event juſtified his expectation. Alarmed at the approach of the ſtorm; unwilling to devolve on Appiano the defence of Piombino, and unable to leave in the place a ſufficient garriſon, at a moment when his forces muſt, of neceſſity, be occupied in Piedmont, Milan, and Naples; the Imperial court, a ſecond time, confided Piombino and Elba, to the care of the duke; though only on condition of reſtoring thoſe poſſeſſions, whenever he ſhould be reimburſed for the expences incurred in their protection. Hard as the conditions appeared, they were accepted by him; and his troops took poſſeſſion of the fortreſſes, evacuated by the Spaniards [29]. 1551, 1552. He acquires poſſeſſion of Piombino.

A far more important object excited his ambition, and animated his hopes. The Republic of Sienna, from its ſituation, was capable, in the hands of an enemy, of being eminently injurious, if not ruinous to Florence, by the acceſs which it afforded into the center of Tuſcany. Henry the Second, well aware of its value, and intent on invading the kingdom of Naples, fomented by every means, the diſaffection of the Sienneſe towards the emperor. Inſtigated by the emiſſaries, and emboldened by the promiſes of France, the inhabitants of Sienna had expelled the Spaniſh garriſon, though reinforced by a body of Coſmo's troops; and proceeding to every extremity of reſentment, they had devoted themſelves to the intereſts of the French monarch. Charles, juſtly incenſed at the outrage, determined to make them experience the full extent of his vengeance, and gave orders to the viceroy of Naples to form the ſiege of the capital, in 1553. Affairs of Sienna. Attack of Sienna.

[28] Galluzzi, vol. i. chap. vii. [29] Ibid. vol. ii. chap. i.

conjunc-

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1553. conjunction with the duke of Florence. In conſequence of his directions, Sienna was inveſted and attacked, by the Spaniſh and Tuſcan forces; and, notwithſtanding the reſiſtance of the inhabitants, the place muſt have ſpeedily ſurrendered. But, at that preciſe juncture, the emperor, broken in mind and body by infirmities, repulſed before Metz with diſhonour, and apprehenſive of the Turkiſh fleet, in combination with the French, re-appearing on the Neapolitan coaſts; haſtily relinquiſhed his attempt, and withdrew his troops from before Sienna, in defiance of Coſmo's remonſtrances [30].

1553, 1554. No meaſure could be more injurious to that prince; as it left him expoſed to the vengeance of France, who was become abſolute miſtreſs of the city and republic, which her arms and interpoſition had ſo recently ſaved from an exemplary chaſtiſement, if not from complete deſtruction. Animated, however, rather than depreſſed, by this conſideration, and apprehenſive that delay would enable the French court to take precautions for ſecuring the future poſſeſſion of Sienna; the duke embraced the reſolution of attempting, himſelf, its conqueſt and reduction. He propoſed to Charles the Fifth, the inſtant execution of a plan, ſo replete with advantage to them both, if ſucceſsful; and having received aſſurances of effectual ſupport, pecuniary and military, he cauſed an army to advance and commence the ſiege. Peter Strozzi, ſon to the celebrated and unfortunate exile, defeated at Monte Murlo, in the firſt months of Coſmo's reign, and who poſſeſſed all the qualifications of a ſtateſman and a general, was ſent by Henry the Second, to command in the city; having, under his orders, a body of veteran troops, with which he embarked from Marſeilles. Every effort which the moſt deſperate courage, ſuſtained by perſonal animoſity againſt the duke, whom he conſidered as the tyrant and uſurper of his country, could dictate or inſpire, was exerted by Strozzi, to repulſe the aſſailants; or, at leaſt, to protract the ſurrender of Sienna.

Second ſiege of Sienna.

Defence of the city by Strozzi.

[30] Galluzzi, vol. ii. p. 48—70.

ill ſupported by the miniſters of France, oppoſed by the magiſtrates and inhabitants of the city itſelf, and labouring under the augmenting preſſure of famine; he yet betrayed no apprehenſion. Oppreſſed by unequal forces, he twice transferred the ſcene of war, from the walls of Sienna, to the dominions of Florence, by breaking through the lines of the beſiegers; and he even ventured to approach the capital of Coſmo. Compelled, under manifeſt diſadvantages, to hazard a general action; wounded, and abandoned by his own ſoldiers, he found means again to enter Sienna, and to encourage the garriſon, by his example, to the moſt obſtinate reſiſtance. When deſpairing of ſucceſs, and incapable of withſtanding his enemies, he effected his eſcape; and ſurviving the loſs of the city, reanimated the ſpirit of the Sienneſe in the dependencies of the Republic, to make new efforts for the preſervation of their freedom and conſtitution [31]. CHAP. VII. 1553, 1554.

The magnanimous ſtruggles of Strozzi, could not, however, prolong the deſtiny of Sienna. Famine opened its gates; and the conqueror granted the garriſon, as well as the remaining inhabitants, an honourable capitulation. The unconquerable attachment of many of the citizens to that liberty, which they had enjoyed for near four hundred years, induced them, in the vain hope of eſcaping from their new maſter, to retire to Monte Alcino, where they continued to maintain the forms of a free ſtate, under the protection of France [32]. 1555. Surrender of Sienna.

Meanwhile, the emperor, Charles the Fifth, diſeaſed, and enfeebled by a premature decline of his intellectual vigour, had, gradually, and at intervals, diveſted himſelf of all his dominions, which he devolved on Philip the Second, his ſon. With that monarch, Coſmo opened a negotiation, for adjuſting the future condition of Sienna; which, as an Imperial fief, forfeited to Charles, had been, by him, bequeathed, with his other extenſive territories and poſſeſſions, to his 1556.

[31] Galluzzi, vol. ii. chap. iii. [32] Ibid. chap. iv. L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 758.

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ſucceſſor. After long conteſt, the new king of Spain agreed to cede to the duke, in extinction of all the ſums borrowed from him at various times, the city and dependencies of Sienna; reſerving, nevertheleſs, from this ceſſion, the maritime places of Orbitello, and Porto Ercolé, on the coaſt of Tuſcany; and exacting from Coſmo, the evacuation and reſtitution of Piombino, together with the iſle of Elba. By a ſubſequent ſtipulation, he connected himſelf, offenſively and defenſively, with Philip; and even engaged not to contract his ſons in marriage, except to the ſatisfaction of that prince. On theſe conditions, he took poſſeſſion of the conquered country, and received the ſubmiſſions of the unfortunate people, transferred to him by Spain.

1557. Ceſſion of the city and territory of Sienna, to Coſmo.

Conſiderations on that event.

However his ambition might be gratified by an acceſſion of territory ſo conſiderable, which rendered him ſovereign of almoſt all the antient Etruria, and increaſed his conſequence among the Italian ſtates; he may be juſtly conſidered, as having too dearly purchaſed theſe advantages. Philip, by retaining the fortreſſes of the Tuſcan coaſt, remained the arbiter of Coſmo, and of his dominions, which he could, at his pleaſure, invade with facility; while the latter power, compelled to adopt all the intereſts and quarrels of the court of Madrid, became dependant on the Spaniſh monarchy, and too deeply involved in its future deſtiny, or misfortunes. Theſe reflexions, which time and experience have approved, did not, however, prevent the contemporaries of Coſmo, from admiring the dexterity and capacity, which had enabled him, by negotiation, to wreſt from the moſt powerful and ambitious monarch of Europe, a province, that gave its poſſeſſor an entrance into the center of Italy [33]. The wretched ſurvivors of the Republic of Sienna, who had taken refuge at Monte Alcino, did not long enjoy even the ſhadow of their antient freedom. Attacked by the duke; abandoned and even ſold by Henry the Second, at the peace of Cateau; and deſtitute of the means of oppoſing the ſuperior force of Florence, aided

1558, 1559. Concluſion of the war with the Sienneſe.

[33] Galluzzi, vol. ii. p. 229—276.

by

by Spain; they, after protracting as long as any hope remained, their final ſubmiſſion, voluntarily yielded to their fate. Coſmo, on that occaſion, acting with equal policy and magnanimity, extended a general amneſty to all his new ſubjects; and in the regulations which he enacted for their future government, united the wiſeſt meaſures for confirming his own authority, with the protection and happineſs of the Sienneſe [34]. CHAP. VII. 1558, 1559.

To the ſucceſsful accompliſhment of his projects of ambition and augmentation of dominions, ſucceeded the arts of peace, and the intrigues of a watchful policy. The court of Rome, during the two ſucceſſive pontificates of Pius the Fourth, and Fifth, was conſtantly friendly, or ſubſervient to the views of the duke; who, by artfully flattering the weakneſſes, or miniſtering to the neceſſities of the head of the church, held all Italy in reſpect, and even excited the jealous vigilance of Philip the Second himſelf. Pius the Fourth, elevated to the papal chair by Coſmo's friendſhip, repaid him by every act of grateful attention, or compliance; and meditated to confer on him the title of "Grand Duke of Tuſcany," when he was prevented by death. But, his ſucceſſor, not leſs diſpoſed to evince his attachment, completed the intention of the deceaſed pope; and, by virtue of the right which the ſovereign pontiffs arrogated, of diſtributing crowns, ſolemnly inveſted and inaugurated Coſmo, with great ſplendor, in the church of St. Peter, at Rome. It was in vain that the emperor Maximilian the Second proteſted againſt the act, as invalid, and derogatory to the Imperial claims, or juriſdiction. Even the ſullen diſapprobation of the king of Spain, accompanied with ſome indirect menaces, was not more effectual. The new grand duke, powerful at home, ſuſtained by Pius the Fifth, acknowledged by France and England, and well able to repel inſult or attack, ſteadily maintained his recent dignity, and eventually triumphed over the oppoſition of the courts of Vienna and Madrid.

1560—1570. Policy of Coſmo.

He is created Great Duke of Tuſcany, by Pius the Fifth.

[34] Galluzzi, vol. ii. p. 345—367.

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1560—1570.

Previous to his acquiſition of the title, conferred on him by the Romiſh ſee, Coſmo, already diminiſhed in his bodily ſtrength, and feeling himſelf unequal to the ſevere fatigue of government, reſigned the active adminiſtration of affairs to Francis, his eldeſt ſon, and conſtituted him regent of Tuſcany. He accompanied the act of reſignation, however, with ſo many conditions, and reſerved to himſelf ſo many prerogatives and rights; that, while he appeared to have renounced the ſupreme power, he, in fact, only aſſociated the prince to it, and remained not leſs the real and efficient ſovereign. His ambition was even powerfully awakened, and repeatedly excited, by the flattering entreaties which the Corſicans made him, to receive them into the number of his ſubjects. That iſland, oppreſſed by the Genoeſe in the ſixteenth, as it has been in the eighteenth century, had maintained a long, and ſucceſsful conteſt againſt its tyrants. The inſurgents, who were already poſſeſſed of all the moſt important places, earneſtly beſought the grand duke to liberate them from an odious ſervitude; and menaced to invite the Turks, and to become ſubjects of a Mahometan prince, rather than return to their former maſters. The vicinity of Corſica to the coaſt of Tuſcany; its poſition, in the center of the Mediterranean, and the addition of ſo conſiderable a dominion to thoſe which he already poſſeſſed, were ſtrong incentives to animate the exertions of Coſmo; who would willingly have extended to them his protection. But, too dependant on Spain, to venture on ſo hazardous a ſtep, without conſulting the court of Madrid, he returned an ambiguous anſwer; and Philip, not only long allied to the Republic of Genoa, but jealous of the further aggrandizement of the houſe of Medecis, interpoſed ſuch obſtacles, as effectually prevented the proſecution of the deſign [35].

Partial abdication of Coſmo.

He rejects the ſubmiſſion of the Corſicans.

1570, 1571. His foreign policy.

Humiliating as this reſtraint upon his inclinations muſt have been to an ambitious and high-ſpirited prince, he nevertheleſs purſued his original ſyſtem of policy; and, even in defiance of the earneſt ſoli-

[35] Galluzzi, vol. iii. chap. iv. v. and 6. Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 759.

citations

citations of Catherine of Medecis, and her ſon Charles the Ninth of France, adhered ſteadily to his connexion with the court of Madrid. Tranquil at home, and enriched by a wiſe œconomy, Coſmo was able to extend aſſiſtance to other powers. He aided the emperor Maximilian the Second, againſt Soliman and Selim, in Hungary; ſent a body of forces to the duke of Alva, in the Netherlands; and advanced pecuniary ſupport to that general, when unable to pay the Spaniſh ſoldiery under his command. The iſland of Malta being preſſed by the Ottoman arms, he diſpatched his gallies, to the relief of the knights; aſſiſted the king of France againſt his Hugonot ſubjects; and bore no inconſiderable part in the memorable victory, gained over the Turks, at Lepanto [36]. CHAP. VII. 1570, 1571.

The ſplendor and repoſe which accompanied the concluſion of his reign, and which rendered him one of the moſt fortunate princes of the age, were not, however, extended to his private life. His felicity was embittered by ſome of the ſevereſt privations, or afflictions, to which humanity is ſubject. His eldeſt daughter died in the flower of youth, before the accompliſhment of her intended nuptials with the duke of Ferrara; and, her ſiſter, Lucretia of Medecis, ſubſtituted in her room, did not long ſurvive the marriage, and left no iſſue [37]. Two of his five ſons, John and Garcia, who had already nearly attained to manhood, and given expectation of the moſt promiſing virtues, were ſnatched from him in the ſpace of a few days, by a malignant fever; and the ducheſs, his wife, overcome with grief, expired ſoon afterwards. Calumny ventured even to inſult the pungency of his diſtreſs, by propagating reports, equally falſe and cruel, relative to the manner and circumſtances of their deaths. It was confidently aſſerted, and long believed in Italy, that one of the princes having ſtabbed his brother, the ſurvivor had been ſacrificed to the fury of his incenſed father, in the preſence, and in defiance of the entreaties of Domeſtic misfortunes of Coſmo. Death of his ſons.

[36] Galluzzi, vol. iii. chap. vii. [37] Ibid. vol. iii. p. 23, and p. 48.

the

CHAP. VII.

1572—1574.

the ducheſs, Eleanora. This fable, ſo injurious to the character of Coſmo, was invented by the malignity of his cotemporaries, and is now deſervedly exploded [38].

Adminiſtration of Francis, prince regent of Tuſcany.

A more laſting ſource of uneaſineſs and diſquietude, preſented itſelf, in the conduct and character of Francis, his eldeſt ſon, prince regent of Tuſcany, whom he had aſſociated to the government. Inferior to his father in all the arts of reigning, deſtitute of application and energy, difficult of acceſs, and unpopular in his manners; Francis did not promiſe to his future ſubjects that felicity, which they had enjoyed under Coſmo. In his affection to the arts, and protection of letters, he alone diſcovered a reſemblance to his anceſtors. Domeſtic misfortunes and diſſenſions, encreaſed the defects of his public character. Though he was married to the arch-ducheſs, Jane daughter of the emperor Ferdinand the firſt, he had, previous to contracting that alliance, entered into the cloſeſt ties of affection with Bianca Capello, a noble Venetian lady; whoſe hiſtory, adventures, and final elevation, have rendered her too celebrated in the annals of Tuſcany. Her beauty, inſinuation, and endowments of mind, enabled her to aſſume and preſerve, an unbounded influence over her lover; who, in contempt of decency, had, almoſt immediately after the celebration of his nuptials, avowed his connection with Bianca, and lodged her publicly in the ducal palace. No remonſtrances of Coſmo could diſſolve, or weaken the union; and though the princeſs of Tuſcany had given daughters to her huſband, ſhe had not yet produced any male ſucceſſor [39].

Bianca Capello; her hiſtory.

To theſe alarming ſymptoms of future misfortune, the errors and irregularities of the grand duke himſelf, gave additional force. After the death of his wife, Eleanora, he had attached himſelf to a Florentine lady, of the family of Albizzi; who being pregnant by him, might, it was apprehended, be raiſed to the ſituation of great ducheſs. Almeni, valet de chambre to Coſmo, having revealed to

Amours of Coſmo.

[38] Galluzzi, vol. iii. p. 74—93.

[39] Ibid. p. 164—174.

the

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the prince regent his father's connexion, and pointed out the conſequences which were to be dreaded from his fondneſs, Francis ventured to oppoſe ſuch a proof of weakneſs. Irritated to a degree of frenzy againſt the author of the diſcovery, the grand duke inſtantly paſſed his ſword through the body of Almeni, who expiated his imprudence, by his death; and Coſmo was even with difficulty reſtrained from proceeding to ſignal acts of reſentment againſt his ſon [40]. Some years ſubſequent to this event, having become enamoured of Camilla Martelli, a young Florentine, and being exhorted by Pius the Fifth to legitimate his union with her, he eſpouſed her; but, without aſſociating his wife to his honours or dignity. She continued to live with him till his death, and obtained over him an aſcendancy which ſhe abuſed [41].

His death.

1574. Character.

He was, unqueſtionably, one of the moſt illuſtrious princes, whom Italy, or Europe, produced during the ſixteenth century. The hiſtory of his reign, forms the beſt eulogium of his character. Called from an obſcure and private ſtation, at a very early period of life, and placed at the head of the Republic of Florence, he approved himſelf worthy of his high fortune. Emulous of the fame, acquired by the elder Coſmo, and Lorenzo of Medecis, he revived the ſtudy of polite letters, and extended his munificence to the moſt eminent artiſts of Tuſcany. Michael Angelo Buonaroti, Cellini, Vaſari, Ammanato, Bandinelli, and a number of celebrated men, were protected, and enriched by his bounty. His letters to Michael Angelo, which ſtill exiſt, evince a mind ſuſceptible of the fineſt impreſſions, and penetrated with admiration of the ſublime talents of that diſtinguiſhed perſon, whom he cauſed to be interred in the chapel of the Medecis, with the utmoſt ſolemnity [42]. He did not diſdain to attend the funeral of Jovius the hiſtorian, followed by his whole court [43]. In capacity for government, he has been rarely excelled. His œconomy was free

Genius and capacity of Coſmo.

[40] Galluzzi, vol. iii. p. 161—164.
[41] Ibid. p. 232—237.
[42] Galluzzi, vol. iii. p. 436—444.
[43] Ibid. vol. i. p. 327, 328.

from

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1574.

from any taint of avarice, and his vigilance was not degraded into ſuſpicion. Clement, and even magnanimous, he was yet ſevere; and, like Auguſtus, he ſeemed never to forget, that he had ſucceeded to a power, uſurped over a free Commonwealth. His perſonal courage and activity enabled him to meet danger, and his policy extricated him from repeated embarraſſments, under which a prince of meaner talents muſt have ſunk. The choice of his miniſters proved his diſcernment and knowledge of mankind; but, able as they were, he never ſuffered them to aſſume an authority, independent of himſelf.

His moral qualities.

His moral qualities are leſs pure and brilliant, than his political; nor can we excuſe many of his actions, which flowed from very relaxed, or vicious principles. If we forgive him for having ſent perſons to Venice expreſsly to aſſaſſinate Lorenzo of Medecis, the murderer of his predeceſſor, Alexander; it is not poſſible to contemplate without horror, his retaining wretches near the perſon of Strozzi, in order to adminiſter poiſon to that unfortunate exile. Truth, however, compels to add, that Strozzi practiſed ſimilar machinations againſt the great duke and his family [44]. The age, and peculiarly, Italy, was familiar with the uſe of poiſons. Cardinals, and even pope Paul the Third himſelf, the head of the chriſtian church, were publicly accuſed of uſing theſe deteſtable compoſitions [45]. Coſmo was eſteemed to be more learned in their nature and preparation, than any prince of his time: he occupied himſelf in his laboratory, with the reſearch; and attained, as his cotemporaries aſſerted, to the greateſt perfection, in the ſcience [46]. The adherence of the great duke to the catholic religion, was tinctured with bigotry, and inclined him to perſecution. Even, with every allowance for the manners and modes of thinking of the ſixteenth century, we cannot regard without indignation, his celebrating the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew with demonſtrations of joy, and ſending an embaſſy to congratulate

His ſubmiſſion to the ſee of Rome.

[44] Galluzzi, vol. i. p. 122 and 123, and p. 226, 227, and vol. iii. p. 359.
[45] Ibid. p. 123—125, and p. 105—107.
[46] Ibid. p. 312, and v. iii. p. 434—436.

Charles

CHAP. VI.

1574.

Charles the Ninth, on that atrocious act of barbarity and perfidy [47]. Towards Pius the Fifth, a pontiff, who breathed the ſanguinary ſpirit of an inquiſitor, he behaved with unbecoming and unworthy ſubmiſſion; nor can we pardon his ſacrificing to the ferocious zeal of that pope, Carneſecchi; a man of genius and letters, who had rendered him diſtinguiſhed ſervices. Coſmo, after much expoſtulation and reluctance, delivered him up to the miniſters of the holy ſee, by whom he was transferred to the priſons of the inquiſition at Rome, for the crime of hereſy. He expiated his guilt, by a public and ignominious death, on the bridge of St. Angelo [48]. We may add, as another proof of the ſame approbation of cruelty, the deference and devotion which the grand duke, throughout his whole reign, manifeſted towards his father-in-law, Peter de Toledo, viceroy of Naples; and towards the duke of Alva, who was of the ſame family. Human nature has rarely been diſgraced by two men, who more conſpicuouſly trampled upon all its rights, or who deluged with more blood the provinces, committed to their government [49].

Severity.

State of Tuſcany under Coſmo.

At the time of Coſmo's death, Tuſcany was, perhaps, the beſt adminiſtered ſtate in Europe; and relatively to its ſize and extent, the richeſt and moſt flouriſhing. An uninterrupted tranquillity of fourteen years, had obliterated the preceding misfortunes, and diffuſed general opulence. Manufactures and commerce had advanced rapidly, in the capital, and throughout all the dependencies. The gaiety and felicity, which had characteriſed the Florentines, under the Coſmos and Lorenzos of the preceding century, were reſtored; and Strozzi, by the attachment which he found every where to their ſovereign, when he invaded Tuſcany, and invited the people to reſume their liberties; gave an indiſputable, though an involuntary teſtimony, to the wiſdom, as well as to the lenity of the government [50]. Fabricks of cloth, glaſs, chryſtal, ſugar, leather, and jewellery, were eſtabliſhed,

Felicity.

[47] Galluzzi, vol. iii. p. 318, 319.

[48] Ibid. p. 150—158.

[49] Galluzzi, vol. iii. p. 360.

[50] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 128—132, and vol. i. p. 322, 323.

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1574.

Commerce.

and produced immenſe profits. Even porcelain was already made at Florence, with conſiderable delicacy [51]. Trade not only received every encouragement, from the grand duke; but, he was, himſelf, perſonally, engaged in commerce; and he conſtantly employed two galleons in bringing home the commodities of the Levant, which he imported into Spain and Portugal [52]. The ducheſs, Eleanora, was engaged in ſimilar undertakings, which were exceedingly lucrative, and which ſhe did not conſider as derogatory to her dignity. Merchants and factors from Florence, had already eſtabliſhed themſelves in Spaniſh America, India, and even in China [53]. Leghorn, and Porto Ferraio in the iſle of Elba, which latter place had been ceded by Spain to Coſmo, were become ports of univerſal reſort. In 1575, the year after that prince's deceaſe, the article of cloth only, manufactured in Tuſcany, employed a prodigious number of perſons, and amounted annually to full two millions of ducats, or, near nine hundred thouſand pounds, ſterling; excluſive of the fabricks of ſilk, and cloth of gold [54]. Colonies were brought into the Maremma, or low country of Sienna, in order to people, and cultivate that marſhy and unwholeſome tract of land. Similar, and greater exertions were moſt ſucceſsfully made at Piſa. The city, which, in 1537, ſcarcely contained ſeven thouſand inhabitants, and only preſented a picture of depopulation and wretchedneſs; was, before 1572, ſo augmented, as to have twenty-one thouſand people within the walls. Coſmo re-eſtabliſhed the univerſity, drained the ſurrounding marſhes, and frequently transferred to Piſa his court and reſidence [55].

Manufactures.

Population.

Arts, and letters.

The encouragement, extended by him to the elegant arts, tended to excite emulation, while it introduced refinement, and diffuſed wealth among his ſubjects. A manufacture of tapeſtry was brought to Florence, from Flanders, at his expence. The city was embelliſhed with monuments of architecture, ſculpture, and painting. Coſmo printed a ſuperb edition of the pandects of Juſtinian; and, in

[51] Galluzzi, vol. iii. p. 432—434.
[52] Ibid. p. 430—432.
[53] Ibid. p. 431.
[54] Galluzzi, vol. iii. p. 428—430.
[55] Ibid. p. 353, 354.

1548,

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1574.

1548, he opened the library of St. Laurence, though the edifice was not completed till 1571 [56]. In it, were depoſited the invaluable collection of manuſcripts, made by the princes of the houſe of Medecis, preſerved by Leo the Tenth; and tranſported back from Rome to Florence, by Clement the Seventh. Michael Angelo, and under his direction, Ammannato, conſtructed the library, with great taſte and elegance. Medals, ſtruck by Coſmo's order, and executed by the ableſt artiſts, perpetuated the principal events of his reign and adminiſtration [57].

Revenues.

The treaſures, left by him to Francis, his ſucceſſor, in money, jewels, plate, and funds, employed in commerce, were immenſe. The ordinary revenues amounted to eleven hundred thouſand ducats [58]. At the cloſe of the war againſt Sienna, in 1559, he had contracted a debt with the merchants of Antwerp and Genoa, which exceeded a million of ducats: yet, by the year 1562, this vaſt incumbrance was almoſt entirely diſcharged; and when, in 1564, he reſigned the adminiſtration to his ſon, the ducal domains were completely redeemed, and every public debt was liquidated [59].

Military force.

Tuſcany was provided with the moſt ample means of internal defence, and external attack. The unremitting attention of the grand duke had foreſeen, and provided for all emergencies. His military force, compoſed of volunteers, and formed into bands, did not fall ſhort of thirty-ſix thouſand men, who could be aſſembled on the ſhorteſt notice. Four hundred light horſe, ſtationed at Piſa, protected the coaſts [60].

Marine.

Twelve gallies, conſtructed by himſelf, were maintained at Leghorn, or Porto Ferraio; and to theſe were joined four others, belonging to the order of St. Stephen, which he had inſtituted; and the knights of which, were conſtantly employed in cruizing againſt the Moors, or, in the Levant [61]. It appears, that, at the end of his

[56] Galluzzi, vol. ii. p. 431. [57] Ibid. p. 434—446, and vol. iii. p. 453—455.
[58] Ibid. vol. iii. p. 350, and p. 353. Above five hundred thouſand pounds, ſterling.
[59] Ibid. p. 413—417. [60] Ibid. p. 352. [61] Ibid.

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1574.

Power, grandeur, and conſideration of Tuſcany.

reign, the Florentine ſtate contained in it, about ſeven hundred thouſand perſons, and that of Sienna, nearly a hundred thouſand [62]. We may judge, by this proportion, how much the latter country had been depopulated by war. A number of fortreſſes and citadels, erected in various parts of his dominions, equally retained the people in obedience, and ſecured them from invaſion [63]. So wiſe and enlightened a government, ſupported by commerce, and regulated by a ſyſtematic œconomy, excited reſpect from the ſurrounding ſtates. Coſmo was powerful in Rome, by his numerous adherents in the ſacred college, by his intrigues in the conclave, his politic ſubmiſſion to the papal ſee, and the dread of his arms. The Imperial court, allied to him by marriage, and in want of his aſſiſtance againſt the Turks, expreſſed for him, peculiarly after the termination of the quarrel relative to the title of grand duke, the utmoſt regard. France ſolicited his friendſhip and courted his alliance; after having vainly endeavoured to prevent his conqueſt and acquiſition of Sienna [64]. Even Charles the Fifth, and Philip the Second, the moſt powerful monarchs whom Europe had ſeen ſince Charlemagne, treated him with diſtinguiſhed attention, and conſidered his ſupport, as the beſt ſecurity for their poſſeſſion of Milan and the kingdom of Naples. The concluſion of his reign may, perhaps, be regarded as the higheſt point of elevation to which Tuſcany attained, after the extinction of the Republic; and the incapacity, or miſconduct of his immediate ſucceſſor, rendered the memory of Coſmo peculiarly dear to his country.

[62] Galluzzi, vol. iii. p. 352. [63] Ibid. p. 351. [64] Ibid. p. 259—264.

CHAP. VIII.

PATRIMONY OF THE CHURCH.

Review of the papacy, from the depoſition of John the Twenty-third, by the council of Conſtance.—Pontificate of Alexander the Sixth.—Julius the Second.—Leo the Tenth.—Adrian the Sixth.—Clement the Seventh.—Paul the Third.—Convocation of the council of Trent.—Julius the Third.—Paul the Fourth.—Pius the Fourth.—Diſſolution of the council of Trent.—Pius the Fifth.—Election of Gregory the Thirteenth.—State of the temporal power of the Roman pontiffs, in 1574.—Dominions.—Population.—Police.—Defective adminiſtration.—Revenues of the holy ſee.—Military forces.—Treaſures.—State of the fine arts.—Luxuries and refinements.—Authority of the inquiſition.—Examination of the ſpiritual power and prerogatives of the holy ſee.—Pecuniary impoſitions, and exactions.—Inquiſitorial prohibitions of literary productions.

CHAP. VIII.

Abuſe of the pontifical power in the dark ages.

THE ſtrongeſt proof of that profound ignorance and ſervitude, in which the human mind was ſunk, during the middle ages, is the blind and undiminiſhed veneration of all Europe for the holy ſee, in defiance of the crimes with which it was diſgraced, and diſhonoured. The certainty of impunity, and a perfect knowledge of the ſtate of darkneſs and barbariſm which prevailed, and precluded any rational attempt at emancipation; ſeem to have induced the ſovereign pontiffs to throw off every reſtraint, impoſed on their vices and paſſions. The college of cardinals betrayed no leſs diſregard to every conſideration of their own character, and of the ſanctity of the ſupreme dignity of the chriſtian church, in the choice of perſons to fill the chair of St. Peter.

The

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1414. Crimes of John the Twenty-third.

The liſt of crimes and enormities, ſolemnly charged againſt John the Twenty-third, in the council of Conſtance, fill us with no leſs wonder, than indignation. Fifty principal articles, containing almoſt all the flagitious exceſſes, which we read with incredulity, in Suetonius, even of Nero and Caligula, were proved before the fathers, aſſembled to reſtore order in the church. Yet, as if theſe were not ſufficient, twenty other heads of accuſation were ſuppreſſed, for the honour of the apoſtolic ſee. Our admiration ceaſes, however, in ſome meaſure, when we conſider, that the pope, previous to his election, had exerciſed the profeſſion of a corſair, that he was known to be ſtained with almoſt every ſpecies of moral turpitude, and that he purchaſed, by notorious ſimony, his elevation [1].

1417. Election of Martin the Fifth.

The council, after having depoſed, and delivered over to the emperor, Sigiſmund, ſo unworthy a pontiff, proceeded to fill the vacant chair; and the delegates deputed for the purpoſe, unanimouſly choſe the cardinal Colonna, who aſſumed the title of Martin the Fifth. He was, it muſt be owned, exempt from the imputations and glaring impieties, attributed to his predeceſſor: but, he was equally an enemy to all reform; and deſtitute of thoſe virtues, which awakened reaſon expects in the perſon, appointed to govern ſo many nations, as the ſupreme head of the chriſtian faith [2]. Under his ſucceſſors, during the fifteenth century, we trace the ſame intereſted policy, the ſame unjuſt uſurpation, and the ſame ſcandalous venality, which preceded the coun-

1431—1439. cil of Conſtance. Another aſſembly of eccleſiaſtics, convoked at Baſil, was even leſs ſucceſsful in its attempts to diminiſh the abuſe of the papal power, than the firſt had been. Eugene the Fourth, more cautious than John the Twenty-third, and inſtructed by his misfortunes, found means to evade the authority of the council, and ultimately to diſperſe

1458—1464. that formidable body [3]. Pius the Second, better known by the name of Eneas Sylvius Piccolomini, is the only pontiff, who, from his love

[1] Platina, Vies des Papes, p. 559, 560. Bruys, Hiſtoire des Papes, vol. iv. p. 41, and p. 46—49.

[2] Bruys, vol. iv. p. 59, 60. Bzovius, an. 1431. Platina, p. 564, 565.

[3] Bruys, vol. iv. p. 120—127, and p. 142, 143.

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1491—1503. Pontificate of Alexander the Sixth.

of learning, and his virtues, lays any claim to eſteem [4]. Sixtus the Fourth ſullied the eccleſiaſtical profeſſion, and excited the deteſtation of Italy, by his profligacy of manners, injuſtice, and crimes [5]. But, great as theſe were, they were eclipſed and obliterated by the memorable pontificate of Roderic Borgia, who aſſumed the title of Alexander the Sixth. The concurring teſtimony of numerous, irreproachable, and contemporary writers, can ſcarcely induce us to credit the recital of his enormities, continued during a reign of twelve years. His ſon, the celebrated and flagitious Cæſar Borgia, even ſurpaſſed in atrocity, the model which he copied; and has left a name, proverbial for infamy and turpitude [6]. Yet, while Rome, and the ſurrounding territory groaned beneath the tyranny of two monſters, who cemented their uſurpations with the blood of the principal nobility; ſuch was the depreſſed and lethargic condition of mankind throughout Europe, that no effort to reform the church, or to withdraw from the ſupremacy of the papal ſee, was ever exerted. Alexander was ſo fully convinced of the impunity with which he might inſult even the greateſt princes, that he treated the embaſſadors of Ferdinand and Emanuel, kings of Spain and Portugal, with menaces, when they ventured, in the names of their reſpective ſovereigns, to remonſtrate with him, on his vices [7]. Such was the veneration which his office inſpired, that it ſeemed to ſwallow up, or ſuſpend all the faculties of reaſon; and we find Charles the Eighth, king of France, after he had entered Rome as a conqueror, and driven the pope to take refuge in the caſtle of St. Angelo; haſtening to proſtrate himſelf at the pontiff's feet, to implore his benediction, and to renew his own ſubmiſſion. During the jubilee of the year 1500, when, in conſequence of the indulgencies granted to pilgrims, an immenſe concourſe of ſtrangers, from every part of Europe, crouded to Rome; the exceſſes and debaucheries, openly committed, as well by

[4] Platina, p. 619—636. [5] Bruys, vol. iv. p. 262. Onuphrius Panvinus, p. 12.
[6] Onuphrius Panvinus, Vies des Papes, p. 25—36. Ciaconius, Vitæ Pontific. p. 151. Bruys, vol. iv. p. 320—323. [7] Bruys, vol. iv. p. 306, 307.

eccle-

CHAP. VIII.

1491—1503. Temporal power of the popes.

ecclesiastics as by the laity, exceeded belief; and these were encouraged by the example and permission of the pope. It was with the money extorted from all the catholic states, under pretence of a crusade against the Turks, that he completed the subjection of the Roman barons, and aggrandized the temporal power of the holy see; which, at his accession, possessed only an inconsiderable part of that territory, annexed to it since the beginning of the sixteenth century [8].

1503—1513. Julius the Second.

The pontificate of Julius the Second, was not, it must be confessed, stained with such notorious impieties; but, it was scarcely better calculated to impress the christian world, with respect for the person, or office of the sovereign pontiff. His election was not only obtained by the most flagrant corruption; but, his whole reign evinced a mind, exclusively devoted to ambition, conquest, and revenge. Inattentive to every duty, incumbent on the pastor of his flock; faithless to his promises and treaties; tyrannical towards his subjects; he was only intent on carrying his arms beyond the Apennines, and expelling the French from Italy. By a perfidious violation of his agreement with Cæsar Borgia, he despoiled that prince of his territorial acquisitions, attained at the expence of so much blood; and united his usurpations to the dominions of the church. Against Louis the Twelfth, king of France, his resentment knew no limits; and his eagerness to accelerate the expulsion of the French from the Milanese, induced him to lay aside all the decencies annexed to his sacerdotal function. Armed like a soldier, Julius, at seventy years of age, appeared in the trenches; directed the operations of war; and, on the surrender of Mirandola, was carried into the city, through the breach, in military triumph [9]. These proceedings, so strongly calculated to excite scandal, and to awaken reflexion, produced little or no effect upon an age, nursed in superstition, and habituated to a servile obedience towards the see of Rome. Louis the Twelfth, actuated more by a just indignation, and motives

[8] Bruys, vol. iv. p. 307, 308, and p. 311.

[9] Ibid. p. 340.

of

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of policy, than by any enlightened ſentiments, attempted to convoke a council, and to depoſe ſo turbulent and unjuſt a pontiff; but his effort terminated in the moſt abject ſubmiſſions to the ſucceſſor of Julius. We may form ſome eſtimate of the ſtate of the human mind, and of its modes of thinking, at the beginning of the ſixteenth century, by the conduct of the cardinal of Medecis, afterwards pope Leo the Tenth; who was taken priſoner by the French, at the victory of Ravenna, while acting as the papal legate. That dexterous prelate, by diſpenſing to the ſoldiers, abſolution from the cenſures, in which they were equally involved with their ſovereign, on account of their hoſtility to the holy ſee; effected ſo prompt and ſo conſiderable a deſertion among the conquerors, as exceedingly to diminiſh their army. Numbers went over to the enemy whom they had recently vanquiſhed; and in order to obtain more complete pardon for their preceding guilt, carried off with them, their arms and horſes. It was vain and impoſſible to oppoſe a power, fortified and ſuſtained by ſuch prejudices [10].

1503—1513. Superſtition of the age.

To this martial reign, ſucceeded the memorable pontificate of Leo the Tenth. Rome, accuſtomed to the crimes of Alexander, and the tyranny of Julius, beheld with joy, a prince, whoſe refinement, munificence, and protection of the arts, rendered his court the center of elegance and pleaſure. Leo, more decent in his vices, and more maſter of his paſſions, ſubſtituted artifice and intrigue in the place of arms; and, while he abandoned himſelf to the exceſſes of ſenſuality, or was occupied by the protection of genius and letters, he committed to his generals the conduct of the armies, which he ſent againſt France. It is even evident, that he did not totally diſregard the progreſs of immorality and libertiniſm; ſince, in the beginning of his reign, he publiſhed a very ſevere decree againſt thoſe philoſophers, who ventured to teach and to aſſert, that the ſoul was mortal, and the

1513—1521. Reign of Leo the Tenth.

Meaſures of the holy ſee, for repreſſing immorality.

[10] Bruys, vol. iv. p. 359.

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1513, 1514.

world eternal. Many of the decrees of the council of Lateran, which were promulgated by the pope, in the ſame year, for the reformation of manners, and regulation of eccleſiaſtics, merit the higheſt approbation [11]. But, the pecuniary oppreſſions and vexations of the holy ſee, were become intolerable; and Europe, long plunged in the groſſeſt ignorance, began to betray ſigns of approaching reaſon. Theſe ſymptoms did not firſt manifeſt themſelves in the German empire; though the reformation began in that country.

Reſiſtance of France, to the papal claims and pretenſions.

The French, who, in every age, have led the way to innovation, preceded Luther in their remonſtrances and invectives, againſt the exactions of the court of Rome. It required all the exertions and vigilance of Francis the Firſt, to maintain the "Concordate," which he

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himſelf had made with Leo, during their interview at Bologna, and to procure its reception throughout the kingdom. The parliament of Paris, the univerſity of that capital, and many of the clergy, publicly declaimed againſt the conceſſions, made by their ſovereign to the pope; and had Francis choſen to yield to this general ſentiment, and to emancipate himſelf from ſo ſevere a yoke, it is unqueſtionable that his ſubjects were equally prepared, and willing, to have entirely withdrawn themſelves from the papal ſupremacy [12].

Similar efforts in Spain. 1516, 1517.

Even, in Spain, when Leo attempted to levy, by his arbitrary mandate, a tax of the tenth of all eccleſiaſtical revenues, during three years, under pretence of a cruſade againſt Selim the Firſt, the Turkiſh emperor; cardinal Ximenes reſiſted ſo glaring an act of oppreſſion, and was imitated in his conduct, by all the biſhops of the kingdom. They unanimouſly refuſed ſubmiſſion; and Leo, apprehenſive of the moſt ſerious conſequences, inſtantly deſiſted. The letter, which Ximenes addreſſed to him on that occaſion, contains the moſt enlightened ſentiments of true patriotiſm; and, while it profeſſes filial obedience to the juſt and equitable demands of the Romiſh ſee, de-

[11] Bruys, vol. iv. p. 382, 383, and p. 399, 400. [12] Ibid. p. 393.

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clares that all attempts to make the Spaniſh clergy tributary, will be attended with confuſion and diſappointment [13].

1516, 1517. Reformation of Luther.

The ſame experiment, which in more opulent, or bigotted kingdoms, had produced only a fermentation, that evaporated in menaces; gave riſe in Germany, to a complete ſubverſion of the authority, exerciſed for ſo many centuries, by the church of Rome. The traffic of indulgencies, taken from the Auguſtine order of Monks, by whom it had been uſually exerciſed, and conferred on the Dominican, was the original cauſe of ſo vaſt a revolution. Luther, irritated by oppoſition, and conducted inſenſibly from one ſtep to another, finiſhed by a total rejection of all intercourſe with, or deference towards, the pretended vicars of Chriſt. Leo betrayed no theological rancour, nor diſpoſition to ſeverity, in his treatment of that bold innovator. When informed of the circumſtances, which had excited his animoſity, he ingenuouſly confeſſed, that "Luther was a man of excellent capacity; and that the quarrel was merely the effect of monaſtic jealouſy and rivality." He long delayed the publication of the bull, by which he condemned Luther's propoſitions, and appeared deſirous rather to mollify, than incenſe, ſo dangerous an adverſary. But, the evil admitted of no cure; and reaſon, once directed to the examination of the pretenſions of the ſee of Rome, ſoon levelled the fabric, which ignorance and bigotry had cemented [14].

1518—1521. Elegance, and ſplendor of the court of Rome.

This diminution of his revenues and ſpiritual authority, neither produced any alteration in the manners, nor appears to have had influence on the temper of Leo. The Vatican was the center of magnificence, and the aſylum of genius. While Michael Angelo Buonaroti exerciſed his ſublime talents on the edifice of St. Peter, Raphael was employed in painting the gallery of the pontifical palace. The banquets of the head of the church, reſembled thoſe of Heliogaba-

[13] Flechier, Hiſt. de Ximenes, liv. v. p. 665. [14] Bruys, vol. iv. p. 403—409.

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lus, in luxury; and were ſeaſoned with the converſation of the moſt eminent men in every branch of polite literature, whom Leo's bounty had attracted to his court. His enthuſiaſm for the productions of poetry, may be eſtimated, in ſome meaſure, by the extraordinary and incredible bull, which he ventured to iſſue, in favour of the "Orlando Furioſo" of Arioſto; menacing with excommunication all ſuch as ſhould preſume to cenſure it, or to prevent the profit ariſing from its ſale [15]. The cardinals Sadolet, and Bembo, renowned for their eloquence and erudition, were his principal ſecretaries; and ſuch was his boundleſs generoſity towards perſons, diſtinguiſhed by talents of whatever nature, that it was ſaid, the papal treaſury was unequal to ſupplying his munificence. He was engaged in theſe elegant recreations, when a premature death, occaſioned, as is aſſerted, by exceſs of joy, at the favourable accounts received of his troops, who had driven the French out of Parma, terminated his pontificate. If we regard him only as a prince, he poſſeſſed many of the qualities, calculated to excite eſteem; and the gratitude of men of genius, whom he ſo liberally protected, has enſured him immortality. But, in the character of chief of the chriſtian church, his luxury, and his neglect, or contempt of all the duties incumbent on a ſovereign pontiff, rendered him highly improper to occupy that ſituation, at a time, when the moſt exemplary virtues were unequal to withſtand the torrent of innovation [16].

Death, and character of Leo.

1521—1523. Character, and reign of Adrian the Sixth.

If all the ſimplicity, diſintereſtedneſs, and humility of the primitive ages, could have checked the progreſs of Luther's doctrines, or cloſed the breach which he had occaſioned; the elevation of Adrian the Sixth to the papal chair, might have produced theſe effects. The preponderant influence of the emperor, Charles the Fifth, in the ſacred college, raiſed to the pontificate, on the death of Leo, his

[15] Bruys, vol. iv. p. 419.

[16] Onuphr. Panvin. p. 48, 49. Paul Jovius, Vit. Leon. x. p. 188, and p. 191, and 196. Bruys, vol. iv. p. 417—421.

preceptor,

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preceptor, a Fleming; who neither aſpired to that dignity, nor received with any emotion, the intelligence of his election. Endowed with every apoſtolic virtue, which ought to have qualified him to fill, with utility to mankind, the holy ſee; he was unfortunately deficient in the addreſs and policy, indiſpenſible for enabling him to conduct the temporal intereſts, annexed to the office. Habituated to the management of a college, he poſſeſſed no capacity for the government of a ſtate. Verſed only in theological learning, he deſpiſed the elegant arts; and turned with abhorrence, from the moſt finiſhed productions of painting, or ſculpture. Incapable of deceit, he avowed his deteſtation of the vices, which ſullied the church of Rome; and candidly owned the neceſſity of a reformation, while he endeavoured to oppoſe the progreſs of Luther. Frugal in his expences, plain in his diet, and regarding the ſplendor of his predeceſſor, as unbecoming the character of a pontiff; he diſguſted a people, accuſtomed to the magnificence of a voluptuous court. Adrian the Sixth, deteſted by the inhabitants of Rome, and not leſs odious to the college of cardinals; ſlighted in Germany, where the proteſtant doctrines had taken too deep a root, to be ſubverted; and, convinced that all his efforts to ſuſtain the catholic religion, were ineffectual; cloſed his ſhort reign: purſued, even beyond the grave, by the ſatirical malevolence of the poets, whom he had irritated and neglected [17].

1523—1526. Clement the Seventh.

He was ſucceeded, after a long and ſtormy conclave, by the cardinal Julius of Medecis, who aſſumed the name of Clement the ſeventh; and under whoſe adminiſtration, the church, and the city of Rome, were equally oppreſſed by the ſevereſt calamities. His acceſſion was, notwithſtanding, tranquil and auſpicious. The new pontiff was an illegitimate ſon of Julian of Medecis, brother to Lorenzo, ſurnamed the Magnificent; and who fell a victim to the conſpiracy of the Pazzi. In the early part of his life, he had borne arms, and been

His character.

[17] Onuphr. Panvin. p. 50—59. Bruys, vol. iv. p. 423, 424, and p. 426—428, and p. 432—440.

a com-

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a commander of the order of Rhodes; in which character, he had aſſiſted at the coronation of Leo the Tenth, who raiſed him to the dignity of a cardinal, and employed him in the moſt eminent poſts of government. None of the characteriſtic munificence of the houſe from which he ſprung, was to be traced in Clement, whoſe predominant paſſion was avarice; but, blended with ambition, duplicity, and irreſolution. Theſe vices and defects, rendered his pontificate odious, and eclipſed the fame, which his protection of letters, and the decorum of his manners, might otherwiſe have ſecured. Fluctuating in perpetual uncertainty, between the two powerful monarchs, Charles the Fifth and Francis the Firſt, who alternately menaced Italy with ſervitude; bound by no ties, and faithleſs to his moſt ſolemn engagements; his perſon and dignity became contemptible to all Europe. The fatal conſequence of his perfidious verſatility, was the deſtruction of Rome; which the conſtable of Bourbon, commanding the Imperial forces, ſtormed, and entered. It had not experienced a ſimilar misfortune ſince the year 1413, when Ladiſlaus, king of Naples, captured, and abandoned to pillage, that wealthy city [18]. So low was the pontifical office ſunk, in the eſtimation of a licentious and inſolent ſoldiery, that the Lutheran troops, who had been conducted by Fronſberg, from the proteſtant circles of the empire, treated with contumely, the head of the chriſtian church; and, after loading him with every opprobrious epithet, they formed a cavalcade, and elected in a mock conclave, Martin Luther for pope [19]. During this humiliating ceremony, Clement, ſhut up in the caſtle of St. Angelo, experienced the horrors of famine and captivity, aggravated by inſults of every nature. The Spaniſh commander, deſtitute of compaſſion for the fallen pontiff, puniſhed with immediate death, the attempt to introduce any ſort of proviſions

Sack of Rome. 1527.

Degradation of the pontifical power.

[18] Bruys, vol. iv. p. 443, 444, and p. 447—451, and p. 458—461. Guicciardini, livre xviii. Onuphr. Panvin. p. 62—65.

[19] Bruys, vol. iv. p. 460, 461.

into

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into the fortreſs; and, after an ineffectual ſtruggle, he was reduced to ſign an ignominious capitulation with his enemies, by which he ſtill remained a priſoner. Alarſon, who, only two years preceding, had taken charge of the perſon of Francis the Firſt, ſubſequent to the battle of Pavia, performed the ſame office to Clement; and ſuch was the pontiff's diſtreſs, that, unable to furniſh the ſum, exacted by the Imperial general, he did not heſitate to put up to public ſale three cardinals hats, which were purchaſed by the higheſt bidder. Even after his eſcape from priſon, he neither acted with conſiſtency, dignity, nor energy; and he finiſhed by ſupplicating the friendſhip of Charles, from whom he had received the ſevereſt indignities [10].

1527. Impriſonment of Clement.

On every ſide, the papal power appeared to be haſtening to decay. Henry the Eighth, irritated at the delays and obſtacles, impoſed by the pope, to his divorce; excited by a deſire of ſeizing on the eccleſiaſtical revenues; and, finally incenſed at the declaration, by which Clement annulled his marriage with Anne Bullen; threw off all adherence to the ſee of Rome. In the German empire, Luther augmented his followers, found protection in the electoral college itſelf, and defied the excommunications of the Vatican. The northern kingdoms, whoſe poverty rendered them more ſenſible to the pecuniary exactions of the Romiſh ſee, began to exhibit alarming ſymptoms of diſaffection. Switzerland, whoſe inhabitants had always evinced themſelves the peculiar champions of the pontifical dignity and office, was ſhaken and divided: the new opinions had penetrated into France, and threatened to ſubvert the antient religion. In this embarraſſing ſituation, Clement, preſſed by the emperor to aſſemble a general council, as the only adequate remedy for ſo many evils; and deterred by his apprehenſions, from recurring to an expedient, which might level, or reduce the papal authority; continually protracted any deciſion, and found pretexts to delay its

1528—1534. Decline of the papal authority.

Ambitious projects of Clement.

[10] Bruys, vol. iv. p. 461—464, and p. 468, 469.

convo-

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convocation. In the ſucceſs of his ſchemes for aggrandizing the family of Medecis, he nevertheleſs found a conſolation, which more than counterbalanced all the misfortunes of his pontificate. The pliability of his character and policy enabled him to profit of every means, by which to gratify his ambition; and fortune, which had treated him with ſo much rigor, ſeemed, on this favourite point, to relax in her ſeverity. After re-eſtabliſhing the power of his houſe at Florence, and procuring for Alexander of Medecis the ſupport and alliance of Charles the Fifth, whoſe natural daughter that monarch beſtowed on him; Clement liſtened to the flattering overtures, made him by the king of France. Catherine of Medecis, his niece, who became afterwards ſo celebrated in the hiſtory of Europe, eſpouſed Henry, duke of Orleans, at Marſeilles; and the pope was occupied with projects for providing her a rich eſtabliſhment, either in Tuſcany, or Lombardy, when death terminated his life and reign[21].

His death.

1534—1537. Paul the Third.

The conclave, after a ſhort deliberation, unanimouſly elected the cardinal Alexander Farneſe, dean of the ſacred college, who aſſumed the name of Paul the Third. He held the papal ſee during fifteen years, though he had already attained to a very advanced period of life, previous to his acceſſion. Conſcious, that it would be impoſſible, without exciting univerſal complaint, further to procraſtinate the convocation of the council, demanded by Charles the Fifth; he affected to purſue an oppoſite policy from that of his predeceſſor: and truſting to his own ability, to prevent any invaſion of the powers, claimed by the Roman pontiffs, he inſtantly diſpatched a nuntio to ſignify his aſſent, and to propoſe the city of Mantua for the place of its meeting. This apparent compliance, which originated in profound diſſimulation, did not, in fact, facilitate, or accelerate the object itſelf. Impediments, inſurmountable in their own nature, and of which the papal court was well aware, prevented its execution.

Convocation of the council of Trent.

[21] Onuphr. Panvin. p. 65—67. Bruys, vol. iv. p. 470—484. Guicciardini, liv. xx. Fra Paolo, Hiſt. du Concile de Trente, p. 63—67. Mem. de Du Bellay, liv. iv. Pallavicini, Hiſt. Concil. Triden. liv. iii. chap. xii.

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1534—1537.

Hoſtilities, preceded by perſonal animoſity and invectives, had already commenced between the emperor and Francis the Firſt; and it was unqueſtionable, that the latter ſovereign would not permit the French prelates to attend the aſſembly. The duke of Mantua himſelf, under various pretences, refuſed to allow his capital to be made the place of its convocation; and Paul, availing himſelf of this new obſtacle, prorogued the council [22].

1537—1545 Plans for the aggrandizement of the family of Farneſe.

Occupied only with a paſſion for aggrandizing the family of Farneſe, he exerted every endeavour to induce the emperor to concur in his deſign. The nuptials of Margaret, natural daughter of Charles, with Octavio, grandſon to the pope, were celebrated at Rome, with great magnificence; and upon this connection, the pontiff founded his ambitious projects. Vicenza, the city which had been ſubſequently named for the meeting of the council, having been refuſed by the Venetians, in whoſe dominions it was ſituated; after a delay of ſeveral years, Trent was ultimately fixed on for the purpoſe. But, the war, which had recently begun a third time, between Charles and Francis, retarded the commencement of its deliberations. During this interval, Paul, in a perſonal interview with the emperor, offered to make every ſacrifice, and to pay a conſiderable annual tribute, in order to obtain the inveſtiture of the duchy of Milan, for his grandſon. His expoſtulations, aided by the tears and entreaties of Margaret, were, nevertheleſs, ineffectual to induce that monarch to deprive his ſon of an acquiſition, obtained and defended with ſo much difficulty. The refuſal, while it alienated the pontiff, only augmented and ſtimulated his anxiety to elevate his houſe; and, deſpairing of ſucceſs in his application to the emperor, he embraced and executed the reſolution, of diſmembering Parma and Placentia from the territories of the church, and beſtowing them, as a fief, on Peter Louis Farneſe, his ſon. An act, in which every principle of juſtice, and the very dominions of the Holy See, were

Alienation of Parma and Placentia from the church.

[22] Bruys, vol. iv. p. 487—498.

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ſacrificed to the inſatiable ambition of its preſent poſſeſſor, excited complaints in the Sacred College, and indignation among foreign ſtates. The notorious vices of the perſon, in whoſe favour ſo glaring a violation of equity was committed, encreaſed the odium annexed to it; and the Lutherans found, in the conduct of Paul himſelf, the ſtrongeſt reaſons, for withdrawing themſelves from his authority and juriſdiction [23].

1545—1548. Council of Trent opened.

Under theſe inauſpicious circumſtances, commenced the memorable council of Trent; the laſt, which the chriſtian church has ventured to aſſemble. Its deliberations, continued through eight ſeſſions, were productive neither of reformation in the court of Rome, nor of benefit to the general intereſts of religion. Attentive to all its debates; watchful over every attempt to diminiſh the papal ſupremacy, or to controul its exerciſe; fertile in expedients to embarraſs and retard its operations, or decrees; the legates, who preſided, as repreſentatives of Paul the Third, were always maſters of the aſſembly. The terror of its entering upon the numerous abuſes, practiſed in the papal court, operated ſo ſtrongly, as to induce the pope, under pretence of a peſtilential diſtemper having made its appearance in the city, to transfer the aſſembly to Bologna. Only thoſe prelates, attached to, or dependant on the Holy See, obeyed the injunction: the Imperial and Spaniſh faction continued their ſittings at Trent; and after a ſchiſm of near two years, during which period, both parties remained in a ſtate of inaction, Paul ultimately ſuſpended the further exiſtence of the council, notwithſtanding the expoſtulations and menaces of Charles the Fifth [24].

Suſpenſion of its deliberations.

Affairs of Parma.

The mutual alienation of the emperor and the pope, had been heightened by the aſſaſſination of Peter Louis, duke of Parma, natural ſon of Paul the Third. His tyranny and acts of violence, exer-

[23] Fra Paolo, Hiſt. du Concile de Trente, liv. ii. p. 118. Bruys, vol. iv. p. 526.

[24] Fra Paolo, liv. ii. Pallavicini, paſſim. Bruys, vol. iv. p. 526—555. Onuphr. Panvin. p. 68—84.

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ciſed over his new ſubjects, gave riſe to a conſpiracy, by which he periſhed, in his own palace, at Placentia. The Imperial troops inſtantly entered, and took poſſeſſion of the city; as the papal forces did of Parma; and Octavio Farneſe ſaw himſelf deſpoiled of his inheritance, by thoſe, from whom he was peculiarly entitled to expect aſſiſtance and protection [25]. An unſucceſsful attempt, made by him, in order to become maſter of Parma, which his grandfather had again united to the patrimony of the church, irritated the diſeaſes, which already enfeebled the aged pontiff; and the menaces of Octavio, upon the failure of his enterprize, to throw himſelf into the arms of the emperor, precipitated the death of Paul the Third; who expired, at the advanced age of eighty-one years. His character and government were equally odious. As head of the church, his conduct juſtly excited the ſevereſt animadverſion; and he was deficient in every quality, calculated to adorn, or render venerable, the chair of St. Peter. What opinion can we form of a pope, who not only made the ſtudy of magic and aſtrology, his favourite reſearch; but, who ventured, in contradiction to decency, to compare the Divinity to Saturn, and Jeſus Chriſt, to Jupiter [26]? Diſſimulation, perfidy, rapacity, ambition, and hypocriſy, were the leading features of his mind; and he was never more to be dreaded, than when he aſſumed the maſk of piety and religion. To gratify his reſentment, or attain his objects, he did not ſcruple to uſe any engines, however deteſtable; and his whole pontificate was employed in exertions, at the expence of the moſt ſacred duties of his ſtation, to elevate a ſon, whoſe birth and whoſe enormities, were equally a diſgrace to his father [27].

1545—1548.

1549. Death, and character of Paul the Third.

The election of the cardinal del Monté to the papal dignity, who aſſumed the name of Julius the Third, was little calculated to augment the reſpect, entertained for the perſon and office of the vicars

1549, 1550. Election of Julius the Third.

[25] De Thou, livre iv. Bruys, vol. iv. p. 544. [26] Bruys, vol. iv. p. 556.

[27] Onuphr. Panvin. p. 84, 85. Bruys, vol. iv. p. 545, 546, and p. 555—557. Ciaconius, vol. iii. p. 537. Pallavicini, liv. iii. Fra Paolo. Traité des Benefices, p. 335.

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of Chriſt. He, nevertheleſs, commenced his reign with an act of juſtice, by reſtoring Parma to Octavio Farneſe, in gratitude for the aſſiſtance which he had received from the numerous and powerful adherents of that prince, in the conclave; and he ſeemed to evince more candor in his proceedings, as well as leſs reluctance to reaſſemble the council of Trent, than his predeceſſor had done. But, theſe appearances of virtue and decorum, were quickly obliterated by the moſt ſcandalous weakneſſes and exceſſes. Averſe to every exertion which his ſtation demanded, he abandoned himſelf to indolence, pleaſure, and ſenſuality, at his villa, in the vicinity of Rome. The petulance of his temper betrayed him into continual violations of decency; and he diſhonoured the college of cardinals, by immediately aſſociating to their body, a young man, named Innocent, not only of obſcure extraction, and deſtitute of merit; but, on whom obloquy caſt the ſtrongeſt inſinuations. Even, though we ſhould admit the injuſtice of ſuch imputations, by ſuppoſing, as has been aſſerted, that he was the natural ſon of Julius; yet, his age, which did not exceed ſeventeen years, and his notorious vices, were alone ſufficient to exclude him from ſo eminent an eccleſiaſtical dignity. He ſoon became, under the new pontificate, the channel of preferment, and the avowed miniſter, notwithſtanding the paſquinades and aſperſions, with which he was purſued by the inhabitants of Rome [28].

His character.

1550—1555. Reſumption of the council of Trent.

The council of Trent, convoked anew, began, meanwhile, its deliberations, which had been interrupted by Paul the Third; and Charles the Fifth, become irreſiſtible in the empire, ſince the defeat of the Smalcaldic league, and the victory at Muhlberg, already anticipated the re-union of the Lutherans to the catholic church. The embaſſadors of Maurice, elector of Saxony, and head of that aſſociation, arrived at Trent, and prepared to enter upon their functions, conjointly with the delegates of the other proteſtant princes. Henry

[28] Fra Paolo, liv. iii. p. 281. Pallavicini, liv. ii. chap. vii.

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the Second, king of France, who was engaged in war with the emperor, proteſted, notwithſtanding, againſt every act of the council; and the approach of Maurice himſelf, at the head of a powerful army, which he led againſt Charles, compelled the fathers to abandon Trent with precipitation, and to ſuſpend their further proceedings. The council remained in oblivion, during ſeveral years; and Julius, not only impreſſed with the apprehenſions, common to his predeceſſors; but, from his indolence, incapable of exerting any vigour, or directing, with facility, its operations; ſaw himſelf relieved, by the proteſtants themſelves, from ſo formidable an engine [29].

Submiſſion of England to the papal ſee.

The remainder of his pontificate was employed in fruitleſs efforts to terminate the hoſtilities between the emperor and France; but, it was diſtinguiſhed by the temporary reſtoration of England to its dependance on the ſee of Rome, during the reign of Mary, daughter to Henry the Eighth. Notwithſtanding the impetuoſity of Julius's temper, which continually manifeſted itſelf, and which induced him to lament, that he had not lived in a century, when the papal power and pretenſions were uncontrouled; he appeared deeply ſenſible to ſo unexpected a piece of good fortune: and he obſerved, not without ſome humour, that "he was undoubtedly happy, ſince he received expreſſions of homage from a queen and a nation, towards whom he was rather bound to offer acknowledgments." With this event, was cloſed his life and reign. The diſeaſe of which he died, was believed to have been cauſed by preceding exceſſes; and ſo little reſtraint did he impoſe on his appetites, that even the phyſicians found it difficult to moderate their violence. Deſtitute of eminent talents, or virtues, his contempt of religion, and profligacy of manners, rendered him odious; and the inſtances of impiety, tranſmitted by the moſt impartial hiſtorians, awaken horror and indignation, when we conſider him in his capacity of head of the church [30].

Death of Julius.

[29] Fra Paolo, liv. iv. Bruys, vol. iv. p. 577—579, and p. 581—583.

[30] Bruys, vol. iv. p. 589, 590, and p. 597—599. Onuphr. Panvin. p. 85—98.

The

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1555.

Pontificate of Paul the Fourth.

The ſhort pontificate of his ſucceſſor, Marcellus the Second, only ſerved to excite univerſal regret; as his deſire of reformation, diſintereſtedneſs, and purity of manners, had juſtly given birth to the higheſt expectations from his future government [31]. He ſurvived the elevation ſcarcely three weeks; and the calamity of his loſs was more ſeverely felt, from the oppoſite character of Paul the Fourth, who was choſen to fill the vacant ſee. John Peter Caraffa had attained to the advanced age of ſeventy-nine years, when, by the intrigues of the the French faction in the conclave, he was placed in the chair of St. Peter. Previous to this event, he had obtained the reputation of ſeverity, ſanctity, and auſterity. Rome received with terror, the intelligence, and dreaded the rigour of his inquiſitorial character [32].

Character of that pontiff.

But, the qualities of the cardinal, were not to be recognized in the pontiff; and all the humility which he had aſſumed before his election, was ſucceeded by the moſt diſguſting arrogance. Every pretenſion, which the popes of the thirteenth century had ventured to advance, the obſolete and inſolent claims of unlimited power over kings and nations, which Gregory the Seventh, and Boniface the Eighth, had attempted to eſtabliſh, in ages of ignorance, were renewed by Paul. The contempt of grandeur, and deſire of retirement, which he had affected, when he refuſed the biſhoprick of Brindiſi, under Clement the Seventh, were transformed into pomp and magnificence; while, governed by his two nephews, he already liſtened to the moſt extravagant projects, for the future aggrandizement of the houſe of Caraffa. Such was the impotence of his paſſions, and their indecent violence, that, unreſtrained by the decorum of his high ſtation and decrepid age, he gave a licenſe to all his reſentments. We can ſcarcely believe, that he could ſo far forget himſelf, as, within a few weeks after his election, to ſtrike the lieutenant of Rome, and to take the envoy of the Republic of Raguſa, by the beard. Even to the Engliſh em-

[31] Bruys, vol. iv. p. 603—606. Onuphr. Panvin. p. 105, 106.

[32] Hiſtoire des Conclaves, vol. i. p. 130—139.

baſſadors,

baſſadors, ſent to offer the ſubmiſſions of their ſovereign, he manifeſted the utmoſt indignation, at the aſſumption of the title of Queen of Ireland, by Mary, without having previouſly obtained his permiſſion; and he peremptorily demanded the inſtant reſtitution of all the eccleſiaſtical property, confiſcated, or alienated by Henry the Eighth [33].

1555.

1555—1557. His deteſtation of the houſe of Auſtria.

Towards Charles the Fifth, and his ſon, Philip the Second, his animoſity obſerved no limits. Incenſed at the degree of toleration, granted by the former of thoſe princes to the proteſtants, in the diet of Augſburg; and, inflamed with the ambition of conquering the kingdom of Naples; he trampled upon all the ſacred duties of his office, which dictated to preſerve tranquillity among the monarchs of Europe. With a view to rekindle the war, that had been recently ſuſpended by the truce of Vaucelles between France and Spain, he diſpatched cardinal Caraffa to Henry the Second; and induced him, by magnificent aſſurances of aſſiſtance, to violate his late engagements, and even to ſend an army into Italy, under Francis, duke of Guiſe, for the attack of the Neapolitan dominions. An alliance, founded in ſuch manifeſt injuſtice, and cemented by perfidy, was accompanied with the ill ſucceſs, which it merited. Philip the Second, to whom his father had reſigned the kingdom of Naples, took early and wiſe precautions for its preſervation. Informed of the hoſtile projects of the pontiff, and his French allies, he ſent the duke of Alva thither, at the head of a powerful body of forces. That commander not only compelled the duke of Guiſe to abandon his attempt; but, he marched into the territories of the church, approached Rome itſelf, and ſeemed to menace Paul the Fourth with a repetition of the calamities, inflicted by the conſtable of Bourbon, upon Clement the Seventh. The victory, gained by Philip, over his enemies, at St. Quintin, completed the humiliation of Henry, who inſtantly recalled his general and troops, in order to

War with Philip the Second.

Peace concluded.

[33] Bruys, vol. iv. p. 613—615. Onuphr. Panvin. p. 106—109.

defend

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defend the monarchy, which appeared to be in danger of ſubverſion. The pope, abandoned by his ally, deſtitute of reſources, and ſummoned by the Spaniards to accept the terms, offered by the moderation of Philip, reluctantly ſubmitted; while the duke of Alva, after having obtained pardon and abſolution, at the feet of the pontiff whom he had vanquiſhed, conducted his forces in triumph to Naples [34].

1557—1559. Concluſion of the reign of Paul the Fourth.

Conſcious of the diſgrace which his late conduct had entailed upon himſelf, and upon the ſee of Rome, he attempted to regain his reputation by an act of ſeverity, in baniſhing his nephews, the Caraffas, who had incited him to take up arms. But, this mark of contrition, which appeared to indicate a mind capable of repairing its errors, was ſpeedily followed by new outrages upon reaſon and moderation. Elizabeth, who had ſucceeded to her ſiſter Mary, as queen of England, was not the only object of his frantic and impotent reſentment. The emperor, Ferdinand, though attached by the warmeſt inclination to the catholic faith, and to the Romiſh religion, underwent every indignity, which the unreſtrained fury of Paul could inflict, for having preſumed to accept and exerciſe the functions of the Imperial dignity, without obtaining his previous approbation. As he approached the grave, his paſſions, inſtead of diminiſhing in violence, ſeemed to acquire force and aſperity. He cauſed all books, ſuſpected of containing heretical doctrines, to be collected and burnt; iſſued a catalogue, in the name of the Inquiſition, of ſuch as were prohibited to be read or printed; and as far as he was able, in virtue of his apoſtolic authority, tried to plunge Europe again into the ſtate of ignorance and barbariſm, from which it was ſcarcely reſcued. His laſt exhortations to the cardinals, who ſurrounded him, before his death, were, to maintain the tribunal of the Inquiſition, and to augment

[34] Mezerai. Abregé Chronol. de l'Hiſt. de France, vol. iv. p. 377—389. Fra Paolo, liv. v. p. 377—380, and p. 383—389. Pallavicini, Hiſt. Con. Trid. Bruys, vol. xiv. p. 615—629. Onuphr. Panvin. p. 109, 110.

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its force. So deteſtable was his government and memory to the people of Rome, that they no ſooner received the intelligence of his having expired, than they immediately aſſembled; burſt the doors of the holy office; liberated the priſoners; and were with difficulty reſtrained from involving the inquiſitors themſelves in the flames, which conſumed the edifice appropriated to their functions [35].

1559, 1560. Election of Pius the Fourth.

The turbulent pontificate of Paul the Fourth, was ſucceeded by a calm. After many ſtruggles, the Spaniſh party in the conclave elevated to the ſupreme dignity of the church, the cardinal Medequino, known in hiſtory by the name of Pius the Fourth. He had led a very retired life during his predeceſſor's reign, and aſcended the chair of St. Peter, with the character of a mild, humane, and virtuous man. The firſt acts of his government appeared to confirm this opinion, and obtained him the applauſe of clemency and liberality: but, his manners and conduct ſeemed to be ſpeedily changed by his attainment of power; and the vices, or infirmities, which had lain concealed in the ſhade of a private ſtation, became conſpicuous on the throne. The court was crouded with his relations, who came to ſatisfy their avidity; and his treatment of the two Caraffas, nephews to the late pope, appeared to originate in the deſire of the new pontiff, to enrich his own family with their ſpoils. Pius the Fourth had been principally indebted for his election to theſe men, the duke of Palliano, and the cardinal Caraffa; to the latter of whom, after that event, he had publicly renewed his aſſurances of friendſhip, gratitude, and protection. Demonſtrations of amity, apparently ſo ſincere, left them no room to apprehend the intentions of the pope; who, induced by the private entreaties of Philip the Second, againſt whom the Caraffas had, during their uncle's pontificate, betrayed the ſtrongeſt animoſity, commanded them to be arreſted. Their crimes, as miniſters, and as individuals, were not only manifeſt and incontrovertible;

His character.

Puniſhment of the Caraffas.

[35] Bruys, vol. iv. p. 631—637. Fra Paolo, liv. viii. p. 394, and p. 398. Onuphr. Panvin. p. 112—115.

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1559, 1560.

vertible; but, were of the moſt flagitious nature. The duke had murdered his wife, and a perſon falſely accuſed of criminal intimacy with her, in a manner the moſt inhuman. Even the pregnancy of the ducheſs could not mollify her huſband, or prolong her own life. He, and the cardinal, in the gratification of their paſſions or enmities, had trampled on all laws, and committed numberleſs enormities. They were condemned to die, by the commiſſion, named for their trial; and the duke of Palliano expiated his atrocities, by a public and ignominious execution. His brother, from regard to his eccleſiaſtical profeſſion, and his dignity as a member of the ſacred college, was ſtrangled privately in the caſtle of St. Angelo, notwithſtanding the ſtrongeſt interceſſions in his favour. The dead bodies were expoſed, by torch light, to the view of the populace; who, in the conſideration of the ingratitude and treachery, which marked the conduct of the pope in their puniſhment, forgot the crimes for which they ſuffered [36].

1560—1565. Council of Trent renewed.

This ſcene of blood was the only one, to which Rome was witneſs, during the reign of Pius. More yielding than his predeceſſor, he immediately acknowledged Ferdinand the Firſt, as emperor; and after many delays, and long irreſolution, he conſented to re-aſſemble the council of Trent, which had been ſuſpended for eight years. It was opened with great ſolemnity, and its deliberations continued through ſeveral ſeſſions; but, without being productive of any beneficial purpoſe. The decrees, enacted and promulgated, were not adopted in France, as far as they reſpected the eccleſiaſtical diſcipline; and, even in Spain, Philip the Second, bigotted as he was, received and admitted them, with many modulations. If they had been permitted to operate in their full force, they muſt have ſubverted every liberty of the ſtate, and every prerogative of the crown; both of which were ſubjected to the uncontroulable authority of the papal ſee. The proteſtants, of all deſcriptions, regarded the aſſembly as only a venal,

[36] Onuphr. Panvin. p. 115—121. Bruys, vol. iv. p. 637—641. Hiſt. des Conclaves, vol. i. p. 142—150.

and

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and dependant engine, conducted by the legates, and calculated to perpetuate the abuſes of the church of Rome. Pius profited, notwithſtanding, of the firſt favourable occaſion to accelerate its diſſolution, and to emancipate himſelf from the terror which ſo formidable a body always inſpired [37]. Liberated from this ſource of apprehenſion, which had hitherto impoſed a reſtraint upon his conduct, he abandoned himſelf to the impulſe of his natural character. Rapacity, violence, and avarice, became the predominant features of his government: ſenſuality, indolence, and neglect of public buſineſs, characteriſed his private life, and rendered him contemptible. In continual and abject dependance on the court of Madrid, he was ever diſpoſed to gratify the moſt unjuſt, or criminal requeſts of Philip the Second; and his indulgence towards his own family, was frequently unreſtrained by any conſiderations of juſtice or decency. From thoſe enormous crimes, or violations of right, which excite our abhorrence in many of his predeceſſors, it muſt be admitted that he was exempt. Rome enjoyed a profound repoſe during his pontificate, unaccompanied by any calamities; and Pius, who was neither deficient in talents, nor in love of the arts, embelliſhed the capital, extended his protection to men of letters, and took very able meaſures for ſecuring general plenty and abundance. His exceſſes at the table, in which he had always indulged himſelf, were the immediate cauſe of his death, after a reign of little more than ſix years [38].

1560—1565. It is finally diſſolved.

Vices of Pius.

His death.

Michael Ghiſleri, a Dominican monk, who had long exerciſed the functions of inquiſitor general, was raiſed to the papal ſee, principally by the faction of cardinal Borromeo, nephew to the deceaſed pope; and he aſſumed the name of Pius the Fifth. If the moſt implacable and ſanguinary zeal againſt hereſy, joined to purity of manners, and an auſtere devotion, could conſtitute a venerable or amiable character, the new pontiff would be entitled to that eulogium. Ani-

1565. Pius the Fifth.

[37] Bruys, vol. iv, p. 651—669. Fra Paolo, liv. vi. and liv. vii. and liv. viii.

[38] Onuphr. Panvin. p. 123—129. Bruys, vol. iv. p. 677, 678, and p. 683, 684.

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His character.

mated with the desire of extirpating the enemies of the catholic faith, he breathed throughout his whole life, the inquisitorial spirit of his original profession; and far from bringing to the apostolic see, the mild and placable genius of christianity, he substituted in its place, the rigours of persecution. We must, however, have some indulgence for the modes of thinking, and the religious or superstitious prejudices of a century, when liberality and enlargement of mind were almost unknown; when the fervors of theological animosity and controversy, were yet in all their force; and when, in every kingdom of Europe, fires and massacres were deemed the most legitimate means for suppressing doctrines, regarded as heretical. Pius the Fifth, in a more enlightened age, might have merited the applause of mankind, by his piety and virtues. He possessed an elevation of sentiment, which impelled him to acts of public benefit, or glory; an unshaken constancy, and a disinterestedness the most unsullied. But, he was unacquainted with all the arts of reigning; inflexible, severe, contracted, and imbued with the vindictive spirit of the order of St. Dominick. The vices of the cloyster accompanied him on the throne, and sullied his administration with cruelty; nor can we regard many of his acts without indignation and abhorrence, on which his contemporaries passed a very opposite sentence [39].

Measures.

1565—1571. Bigotry.

To his advice and exhortations, may, in some measure, be attributed the calamities, which desolated the fairest countries of Europe, during his pontificate. The relentless and bigotted temper of Philip the Second, naturally prone to severity, was inflamed to inexorable vengeance against his Flemish subjects, by the suggestions of a pontiff, whose sanctity gave to his entreaties an irresistible force. Charles the Ninth was encouraged to persist in a manifest violation of every sacred engagement towards the Hugonots, and finally to sacrifice them to his resentment, by the approbation of the Holy See.

[39] Bruys, vol. v. p. 1—5. Onuphr. Panvin. p. 129—131.

The

The count de St. Fiore, dispatched by the pope, and having under his orders, a considerable body of Italian infantry and cavalry, fought as an auxiliary, at the battle of Moncontour, and contributed to that victory, gained over Coligni. Pius not only excommunicated Elizabeth, and absolved her subjects from their allegiance, in virtue of his apostolic power: but, he aided her rival, Mary, queen of Scots, by money, arms, and essential succours, to enable her to ascend the throne of England. Perhaps, in candour, we ought not to omit, that, when that unfortunate princess became a prisoner, Pius continued to console and strengthen her, by spiritual comfort, by his letters and prayers. To the emperor, Maximilian the Second, engaged in hostilities against the Turks in Hungary, he sent a supply of sixty thousand crowns; and promised to furnish him with nearly as considerable a sum annually, during the continuance of the war. The knights of Malta, who had been attacked by Solyman, and had suffered greatly in their revenues, by the Ottoman arms or devastations, found a liberal support in his charitable munificence. But, the circumstance, which has, above all others, contributed to immortalize his reign, and to cover him with a degree of personal glory, was the victory of Lepanto, gained over the fleet of Selim the Second, by the confederated powers, Spain, Venice, and the pope. The league, formed to check the alarming progress of the Turkish conquests, may be, in a great degree, ascribed to the unwearied efforts of Pius; and his gallies, commanded by Mark Antony Colonna, had no mean share in the honour of that celebrated day. If so decisive an advantage was not improved, we must blame the jealousy and coldness of Philip the Second, who regarded with indifference the Venetian interests, and thereby compelled the Republic to withdraw from an alliance, which only tended to aggravate their disgraces. The antient triumphs of the Roman consuls and generals, were renewed in the person of Colonna, who made a public entry into the capital of the papal dominions, followed by the insignia of his victory, and the Turkish captives in his train. Even

Liberality.

Policy.

Victory of Lepanto.

his

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his infirmities, and the attacks of diſeaſe, did not diminiſh the vigour of Pius, or prevent him from endeavouring to renew the war againſt Selim; and this object actuated him to the laſt period of life, with unabated ſolicitude. A ſlow fever terminated his reign, at the age of ſixty-eight years [40].

Death of Pius.

Reflexions on the ſpirit of his government.

In conſidering his character, we are divided between admiration and deteſtation. Unlike his predeceſſors, he neither enriched, nor aggrandized his nephews; and he was ſo far from encouraging licentiouſneſs, either by his permiſſion, or example, that he baniſhed every incitement to vice, from his palace, and preſence. The cardinals dreaded ſo auſtere a pontiff; and the people, irritated at the ſeverities of the Inquiſition, rejoiced that he was no more; though their opinion of his ſanctity was ſuch, that they crowded to touch his body, and to make relics of his garments. None of the ſucceſſors of St. Peter, ever attempted to carry the exorbitant pretenſions of the papacy to a more intolerable height, or to annihilate more completely all the rights of ſovereigns and nations. But, we can ſtill leſs forgive him, for his furious zeal, which ſtimulated him to foment rebellion and maſſacres abroad; while he gave to his own ſubjects, the ſpectacle of unhappy wretches, conſigned to the flames, for their religious opinions. Carneſecchi, and Palearius, two of the moſt eminent men of letters whom Italy had produced in the ſixteenth century, and of irreproachable lives, were purſued, brought to Rome, and burnt by the tribunal of the Inquiſition; nor were theſe the only victims to barbarity and fanaticiſm, offered up during his pontificate [41].

1571—1574. Gregory the Thirteenth.

The cardinal Buon Compagno, known by the name of Gregory the Thirteenth, ſucceeded to the papal chair, at ſeventy years of age; and from the moderation of his character, as well as the rectitude of his intentions, excited expectations of a mild and gentle reign, exempt from the ſeverities of his predeceſſor. On receiving intelli-

[40] Onuphr. Panvin. p. 132—141. Bruys, vol. v. p. 7—21. Strada. de Bello Belgico. vol. ii. book vii. p. 161, 162.

[41] Bruys, vol. v. p. 21.

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gence of the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew, committed at Paris, he ſullied nevertheleſs, the office of head of the church, by public demonſtrations of joy and approbation; but, we may fairly queſtion, whether theſe were not more the reſult of policy and neceſſity, than of conviction; and many circumſtances conduce to ſtrengthen that opinion [42]. Equally deſirous to continue the war againſt the Turks, as Pius the Fifth had been, he ſtrenuouſly exhorted Philip the Second to equip a fleet, and to act with vigour againſt the common enemy: but, the ſpirit which had ſuſtained the league, was extinct; and Gregory, however indignant at the meaſures of the Venetians, who had concluded a peace with Selim, was obliged to acquieſce in the reaſons for their conduct. Prevented from exerting his efforts againſt the infidels, he lent his aid to the king of Spain, towards ſubjecting the Flemings; and was not leſs liberal in aſſiſting the king of France, to reduce his revolted ſubjects, of the reformed religion. Nor was he deficient in his attention to domeſtic regulations. The embelliſhment of Rome; the conſtruction of granaries and fountains, occupied his cares; and theſe ſalutary or magnificent decorations, were even extended to other places in the eccleſiaſtical dominions [43].

His adminiſtration.

1574. State of the papal power, at this period.

It may be regarded as equally curious and inſtructive, to review the ſtate of the temporal and ſpiritual power of the papacy, at this period; though unfortunately, on many intereſting particulars, the ſources, from whence information is to be drawn, are neither clear, nor ample. To Alexander the Sixth, the moſt flagitious pontiff who ever diſgraced the chair of St. Peter, almoſt all the territorial poſſeſſions of the biſhops of Rome, are due. Previous to his reign, their authority and government extended very little beyond the city, in which they reſided. Julius the Second annexed to the apoſtolic ſee, the numerous petty ſtates and towns, acquired by the crimes of Cæſar Borgia; and to theſe he added Bologna, from whence he expelled the family of Bentivoglio [44]. During the pro-

Temporal authority, and dominions.

[42] Bruys, vol. v. p. 25, 26. Gregorio Leti, vie de Sixte V. liv. iv. p. 175.
[43] Bruys, vol. v. p. 27, 28. [44] Guicciardini, liv. vi. Bruys, vol. iv. p. 330.

greſs

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greſs of the league of Cambray, at the beginning of the ſixteenth century, the city of Ravenna, and ſeveral inferior places in the Romagna, were likewiſe conquered by that martial pontiff, who united them to the patrimony of the church [45]. Under Leo the Tenth, Perugia, from which the houſe of Baglioné was driven, encreaſed theſe acquiſitions; and they were ſtill further augmented by the capture of Parma and Placentia, in 1521 [46]. But, Paul the Third, bent on aggrandizing his natural ſon, even at the expence of the pontificate itſelf, again detached thoſe duchies from it, and conferred them, as a male fief, on Peter Louis Farneſe, ſubject to an annual tribute of eight thouſand crowns. This inveſtiture was made without the conſent of a conſiderable part of the Sacred College, who proteſted againſt the alienation [47].

The patrimony of the church, in 1574, conſiſted of the ſame territories ſtill ſubject to it, at the cloſe of the eighteenth century, with the exception of Urbino and Ferrara. The former of theſe ſmall ſtates, ſituated between the provinces of Romagna and Umbria, near the Adriatic, was then governed by the family of Roverè; and was not united to the ſee of Rome, till the year 1631, on the death of Francis Maria, the laſt duke of Urbino, without male iſſue [48]. Ferrara, long in the poſſeſſion of the houſe of Eſté, was ſeized on by pope Clement the Eighth, in 1597, under pretence of the illegitimacy of Cæſar, ſon to Alfonſo the Second [49]. The population of the papal dominions bore, however, no proportion to their extent and fertility. The "Campagna di Roma," extending almoſt from the gates of the capital, to the frontiers of the kingdom of Naples, preſented a ſcene of deſolation, which was rendered ſtill more ſtriking, by the infectious nature of the air; and, even in the beſt inhabited provinces, the number of people was inconſiderable. Rome itſelf was a melancholy and deſerted city. Under the proſperous pontificate of Leo the Tenth, it had encreaſed in its inhabitants very rapidly; but,

Population.

[45] Bruys, vol. iv. p. 335. [46] Onuphr. Panvin. p. 48. [47] Fra Paolo, liv. ii. p. 118.
[48] L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 765. [49] Bruys, vol. v. p. 120, 121.

after

after the memorable ſack committed by the forces of Charles the Fifth, in 1527, to ſo miſerable a ſtate was it reduced, that they reckoned, within its whole circumference, only about thirty-two thouſand ſouls, excluſive of eight thouſand Jews[50]. 1574.

Severe police, and regulations of Pius the Fifth.

In the ſucceeding reigns, Rome gradually recovered her former population; but, the ſevere edicts, and perſecuting ſpirit of Pius the Fifth, would have again rendered it a vaſt ſolitude, if he had continued long to occupy the chair of St. Peter. He not only purſued with rigour every perſon, ſuſpected of hereſy; but he attempted to baniſh all women of bad life, or corrupt manners. At the inſtigation of the clergy, who did not dare to take upon themſelves the avowed protection of a claſs of females, conſecrated to public debauch; the civil magiſtrates attempted to remonſtrate with the pope, and to convince him, that, by ſo unwiſe a proſcription, he would augment, inſtead of repreſſing immorality; beſides the obvious danger of ſubſtituting vices infinitely more deteſtable, in the place of thoſe which he meant to eradicate[51]. But, a bigotted Dominican monk was incapable of liſtening to ſuch enlarged and moderate advice. He commanded all women, convicted of proſtitution, or exerciſing that profeſſion, to be confined in one place, without the liberty of appearing by day, or by night, except within the limits preſcribed; and upon a repetition of the remonſtrances, he menaced the Senate, to quit Rome, and to transfer his court and reſidence elſewhere, if his orders were not immediately obeyed[52]. Prohibitions ſo rigorous, were not calculated to draw foreigners to the capital; but, ſuch was the ardent enthuſiaſm of the catholics to gain indulgencies, and ſuch the veneration in which the pontifical office was held, that in 1574, on Chriſtmas Eve, when Gregory the Thirteenth opened the year of jubilee, by ſtriking the gate of St. Peter's church with the golden mallet, above three hundred thouſand pilgrims and ſtrangers were already aſſembled to view

Jubilees.

[50] Œuvres de Voltaire, vol. x. p. 401.
[51] Onuphr. Panvin. p. 139.
[52] Bruys, vol. v. p. 7.

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the ceremony. During the whole of the enſuing year, they never fell below ninety thouſand; and the prodigious influx of money, reſulting from theſe crouds of devotees, may be eaſily conjectured [53]. The apoſtolic treaſury, as well as the inhabitants of Rome, were largely benefited by their reſidence and liberality.

Adminiſtration.

No country or ſtate, in the ſixteenth century, was ſo ill adminiſtered, or ſo ſeverely plundered, as the eccleſiaſtical territories. A ſucceſſion of profligate, or bigotted prieſts, who uſually aſcended the throne, at a late period of life, were little calculated, or diſpoſed to attend to the encouragement of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce. Famine continually viſited the city, and dominions of Rome, from the neglect

Taxes.

of cultivation, and diſcouragement of induſtry. Taxes, the moſt cruel and oppreſſive, were levied on the people. The neceſſaries of life were loaded with them; and we can ſcarcely believe, that, under Paul the Fourth, in 1557, the Caraffas, his nephews, not only impoſed a duty upon every loaf of bread, baked in the public ovens; but, iſſued an order, compelling all perſons, without diſtinction, to carry their bread to the bakers, licenſed for that purpoſe [54]. Pius the Fourth taxed corn, meat, and every kind of merchandize, in ſo ſevere a manner, as to excite the maledictions of the inhabitants of Rome [55]. Almoſt every article of convenience, or luxury, was bought of

Trade.

foreigners. Though the ſituation of the patrimony of the church, in the center of Italy and of the Mediterranean, extending from the Tuſcan to the Adriatic ſea, and having ports on each coaſt capable of receiving veſſels, ſeemed to invite trade; yet, ſcarcely any traffic was

Revenues, and impoſitions.

carried on, either from Civita Vecchia, or Ancona. The papal exchequer was, nevertheleſs, continually repleniſhed, and the pontifical revenues were very ample. All Europe contributed, before the reign of Leo the Tenth, to enrich the Romiſh ſee; and even after the reformation had ſo conſiderably diminiſhed the exactions of the

[53] Mod. Univ. Hiſt. vol. xxvi. p. 369. [54] Galluzzi, Hiſt. de Toſcane, vol. ii. p. 416.
[55] Onuphr. Panvin. p. 125.

pontiffs, the modes of levying, or obtaining ſupplies from the catholic ſtates and clergy, were numerous and productive. Annates, tenths, and offerings, under various names or pretexts, levied in France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, and the German empire, filled the pontifical treaſury. The council of Trent, while, on one hand, they maintained and declared the validity of indulgencies, had, on the other, prohibited the ſale of them; but, that ſcandalous and diſgraceful traffic did not the leſs ſubſiſt, after the aſſembly had been diſſolved [56]. 1574.

Military forces.

Theſe abundant ſources of wealth, internal, and external, enabled the popes, however declining in their authority, and circumſcribed in their ſpiritual juriſdiction, to levy, and maintain, very numerous bodies of forces. Julius the Second, and Leo the Tenth, had attempted to hold the balance of Italy; and though they were unequal to the enterprize, and ſunk under the weight of France and Spain, yet they atchieved conſiderable conqueſts, and were reſpectable as military powers. The irreſolution and fluctuation of Clement the Seventh, involved himſelf and his capital, in ruin. The pillage of Rome, in 1527, is ſaid to have amounted in value, to fifteen millions of crowns [57]. Yet, ſuch were the reſources of the pontificate, that Paul the Third, in 1546, engaged to furniſh Charles the Fifth with twelve thouſand infantry, and five hundred horſe, beſides two hundred thouſand crowns, in order to enable that monarch to humble the proteſtant princes [58]. In the year 1562, Pius the Fourth levied four thouſand Switzers, three thouſand German cavalry, and ſent a body of troops to Avignon, to defend the city and its dependancies, againſt the Hugonots. Beſides theſe expenſive armaments, he advanced a conſiderable ſum to Emanuel Philibert, duke of Savoy, in order to enable him to occupy the paſſages of the Alps, and to prevent any invaſion of Italy, from the French inſurgents [59]. His ſucceſſor, Pius the Fifth, exerted ſtill greater efforts, pecuniary and military. He diſpatched four thouſand, four hundred

[56] Œuvres de Voltaire, vol. x. p. 184.
[57] Voltaire, vol. ix. p. 435, 436.
[58] Sleidan, liv. xvii.
[59] Fra Paolo, liv. vi. p. 499.

foot,

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foot, and nine hundred cavalry, to the aid of France, engaged in war againſt the prince of Conde and Coligni [60]. The emperor, Maximilian the Second, received repeated ſupplies of money from him, when attacked by Solyman; and his proportion of the armament, which vanquiſhed the Turkiſh fleet at Lepanto, in 1571, amounted to twelve gallies, three thouſand infantry, and two hundred and ſeventy cavalry [61]. Pius, not poſſeſſing any naval force, was compelled to have recourſe to Coſmo, great duke of Tuſcany, who furniſhed the gallies; of which ſix were defrayed by himſelf; and for the remaining ſix, the apoſtolic chamber paid, at the rate of ſeven hundred and fifty ducats of gold, each, a month [62]. Notwithſtanding ſo many expenſive undertakings, ſuch were the revenues of the papacy, in the hands of a frugal pontiff, that a ſum, amounting to above a million and a half of crowns, was found in his coffers, after his deceaſe [63].

Gallies.

Treaſures.

State of the fine arts.

Rome, during the ſixteenth century, abounded in the moſt eminent artiſts. The conſtruction of the church of St. Peter, continued through ten ſucceſſive pontificates, employed the greateſt architects, and painters. Michael Angelo Buonaroti expired in that capital, in 1564, at the advanced age of ninety, and in the enjoyment of honours, almoſt above humanity. The attribute of "Divine" was conferred on him by his countrymen; and the admiration, entertained for his talents, approached to idolatry [64]. With the exception of Adrian the Sixth, and Pius the Fifth, all the popes of the ſixteenth century were lovers of the fine arts. Paul the Third, and his grandſon, the cardinal Farneſe, made ſuperb collections of antique ſtatues, gems, paintings, and medals [65]. Julius the Third paſſed almoſt his whole time, at his villa and voluptuous gardens, near Rome, which he adorned, with profuſe magnificence. He was even exceeded in this paſſion, by

Encouragement of them by the popes.

[60] Onuphr. Panvin. p. 132.
[61] Mod. Univ. Hiſt. vol. xxvi. p. 365.
[62] Galluzzi, vol. iii. p. 266.
[63] Onuphr. Panvin. p. 139.
[64] Galluzzi, vol. iii. p. 436—444.
[65] Ibid. p. 451.

Pius

1574.

Pius the Fourth, who converted it into a nobler channel, that of public ornament and embelliſhment. Rome began to revive out of its ruins, and to aſſume a more elegant appearance [66]. The Tiber, always ſubject to ſudden inundations, had cauſed great damage, under the reign of Clement the Seventh, in 1530. But, in that of Paul the Fourth, its ravages were far more deſtructive. The ſtreets, in many quarters of the city, were completely covered with water during two days; and it roſe to the heighth of the ſquare of the Pantheon. In order to prevent the renewal of ſo dreadful a calamity, Pius the Fourth conſtructed dykes, which repreſſed the current of the ſtream [67].

Condition of Rome.

It was not till the pontificate of Gregory the Thirteenth, that the ſtreets began to be generally paved [68]; and coaches were not then in uſe, except among the cardinals. They had been firſt introduced into Rome, by the marchioneſs of Mantua, under Pius the Fourth, about 1562 [69]. That city, and the papal dominions, in general, were extremely deficient in police. The dagger and ſtiletto long remained in uſe, and rendered the ſtreets, or roads, equally unſafe. It was reſerved for the energy of Sixtus the Fifth to eradicate this practice, and to render travelling leſs hazardous [70]. The inquiſition had become a moſt deteſtable ſcourge, under the pontificate of Paul the Fourth. At his death, about ſeventy perſons, accuſed of hereſy, were found in the priſons of that tribunal, and liberated by the people [71]. His ſucceſſor, Pius the Fourth, relaxed its rigour; but it revived in all its force, when Ghiſleri, who had been inquiſitor general, aſcended the throne. He employed ſpies in every part of Italy, to diſcover heretics; and Venice, the governors of the Milaneſe, and the great duke of Tuſcany, gratified the bigotted pontiff, by delivering up to him all ſuch as were demanded, or ſuſpected [72]. After the deceaſe

Want of police.

Eſtabliſhment of the inquiſition.

[66] Onuphr. Panvin. p. 124.
[67] Ibid. p. 111.
[68] Ibid. p. 145.
[69] Ibid. p. 129.
[70] Voltaire, vol. x. p. 381. Bruys, vol. v. p. 39, 40.
[71] Onuphr. Panvin. p. 114.
[72] Galluzzi, vol. iii. p. 150—158.

of

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of Pius the Fifth, the ſeverity of the holy office gradually diminiſhed.

1574.

Spiritual authority of the pontiffs.

It is not very eaſy to define, or aſcertain the extent of the ſpiritual authority of the popes, at this period, becauſe it varied conſiderably in the different catholic ſtates of Europe. Venice and Tuſcany ſubmitted to the decrees, enacted by the council of Trent, as to church diſcipline; which were highly favourable to the power and pretenſions of the holy ſee. Philip the Second, though he permitted their publication in his dominions, yet interpoſed ſtrong and perpetual obſtacles to their execution in Spain, and Naples, notwithſtanding his pretended obedience to the church of Rome. France adopted the decrees, ſo far as they laid down the rule of faith; but, never could be induced to ſacrifice the eccleſiaſtical liberties and franchiſes of the nation. The emperor, Maximilian the Second, however menaced by Pius the Fifth, refuſed to publiſh them, or to obtain their ſanction by the diets of the empire [73]. The ſame uncertainty prevailed, as to the limits of the papal power over prieſts and the monaſtic orders; which was the conſtant ſource of diſpute between the throne and the altar. The popes aſſerted, that all eccleſiaſtics of every deſcription, were ſolely amenable to, and puniſhable by, the holy ſee; and if this reclamation had been admitted in its full extent, it is evident, that no prince could have exerted any act of authority over the clergy.

Vaſt pretenſions of the Romiſh ſee.

Spiritual revenues.

The revenues of the ſovereign pontiffs, ariſing out of the exerciſe of their plenitude of apoſtolic power, were not only conſiderable; but, the modes of levying the contributions impoſed, were very oppreſſive. The tenths and annates were general, throughout the countries which remained in the obedience of Rome, and frequently occaſioned diſturbance, from the ſeverity with which theſe taxes were raiſed [74]. But, the ingenuity of the popes, and their neceſſities

[73] Bruys, vol. iv. p. 668, 669, and p. 671, 672, and vol. v. p. 26, 27. Giannoné, Hiſt. de Naples, vol. iv. p. 246, 247.

[74] Galluzzi, vol. ii. p. 383—388.

or

or their profuſion had invented many other devices, to draw money to the exchequer. Julius the Second, when he began the conſtruction of St. Peter's church, in 1509, iſſued a bull, by which, as a common contribution of all chriſtians towards that ſuperb edifice, he impoſed a ſingular tax throughout Europe. It enacted, that all legacies, bequeathed to uncertain perſons, or which, from whatever cauſe, were not paid according to the intention of the teſtator, ſhould be applied to the completion of the object above ſtated. A tribunal for exacting the receipts, was named, with very extenſive juriſdiction; and commiſſioners for receiving the money, were ſent into the different countries. In order to ſecure its due execution, the princes, or government, were rendered participators in the ſums produced by it; and the oppreſſions, exerciſed on the people, were infinite [75]. Another grievance of the ſame nature, calculated to enrich the papal ſee, was derived from the principle laid down by the popes, that "all benefices belonged excluſively to them, as vicars of "Chriſt and St. Peter, and might be diſpoſed of by them accordingly." Under the ſanction of this bold aſſertion, they laid claim to the property of eccleſiaſtics, as reverting of right to the holy ſee, on their deceaſe; and incredible vexations were uſed, to enforce the decree. Paul the Third, in 1541, publiſhed a bull, to juſtify the right; and it was even extended, by a ſecond, which Pius the Fourth iſſued, in 1560 [76].

Impoſitions, and grievances.

But, injurious as were theſe impoſitions to the authority of kings, and the tranquillity of their ſubjects, they were far inferior in their operation, to the effect of the memorable bull, ſolemnly promulgated by Pius the Fifth, in 1567, and which was abſolutely ſubverſive of all royal, or temporal juriſdiction. By the twenty-firſt clauſe, he expreſsly, under pain of excommunication, prohibits every ſovereign from laying any new tax whatever on their ſubjects,

Papal bulls.

[75] Galluzzi, vol. ii. p. 393—396. Giannoné, Hiſt. de Naples, vol. iv. p. 187—191.
[76] Galluzzi, vol. iii, p. 367—372.

or

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or from augmenting thoſe already impoſed. The inſolence and violence of ſuch a mandate, incenſed the princes, whom it was intended to coërce; and even Philip the Second diſdained to allow himſelf to be diveſted of the moſt eſſential prerogatives of his crown. The bull was unanimouſly and immediately rejected, by every catholic power in Europe [77].

Great prerogatives, and powers.

Notwithſtanding this defeat, the Roman pontiffs arrogated, and exerciſed an authority, not only ſupreme, but, in many caſes, unlimited. Pius the Fifth preſumed, in contempt of the Imperial dignity and rights, to confer on Coſmo, duke of Florence, the title of "Grand Duke of Tuſcany;" and he publicly crowned and inaugurated that prince, at Rome. The oath, taken by him, to the holy ſee, was that of a vaſſal to his liege lord, and contained a promiſe of "obedience and entire devotion to the pope and his ſucceſſors." The reiterated proteſtations and remonſtrances, made by the emperor, Maximilian the Second, againſt ſo extraordinary an aſſumption of power, were treated with indifference or contempt [78].

Edicts againſt literary productions.

Perhaps, of all the indecent and pernicious edicts, which have proceeded from the Vatican, the one iſſued by Paul the Fourth, in 1559, againſt the printing or publiſhing of ſuch books as the holy ſee thought proper to ſuppreſs, merits the higheſt indignation. It was complied with, at leaſt, in a degree, throughout many catholic ſtates. The

Inquiſitorial rigors.

index, promulgated in the name of the pope, by the inquiſitors, to whom that function was entruſted, contained the names of all books and authors, prohibited, or condemned. Every anonymous production whatever, publiſhed ſince the year 1519, was included in this proſcription; and it was rigorouſly enjoined, to abſtain in future, from printing any work, without the previous permiſſion and approbation of the inquiſitor [79]. It can ſcarcely be credited, that in the number

[77] Galluzzi, vol. iii. p. 382—389. Bruys, vol. v. p. 15. Giannoné, vol. iv. p. 248—270.

[78] Galluzzi, vol. iii. p. 216—224, and p. 228—232. Bruys, vol. v. p. 16, 17.

[79] Galluzzi, vol. iii. p. 378—383.

of

of books thus ſuppreſſed, were comprehended bibles; the Greek and Latin poets, and hiſtorians; and above all, every work, indiſcriminately, publiſhed in Germany, at Paris, and at Lyons [80]. The loſs in Florence only, which would have been ſuſtained by a compliance with the bull, was eſtimated at one hundred thouſand ducats. Coſmo, grand duke of Tuſcany, moderated, and in part ſuſpended its execution; reſtraining it to books injurious to religion. With this modulation, a great number of literary works were publicly committed to the flames, at Florence, in March, 1559 [81]. Under the more temperate adminiſtration of Pius the Fourth, the rigors of the inquiſitors were leſſened; but no ſooner had Pius the Fifth acceded, than he immediately renewed his menaces againſt any infraction of the original bull. The council of Trent having approved and confirmed the index, all further oppoſition was regarded as impious [82]. It is a well-known fact, that the "Decameron" of Boccaccio, ſo much admired for the elegance of its diction, and the variety of entertainment contained in it, was among the number of ſuppreſſed productions; and that the cardinal of Mantua, in 1562, vainly pleaded its cauſe, and endeavoured to procure its exemption from the index, reviſed by the council of Trent. The only grace, which the prelate could obtain from the cenſors, appointed by the aſſembly, was a permiſſion to correct the "Decameron," in order to ſubmit it anew to the cenſure of the inquiſitors. After many impediments, and great emendations, that amuſing work was again printed and publiſhed in 1572 [83]. Happily, the effect of the reformation, added to the gradual progreſs of the human mind in improvement all over Europe, diſperſed theſe attempts to reſtrain its purſuits and faculties. The Romiſh ſee grew inſenſibly more tractable, and abated in its arrogance, preſumption, and tyranny. Conſcious, that the age of

1574.

Confirmation of them, by the council of Trent.

Effect of the reformation.

[80] Galluzzi, vol. ii. p. 378—383.
[81] Idem, ibid.
[82] Galluzzi, vol. iii. p. 455—459.
[83] Ibid. p. 459—463.

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blind ſubmiſſion and darkneſs was paſt, the pontiffs adapted their conduct to the change in the temper of their ſubjects; and, aware of the danger annexed to the experiment of extending the bounds of their ſpiritual power, they limited their ambition to defending and retaining the prerogatives, of which they were already in poſſeſſion.

CHAP. IX.

NAPLES.

Review of the Neapolitan hiſtory, from the acceſſion of the Arragoneſe race of kings.—Irruption of Charles the Eighth into Italy.—Extinction of the Arragoneſe line.—Subjection of Naples to Spain.—Reign and policy of Ferdinand the catholic.—Oppreſſions and exactions, committed by the Spaniſh princes, and viceroys.—Commencement of Don Pedro de Toledo's government.—Anarchy of Naples at that period.—Severity of the viceroy.—Embelliſhment of Naples.—Ravages of the Turks.—Unſucceſsful attempt to introduce the inquiſition.—Perſecution of heretics by order of Philip the Second.—Declenſion of the kingdom of Naples, in 1574.—Tyranny, and exactions of the Spaniards.—Calamities reſulting from bad adminiſtration.—Extinction of trade.—Degradation of the Neapolitans.—Depreſſion of the arts.

CHAP. IX.

Review of the Neapolitan hiſtory.

OF all the European kingdoms, that of Naples appears to have undergone the moſt numerous revolutions. In the courſe of about four centuries, the ſceptre was transferred ſo frequently, as even to excite our admiration at the rapidity with which theſe ſubverſions were atchieved. The Normans, the Imperial houſe of Suabia, the family of Anjou, and the Arragoneſe princes, ſucceſſively reigned, and were expelled. The laſt mentioned dynaſty was founded by Alfonſo, king of Arragon, who having, after ſeveral years, vanquiſhed his competitor, Renè, duke of Anjou, terminated his life, at Naples. He was ſurnamed "the wiſe and the magnanimous;" and though the impartial review of his reign might, in many inſtances, call into queſtion his title to thoſe qualities, he was, undoubtedly,

1435. Arragoneſe kings.

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doubtedly, an amiable and accompliſhed prince. Induced by the beauty of the Neapolitan climate, the fertility of its ſoil, and the delightful poſition of Naples itſelf, he entirely neglected his hereditary dominions of Arragon, Valentia, Catalonia, and Sicily. Theſe powerful ſtates, during Alfonſo's life, became, in ſome meaſure, ſecondary and ſubſervient to Naples; in the capital of which he held his court, and fixed his reſidence, ſurrounded by the arts; and, towards the cloſe of his reign, immerſed in pleaſures. With him, the grandeur of that city and kingdom, ſuſtained a ſevere diminution. At his death, he bequeathed all his Spaniſh territories, including the iſlands of Sicily and Sardinia, to his brother, John; from whom they deſcended to Ferdinand the catholic, ſo well known in hiſtory, by his marriage with Iſabella of Caſtile [1]. To his natural ſon, Ferdinand, he left Naples, as having been acquired by conqueſt; and that prince, not without many difficulties, aſcended the throne, and maintained himſelf in it, till his death. He was neither deficient in vigour, or capacity; but, his perfidious treatment of the Neapolitan barons, who were ſeized, and either executed, or aſſaſſinated, by his orders, and thoſe of his eldeſt ſon, Alfonſo, duke of Calabria, covered them both with infamy. The circumſtances of treachery and revenge, with which the act was accompanied, excited general indignation; and by rendering the king and his ſucceſſor odious to the nobility, prepared their eventual ruin. The prince of Salerno, one of the moſt powerful nobles, took refuge in the court of Charles the Eighth, king of France; and his exhortations operated ſtrongly in determining that monarch, who was young, and deſirous of acquiring reputation, to undertake the conqueſt of Naples [2]. The rapid and aſtoniſhing ſucceſs of an expedition, which, from its temerity, appeared to be deſtined to experience a complete overthrow, was not more due to the puſillanimity and incapacity of Alfonſo the Second,

1435. Alfonſo.

1458.

Ferdinand.

1494.

[1] Giannoné, Hiſt. de Naples, 4 vols. quarto, vol. iii. p. 539—541.
[2] Ibid. p. 608—620, and p. 663.

who

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who had ſucceeded to his father, Ferdinand, than to the unpopularity and odium of his character. Charles the Eighth, ſcarcely in poſſeſſion of the Neapolitan crown, was ſoon compelled rather to fly, than to retreat; and eſteemed himſelf fortunate to repaſs the Apennines, in defiance of the Italian powers, leagued to prevent his paſſage. The French irruption appeared to have left hardly any trace. Their remaining troops were ſpeedily reduced to capitulate; and after a ſhort time, Frederic, brother to Alfonſo, who was adorned with every virtue and quality, capable of contributing to the felicity of his ſubjects, aſcended the throne. This event was followed by the death of the king of France; and the momentary ſubverſion of the Arragoneſe family, ſeemed to have only confirmed them in their dominions [3].

1495—1498. Invaſion of Naples, by Charles the Eighth.

But, the tranquillity, produced by the deceaſe of Charles the Eighth, preceded new and greater convulſions. Louis the Twelfth, with his predeceſſor's crown, inherited his pretenſions; and he prepared to renew the attempt upon the kingdom of Naples. In order to facilitate the conqueſt, and to ſecure its permanency, he embraced a policy the moſt injudicious; by allying himſelf with Ferdinand the catholic, and Iſabella, ſovereigns of Spain, whoſe ambition and thirſt of power were well known to be unreſtrained by any regard to the ſanctity of treaties. Though Ferdinand was nearly connected by blood and marriage with Frederic, king of Naples, he did not heſitate to agree upon a partition of that prince's territories, at the preciſe time when he affected to offer him aſſiſtance againſt France. The attack, and immediate acquiſition of the propoſed object, inſtantly took place; while, the unfortunate Frederic, become the victim of a faithleſs relation, from whom he expected aid, voluntarily took refuge in the dominions of Louis, his avowed enemy. The event, which had been foreſeen, as the inevitable reſult of the compact, ſpeedily happened. Diſputes aroſe between the two ſovereigns, which could only be decided by

1498—1503. Diviſion of Naples, between the kings of France and Spain.

Gonſalvo de Cordova drives out the French.

[3] Giannoné, vol. iii. p. 667—679.

arms;

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1498—1503.

arms; and Gonſalvo de Cordova, who commanded the troops of Ferdinand, acted with ſo much vigor and deciſion againſt the French commander, that, notwithſtanding a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities was agreed on, the Spaniards ultimately expelled their enemies, and remained ſole poſſeſſors of the kingdom [a].

1503—1507. Subjection of Naples to Spain.

From this memorable period, Naples ſunk into a dependant province; and being no longer governed by its proper kings, as heretofore, ceaſes, in ſome meaſure, to have any hiſtory, except as a part of the Spaniſh monarchy; in all the wars and convulſions of which, it bore no inconſiderable ſhare. The lover of hiſtory will not, however, think it beneath his attention, to review the condition of that beautiful country, after its ſubjection; and to contemplate the principal features of the policy and government, introduced by Ferdinand the catholic, and his two immediate ſucceſſors. The firſt act of the new ſovereign, was a proclamation, by which he confirmed the privileges, conceded to the Neapolitan people, during the reigns of his immediate predeceſſors, ſince the death of Alfonſo the Firſt; though he pretended to claim the crown, as legitimate heir to that prince. Alarmed at the reports which were ſpread, that Gonſalvo de Cordova, whom he had continued in the poſt of captain general and governor of Naples, entertained views of aſcending the throne himſelf; and aware of the precarious tenure by which the kingdom was held, Ferdinand, notwithſtanding his advanced age, and encreaſing infirmities, determined on paſſing over thither in perſon, without delay. It is not unworthy of obſervation, that, when he embarked from Barcelona, for Italy, with fifty gallies, ſo imperfect was the art of navigation, and ſo dangerous was it eſteemed to venture out to ſea, that he only ſailed along the coaſt; and having touched in the ports of France upon the Mediterranean, as well as at Genoa, he reached Gaieta, from which place he proceeded by land to Naples [b]. He was received by his new ſubjects, with every demonſtration of attachment;

Ferdinand the catholic.

[a] Giannoné, vol. iii. p. 679—699. Mezerai, vol. vii.

[b] Giannoné, vol. iii. p. 711—714. Abregé Chron. d'Eſpagne, vol. ii. p. 46.

and,

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and, notwithſtanding the important concerns which aroſe in Spain, during his abſence, occaſioned by the death of his ſon-in-law, Philip, king of Caſtile, he remained ſeven months in Italy, occupied in regulating the adminiſtration, and laying the foundations of the government which he thought proper to adopt, for the preſervation of his conqueſt.

1503—1507. Meaſures of his government.

Conſcious that the Neapolitans required a ſtrong and ſteady hand, he began by ſubverting the antient forms of the monarchy, and removing every impediment, which might prevent him from completely extinguiſhing the uſages, antecedently practiſed under the Arragoneſe kings. Naples having ceaſed to be any longer a royal reſidence, the great officers of ſtate were ſuppreſſed, as equally expenſive and unneceſſary. A viceroy, inveſted with almoſt unlimited authority, and to whom Ferdinand aſſociated two counſellors, verſed in the juriſprudence of the country, was appointed, to repreſent the perſon of the ſovereign. The courts of juſtice, and all the other tribunals, had been originally modelled upon thoſe of France, by the princes of the houſe of Anjou, when they ſubjected Naples. Alfonſo the Firſt, at his acceſſion, conforming himſelf to the manners which he found already eſtabliſhed, made no alteration; and his ſucceſſors purſued the ſame conciliating policy. But, Ferdinand accommodated them univerſally to the genius of his own nation, and ordered all the public acts, which had been hitherto drawn up in the Latin language, to be in future promulgated in the Spaniſh [6]. A ſtill more injurious change was introduced, by the venality of offices and dignities. Under their antient kings, of every race, theſe had been gratuitouſly conferred on merit, valour, and ſcience. But, the continual wants of the Spaniſh monarchs gradually rendered the higheſt poſts venal, and expoſed them to ſale, not only for the life of the purchaſer, but in reverſion, and excluſively, to particular families in perpetuity. The ſubverſion of all right and equity was the inevitable reſult of ſo iniquitous a ſyſtem [7].

Policy of Ferdinand.

Venality of offices and dignities.

[6] Giannoné, vol. iii. p. 720—729.

[7] Ibid. p. 737.

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With Ferdinand, likewiſe, aroſe another evil; in multiplying titles and honours. That of prince, which had been ever excluſively confined to the royal blood, was rendered common; and all the inferior marks of dignity were ſold by the Chancery to ſuch, as could afford to pay the prices annexed to their purchaſe [8].

Severe exactions of Ferdinand.

Even the confirmation of the immunities, enjoyed by the Neapolitan nobility and people, was accompanied with a demand of three hundred thouſand ducats, exacted as an acknowledgment for that act of grace; and Ferdinand appears to have exerted no mark of munificence or liberality towards his new ſubjects, except in cauſing the ſum of two thouſand ducats to be annually paid towards reviving the univerſity of Naples, which the preceding troubles had involved in ruin. His apparent parſimony may, however, be juſtified by the neceſſity in which he found himſelf, of reſtoring to the barons of the French party, their eſtates and property. That article had been ſtipulated by Louis the Twelfth, in the treaty, by which he renounced his claim to the kingdom of Naples; and its infringement might have been attended with very dangerous conſequences to Ferdinand, who was compelled to compenſate, from the royal treaſury, for the lands of which he deprived his own adherents [9].

1507—1529. Return of Ferdinand to Spain.

After having effected theſe momentous and fundamental changes, which reduced Naples into the form of a province, Ferdinand returned to Spain. During about nine years, which that monarch continued to reign, the Neapolitan dominions, governed by viceroys, enjoyed repoſe, if not felicity, and were undiſturbed by foreign enemies;

Charles the Fifth.

but, when his grandſon, Charles, aſcended the throne, the condition of Naples became infinitely more unfortunate, in conſequence of the perpetual wars in which he was engaged. Even, previous to the commencement of any hoſtilities, the election of the new king of Spain to the Imperial crown, was made the pretext for demanding a

[8] Giannoné, vol. iii. p. 737, 738.

[9] Ibid. p. 714, 715, and p. 739.

ſupply,

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ſupply, of equal magnitude with that, which had been granted to his predeceſſor, when he firſt took poſſeſſion of the kingdom; and theſe ſevere exactions, diſproportionate to the wealth, and ſuperior to the ability of the Neapolitans, were repeated and augmented [10]. Foreign invaſions encreaſed the evils, cauſed by the Spaniſh government; and every attempt of Francis the Firſt to recover the crown of Naples, proving unſucceſsful, the oppreſſion of the viceroys degenerated into tyranny. After the memorable expedition of Lautrec, Philibert of Chalons, prince of Orange, exerciſed the ſevereſt vengeance on the perſons and eſtates of thoſe nobles who had joined the French, or who appeared to demonſtrate any attachment to that nation; and the neceſſities of Charles the Fifth, who ſtood in want of money for the payment of his mutinous forces, induced him not only to permit, but to encourage the confiſcations, which enriched his treaſury. A tribunal was conſtituted for the trial of all offenders, and the prince of Orange diſtributed to the principal Imperial officers, the lands of ſuch as were condemned [11]. He was not aſhamed to retain one of the moſt ample fiefs for himſelf; and we may form ſome eſtimate of the magnitude of the fines impoſed, by that to which the city of Aquila, in the province of the Abruzzo, was ſentenced. One hundred thouſand ducats were levied on the wretched inhabitants; who, from their inability to raiſe ſo vaſt a ſum, were reduced, after ſelling all the plate in the churches, to mortgage the crop of ſaffron belonging to the town [12]. The prince, not leſs an enemy to the arts, than rapacious and oppreſſive in his government, ſpared no monument, however venerable; and the Neapolitans ſaw, with peculiar indignation, that, among the edifices in the neighbourhood of Naples, which he cauſed to be demoliſhed, was the famous villa of "Mergellina," conſtructed by the poet Sannazarius their countryman, and dedicated by him to the muſes [13].

Tyranny of the viceroys.

Confiſcations.

Government of the prince of Orange.

[10] Giannoné, vol. iv. p. 19. [11] Ibid. p. 21—43. [12] Ibid. p. 44. [13] Ibid. p. 37.

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1529—1532. Cardinal Colonna.

Theſe multiplied diſorders received no effectual redreſs during the ſhort adminiſtration of cardinal Colonna, who ſucceeded to the prince of Orange. He was a prelate of amiable manners, gallantry, and refinement; whoſe taſte for letters and pleaſure had endeared him to Leo the Tenth, by whom he was raiſed to the higheſt eccleſiaſtical dignities. The age, accuſtomed to ſee prieſts exerciſe the functions of civil and military profeſſions, beheld without aſtoniſhment, a cardinal, archbiſhop of Montreal, inveſted with the office of viceroy, and captain general of Naples. He attempted to revive the laws, which had been wantonly violated under his predeceſſor, and he even made ſome examples; but, the evil demanded vigour and ſeverity, to eradicate; nor did his government, which only laſted two years, admit him to accompliſh a taſk ſo difficult and arduous. In raiſing ſupplies of money for the emperor Charles the Fifth, he was more ſucceſsful; and it is not without aſtoniſhment, that we reflect on his compelling the Neapolitans to ſend that prince the ſum of nine hundred thouſand ducats, in 1530, and the following year. For theſe prodigious donations, exacted from the States, they obtained a new confirmation of their privileges; but, the viceroys, who were always foreigners, paid little regard either to the immunities, or to the eſſential and permanent intereſts of the kingdom [14].

Meaſures of his adminiſtration.

1532. Viceroyalty of Pedro de Toledo.

To the cardinal Colonna, was ſubſtituted Don Pedro de Toledo, who governed Naples, with power almoſt unlimited, during near twenty-one years. His viceroyalty forms a memorable epocha in the annals of the country, and demands attention. In the courſe of it, by his own confeſſion to one of the confidential ſecretaries of his ſon-in-law, Coſmo, grand duke of Tuſcany, he put to death near eighteen thouſand perſons, by the hand of the executioner. Yet, Giannoné, a Neapolitan, and one of the ableſt hiſtorians, as well as the moſt impartial, whom the preſent century has produced, not only acquits, but even commends his ſeverity, as equally wholeſome

[14] Giannoné, vol. iv. p. 52—61.

and

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and neceſſary [15]. To explain this ſeeming paradox, it is requiſite to take a ſurvey of the condition of the kingdom, and particularly, of the capital, at the time of Toledo's arrival. It will convey an idea of the manners, and of the anarchy, which then prevailed in Naples. To ſo deplorable a ſtate of contempt, were fallen the courts of judicature, that the nobles openly employed importunities and preſents, to corrupt the judges: menaces and violence were added, whenever they became neceſſary to liberate a priſoner. The ſtreets of Naples were infeſted with robbers, who rendered the paſſage of them unſafe, peculiarly in the night; and they had even the audacity to form themſelves into bands ſo numerous, as to ſet the laws at defiance. The great barons not only gave them refuge and protection; but, their palaces had the privilege of aſylums, in which the culprit was ſecure from puniſhment; and many of the moſt deſperate of theſe wretches were retained and paid by the nobility. The ſtate of public morals was, in the higheſt degree, diſſolute and relaxed. The voluptuous ſhore of Baiæ, which from the earlieſt antiquity had been conſecrated to pleaſure, and to which the Cæſars retired from the ſplendor and fatigue of the Imperial functions, to indulge in diſſipation, or plunge in exceſſes; continued ſtill to retain it's characteriſtic qualities. Debaucheries, the moſt contrary to nature, were avowedly tolerated; and the ſale of daughters by their parents, for purpoſes of proſtitution, ſcarcely excited diſapprobation, from the univerſality of the practice. The prince of Orange, during his government, had permitted, and even encouraged by his example, the crime of carrying off women by violence; nor could any rank, or any place, however elevated, or ſacred, ſecure the honour of the ſex. Outrages were committed, and monaſteries entered by force, from whence they were taken with impunity. Similar enormities prevailed in the provinces, where oppreſſions of every kind were exerciſed by the barons [16].

1532. State of Naples at Toledo's arrival.

Diſſolution of manners.

The inflexible and ſtern character of the viceroy, ſpeedily redreſſed theſe grievances, and reſtored order in the capital. His regu-

1532—1545. Severe adminiſtration of Toledo.

[15] Giannoné, vol. iv. p. 66. [16] Ibid. vol. v. p. 66—70.

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lations were ſuſtained by prompt and exemplary puniſhment; nor did any dignity, or connexions, protect an offender. The counts Pignatelli, and Policaſtro, whoſe crimes had long defied juſtice, were ſeized, tried, and put to death. A young man of condition, detected in placing a ladder of ropes againſt the houſe of a lady, was beheaded, notwithſtanding the moſt powerful interceſſion; and theſe examples, followed by others, ſoon produced a ſalutary change in the manners, which had ſo long prevailed in Naples. All the tribunals underwent a ſevere examination, and juſtice began again to preſide in their determinations[17]. Proceeding from the reform to the embelliſhment of the city, he erected the palace, ſince appropriated to the viceroys, removed the arcades and porticoes which afforded ſhelter to aſſaſſins, and cauſed the ſtreets to be enlarged and paved. Fountains were conſtructed, to diſpenſe water to the different quarters of the capital; and a regulation which, above all, contributed to its ſalubrity, was effected by him; that of draining the country in its vicinity, and procuring for the ſtagnant waters, a free paſſage into the ſea. The famous grotto of Pauliſippo, an excavation of unknown and remote antiquity, through which lay the road to Pouzzoli, was widened and repaired by Toledo; who delighted to retire from the fatigues of buſineſs, to the delightful coaſt of Baiæ, where he always paſſed a conſiderable portion of the winter months. When Pouzzoli had been completely laid in aſhes, by the ſubterraneous fires which broke out in its neighbourhood, and drove the inhabitants to take ſhelter in Naples; the viceroy encouraged them by his preſence and example, to return thither, and to rebuild the place, which roſe more beautiful out of its ruins. His activity and vigilance were by no means confined to the capital. All the provinces experienced equal attention, and became the objects of his perſonal inſpection. The coaſts of Calabria and Apulia, ſubject to the continual devaſtation of the Turks, were fortified with towers and beacons, to announce the enemy's approach; and from

Beneficial, and elegant inſtitutions.

Protection of the coaſts againſt the Turks.

[17] Giannoné, vol. v. p. 70—76.

Reggio,

Reggio, at the ſouthern extremity of Italy, to the frontier of the papal territories, all the towns were put into a poſture of defence. The kingdom, which, under ſeveral preceding viceroys, had been left a prey to every ſpecies of licentiouſneſs, evinced by its obedience and tranquillity, the effects of a wiſe and vigorous adminiſtration [18]. CHAP. IX. 1532—1545.

Repeated attempts were made by Solyman the Second, emperor of the Turks, either alone, or in conjunction with the fleets of France, to effect the conqueſt of Naples, during this period: but the exertions of Toledo were attended with ſucceſs, in repulſing the Turkiſh invaders, and in reſcuing the country, committed to his charge. Though he was able to oppoſe inſurmountable obſtacles to the reduction, he could not, however, prevent the pillage of the kingdom. In no part of the middle ages, either under the feeble tyranny of the Byzantine emperors of Conſtantinople, or during the decline of the Saracens, were the coaſts of Naples and Sicily ſo frequently plundered, ravaged, and deſolated. Thouſands of perſons, of both ſexes, and of all conditions, were carried off by Barbaroſſa, Dragut, Sinan, and the other baſhaws, or admirals of the Porte. Not content with landing and ravaging the provinces, their ſquadrons perpetually appeared in ſight of Naples; laid waſte the iſlands of Iſchia and Procida, in its immediate vicinity; attacked the towns of Pouzzoli and Baiæ; and committed every outrage of wanton barbarity. In 1534, Barbaroſſa, after having ſailed, unoppoſed, through the Faro of Meſſina; deſtroyed ſeven gallies, conſtructing at Monté Caſſino; and terrified the capital itſelf; inſolently detached ſome of his veſſels to Fondi, in order to carry off Julia de Gonzaga, eſteemed one of the moſt beautiful women in Italy. He had deſtined her for the ſeraglio of Solyman; and the Turks landing in the night, ſhe had only time to eſcape over the mountains, on horſeback, and almoſt naked. Fondi experienced the vengeance of the diſappointed Mahometans, who ſacked it without mercy [19]. The invaſion of 1552, when Dragut blocked up the harbour of Naples, with a hundred and fifty large gallies, during

Invaſions and depredations of the Turkiſh fleets.

Barbaroſſa.

Dragut.

[18] Giannoné, vol. iv. p. 87—97. [19] Ibid. p. 77.

near

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near four weeks, ſpread ſtill greater conſternation; and if the fleet of France had arrived, as had been concerted, it is more than probable, that the city muſt have fallen into their hands. But, the delays of Henry the Second proved its preſervation. The Turkiſh admiral, corrupted by a preſent of two hundred thouſand ducats, which the viceroy found the means of conveying to him, retired, and made ſail for Conſtantinople [20]. We need no more convincing proof of the defenceleſs ſtate of the kingdom, than the neceſſity for adopting ſo humiliating an expedient.

Arrival of Charles the Fifth, at Naples.

The emperor, Charles the Fifth, who continually viſited his vaſt dominions, after his triumphant expedition againſt Tunis, in 1535, made a public entry into Naples, and remained, during the whole winter, in that capital. All the nobility of Italy crouded to behold him; and Don Pedro, the viceroy, exhauſted every pleaſure, in order to detain and gratify ſo illuſtrious a gueſt. But, Charles, who foreſaw the war in which he was ready to be engaged againſt Francis the Firſt, convened the States, and demanded a ſupply, proportionate to the danger with which he was menaced, by the united forces of the French and Turks. The Neapolitans, captivated with the gracious demeanor of their ſovereign, and deſirous to evince to him their zeal and attachment; without examining into the means by which the ſum might be raiſed, inſtantly granted him a million and a half of ducats [21]. The emperor himſelf was ſo ſenſible of the impoſſibility of realizing the money, that he inſtantly remitted one third; and contented himſelf with the remainder. It is a circumſtance highly deſerving attention, becauſe it proves the wealth and preponderance of the nobility, as well as the poverty of the inferior orders; that, when the aſſembly met, to deliberate on the mode of levying ſo enormous a ſupply, it was agreed that the barons ſhould furniſh three-fourths, and the people, only the remaining quarter. An inconteſtible proof, that the former body of men was poſſeſſed of almoſt the whole property of the State [22].

Loyalty and liberality of the Neapolitans.

[20] Giannoné, vol. iv. p. 169, 170.
[21] A ſum, exceeding ſix hundred thouſand pounds.
[22] Giannoné, vol. iv. p. 85—87.

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Presuming on the merit and loyalty of their late conduct, the nobility, by whom the viceroy, on account of his rigor and impartiality, was universally detested, endeavoured to procure from the emperor, his dismission. But, Charles, however highly gratified by the demonstrations of liberality, which his Neapolitan subjects had given him, was not disposed to grant their request. He esteemed Toledo for the severity of his administration; and far from withdrawing the authority antecedently delegated, he, before his final departure, augmented and enlarged the viceroy's power. A confirmation of their antient privileges, which Charles readily granted, was the only compensation, obtained for so vast a supply, as he had drawn from the kingdom of Naples[23]. That country, though molested by the Turks, continued in a state of internal repose, for several years; during which period, the Jews, who had settled in great numbers, both in the capital and provinces, were expelled. Their usury was the pretext for an act of such impolitic violence; but, the religious antipathy, in which they were held, stimulated the government to proceed to extremities. Their loss was felt in a greater degree, because the usurious exaction of large interest, far from being diminished by their departure, was encreased, when the Christians remained without competitors in so lucrative a branch of traffic[24].

1532—1545. Charles refuses to dismiss Toledo.

Expulsion of the Jews.

The administration of Toledo, which had only acquired force by the unsuccessful opposition of the nobles to his measures of policy, was, notwithstanding, completely subverted, when he attempted to introduce the inquisition. Ferdinand the catholic, in violation of the oath which he had taken, on receiving the submission of the Neapolitans, after the expulsion of the Arragonese kings; made a feeble and fruitless effort, to establish inquisitors general. They were compelled to desist, without exercising any function; and the experiment was not renewed for more than forty years. The doctrines of Luther, notwithstanding the perpetual vigilance of the viceroys, had gradu-

Ineffectual attempt to introduce the inquisition. 1546.

[23] Giannoné, vol. iv. p. 84—87. [24] Ibid. p. 97—99.

ally

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1546.

ally penetrated into the ſouth of Italy. Many perſons of the higheſt rank, male and female; even ſome, among the monaſtic orders, had either openly embraced, or ſecretly cheriſhed the reformation. The watchful and bigotted precautions of the viceroy, had checked, but could not extinguiſh, the ſpirit of religious enquiry. In order to repreſs diſquiſition on theſe ſubjects, and to preclude information, he therefore, not only cauſed all books, ſuſpected of containing heretical tenets, to be burnt; and prohibited, under rigorous penalties, the printing, or retaining any ſuch productions: but, he even ſuppreſſed all the literary academies, inſtituted for the encouragement of polite letters, rhetoric, philoſophy, and poetry [25]. The emperor ſuſtained him in theſe acts, which evidently tended to baniſh knowledge, and to prevent the introduction of every branch of ſcience. In his zeal for maintaining the purity of the catholic faith, he ſent orders to Toledo, without further delay, to attempt the introduction of the inquiſition itſelf. Conſcious of the hazard, incurred by ſuch an experiment, and aware of the conſequences which might ariſe from it, that miniſter, contrary to his natural genius, proceeded by indirect and gentle methods. While he cauſed the Imperial edict to be rendered public, through the medium of the archbiſhop of Naples, he retired to Pouzzoli, as if unintereſted in its ſucceſs. But, the Neapolitans, patient under every other ſpecies of oppreſſion, inſtantly revolted at the eſtabliſhment of the inquiſition. They even forgot, in the general terror, the diſtinction of ranks; and the barons united with their fellow-citizens, to oppoſe that formidable tribunal. The viceroy, returning to the capital, and reinforced by three thouſand veteran Spaniards, determined to ſupport the meaſure. Hoſtilities took place, and the city, during near three months, was abandoned to anarchy, while the inhabitants inveſted the caſtle, and beſieged their governor. They perſiſted, notwithſtanding, invariably, in their allegiance to Charles the Fifth, and only demanded the abolition of the holy office, as the price of their immediate

Meaſures, to impede the progreſs of knowledge.

Revolt of the Neapolitans.

Amneſty granted to the inſurgents.

[25] Giannoné, vol. iv. p. 107—117.

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submission. The emperor, convinced by experience of the impracticability of success in his attempt, desisted; commanded the inquisitors to cease all further exercise of their powers; and granted an amnesty to the Neapolitans, on condition of their paying a fine of a hundred thousand crowns [26]. CHAP. IX. 1546.

The viceroy survived this unsuccessful contest, during several years, and continued till his decease, to retain the favour of his sovereign. The close of his life was deeply tinctured with cruelty; and the rebellion of the prince of Salerno, gave ample scope to the natural severity of his temper. Age, together with a disease, contracted by fatigue, terminated his long administration, at Florence; to which city he had conducted the Imperial forces, destined against Sienna. He was succeeded by the cardinal Pacheco, as viceroy; and the abdication of Charles the Fifth, in the following year, devolved on his son Philip the Second, the sovereignty of Naples [27]. Alarmed at the preparations of Henry the Second, king of France, that prince, in conjunction with Paul the Fourth, who had newly ascended the papal throne, dispatched Ferdinand duke of Alva, to the aid of his Neapolitan subjects; and to the vigorous measures, embraced by him, on his arrival, was due the safety of the kingdom. Nothing can more clearly evince the change, that had taken place since the accession of Ferdinand the catholic, and the profound submission established by the Spanish viceroys, than the ill success which attended the French invasion, though conducted by one of the greatest generals of the sixteenth century. The forces of Charles the Eighth, and Louis the Twelfth, had entered, and subjected the country, almost without opposition. But, when Francis, duke of Guise, at the head of a disciplined army, attempted to penetrate into the province of the Abruzzo; far from finding any symptoms of disaffection to the established government, he was repulsed before the little town of Civitella, on the

Death of Toledo. 1546—1553.

1554—1557. War with France.

Unsuccessful invasion of the duke of Guise.

[26] Giannoné, vol. iv. p. 117—136.

[27] Ibid. p. 166—174. Galluzzi, Hist. de Toscane, vol. ii. p. 57—59.

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1554—1557.

Frontiers, and compelled to retreat, with loſs, into the papal territories. The duke of Alva, ſuſtained by a body of Spaniſh veterans, not only awed ſuch of the nobility as were diſpoſed to revolt, but, prevented either the clergy or the people from declaring in favour of the invaders; and France, inſtructed by experience, deſiſted from any further attempt to recover the crown of Naples [28].

1558—1571. Adminiſtration of the duke of Alcala.

The adminiſtration of the duke of Alcala, to whom Philip delegated the ſupreme power, ſoon after the recal of Alva, laſted near twelve years, and was marked by almoſt every ſpecies of misfortune and calamity. Famine equally afflicted the capital and the provinces; while earthquakes encreaſed the general conſternation. The Turks, who, in 1558, under the baſhaw Muſtapha, had burnt Reggio, and carried off into captivity the inhabitants of Maſſa, and Sorrento; continued to deſolate the coaſts, and even puſhed their audacity to ſuch a length, as to pillage, and maſſacre the people in the Chiaia, one of the ſuburbs of Naples. It is difficult to adduce a ſtronger proof of the defenceleſs and unprotected ſtate, in which the kingdom was left, under ſo powerful a monarch as Philip the Second, the maſter of Mexico and Peru [29]. Internal commotions were added to foreign invaſion.

Inſurrection.

An inſurrection, commenced by a troop of robbers, who elected for their leader Mark Berardi, a native of Coſenza in Calabria, long plunged that province into confuſion. He was ſtiled the king Marconé, by his followers; and was not reduced, without difficulty, by regular troops. The court of Madrid, deeply ſenſible to ſo wounding an indignity, ſtimulated the viceroy by reproaches, not to allow the majeſty of the throne to be thus trampled on, and violated with impunity [30]. Philip found it a more eaſy taſk to exterminate the doctrines of the Reformation, which had long remained dormant, in the villages of the Further Calabria, at the foot of the Apennines.

[28] Abregé Chron. d'Eſpagne, vol. ii. p. 326—330. Leti, Vie de Phil. II. vol. ii. p. 120—136, and p. 156—164.

[29] Giannoné, vol. iv. p. 222, and p. 233, 234. Leti, vol. ii. p. 393, 394.

[30] Leti, vol. ii. p. 473—477.

Informa-

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1558—1571. Perſecutions of heretics.

Information of the exiſtence of this hereſy had no ſooner reached him, than he iſſued peremptory orders to the duke of Alcala, to put the inhabitants, indiſcriminately, to the ſword; and his ſavage directions were obeyed, in their full extent. The people of Guardia and St. Sixtus, two ſmall towns, having refuſed, notwithſtanding every menace, to abandon their faith, were maſſacred. Sixty, reſerved for the executioner, periſhed either by fire, or by the gibbet [31]. Even in the city of Naples, ſome terrible examples of the ſame ſanguinary and perſecuting ſpirit, were exhibited. In 1564, two heretics were beheaded, their bodies reduced to aſhes, and ſo ſevere an enquiry was begun, to diſcover all perſons, ſuſpected of having embraced the Lutheran opinions, that the inhabitants, terrified at the proſpect of ſeeing the inquiſition gradually eſtabliſhed, prepared again to riſe in arms againſt its introduction, as they had done under Charles the Fifth. During ſeveral months, they continued in a ſtate, approaching to revolt; till Philip, rendered cautious by his father's experience, and apprehenſive of the conſequences of his own intolerance, ſent aſſurances of his determination never to attempt the revival of that odious tribunal [32].

1571—1574. Cardinal Granvelle.

The incurſions and devaſtations of the Turks, far from diminiſhing, appeared to augment under cardinal Granvelle, who ſucceeded to the duke of Alcala, as viceroy. Even the victory of Lepanto, which was ſo much extolled, if not exaggerated, by the contemporary hiſtorians, gave a very ſhort reſpite to the misfortunes of the Neapolitans. Only two years afterwards, while the city of Naples was occupied in magnificent diverſions for the birth of a prince of Spain, intelligence arrived, that the Ottoman fleet, more formidable than ever after its recent defeat, had appeared in the neighbourhood of Otranto, and renewed its accuſtomed ravages. Tunis, which Don John of Auſtria had recently taken from Selim

[31] Leti, Vie de Phil. II. vol. ii. p. 371, 372.
[32] Leti, vol. ii. p. 491, 492. Giannoné, vol. iv. p. 136—153.

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the Second, was reconquered by the ſame enemy; and the cardinal viceroy was obliged to call out the militia, to the number of near thirty thouſand, in order to protect the kingdom from an expected invaſion[33].

Condition of the kingdom of Naples, at this period.

To ſo ruined and degraded a condition, had the Spaniards reduced Naples, in the ſpace of about ſeventy years, which had elapſed ſince the expulſion of the French, by Gonſalvo de Cordova. A ſurvey of their principles of government and policy, will too ſatisfactorily account for this declenſion, which was common to every other province of that vaſt, and disjointed monarchy. It ſeemed to be the invariable maxim of the viceroys, to depreſs the national ſpirit, to extinguiſh ſcience, and to impoveriſh the people by exactions the moſt oppreſſive. The Spaniſh deſpotiſm was not ſoftened or mitigated by any of thoſe arts, that conceal, in ſome degree, the ſlavery, which they confirm. Their laws appeared frequently to be the reſult of wiſdom and juſtice; but, no attention was paid to enforce their execution. Even the privileges, which, by perpetual donations of money, the Neapolitans purchaſed of their ſovereigns, were infringed and diſregarded. All the great offices were held by Spaniards: the poſt of general of the gallies, of which they were peculiarly jealous and tenacious, was never entruſted to a native; though the emperor, Charles the Fifth, in 1536, during his ſtay at Naples, in return for the teſtimonies of loyalty and liberality which he received, had, in general terms, aſſured the States, that, as far as circumſtances would permit, that employment ſhould in future be always conferred on a noble Neapolitan[34].

Deſpotiſm of the Spaniards.

Pecuniary impoſitions.

When we conſider the vaſt ſums, extorted by Philip the Second, from the kingdom, in the ſpace of about twenty years after his acceſſion, we are filled with wonder, at the ability of the people to ſuſtain ſuch heavy impoſitions. The ſhort war, maintained in 1557,

[33] Giannoné, vol. iv. p. 332—340.
[34] Ibid. vol. iii. p. 728, 729, and vol. iv. p. 85, 86.

againſt

againſt Henry the Second and his allies, the Caraffas, coſt Naples two millions, ſix hundred thouſand ducats [35]. The duke of Alcala, whoſe affability of manners, and attentions to the nobility, had rendered him extremely popular, exerted himſelf with ſo much dexterity and addreſs, as to procure, between 1564 and 1570, in four diſtinct aſſemblies of the States, no leſs an aggregate ſum, than four millions, four hundred thouſand ducats [36]. During the viceroyalty of his ſucceſſor, cardinal Granvelle, theſe exactions continued. Philip the Second, engaged in a ruinous and expenſive war with his Flemiſh ſubjects, in which his tyranny and religious perſecution had involved him, found all his treaſures unequal to their ſubjection. To enable him to maintain his forces in that country, he drained all his other dominions, impoveriſhed Spain itſelf, and eventually alienated the royal domains. The money, levied from the Neapolitans, inſtead of remaining among them, and returning into circulation, was ſent to Flanders. Compelled by his perpetual neceſſities, and actuated by an inſatiable thirſt of power, Philip had recourſe to the moſt pernicious and deſtructive expedients, in order to obtain money. In Naples and Sicily, which were treated as vanquiſhed provinces, no meaſures were obſerved towards the people. The cities and lands belonging to the crown were ſold; the produce of the taxes, anticipated and mortgaged; titles and employments were put up to ſale, and every thing became venal. The only quality, indiſpenſible for a viceroy, was that of extracting, and remitting ſums to Spain [37].

CHAP. IX.

1574.

Pernicious exactions.

To augment the calamity, and render it irremediable, the utmoſt profuſion and want of œconomy prevailed in the expenditure of the public revenue. Notwithſtanding the immenſe receipt from ſo many kingdoms and provinces, in Europe and in America, Philip became annually more embarraſſed in his finances: even his troops perpetually revolted, from the failure of their pay. The Neapolitans were

Profuſion of the government.

[35] Conſiderably more than a million ſterling. Giannoné, vol. iv. p. 222.

[36] Near two millions ſterling. Giannoné, vol. iv. p. 327.

[37] Ibid. p. 333, 334.

exhauſted,

CHAP. IX. 1574.

exhauſted, in order to maintain wars, with which they had not the moſt remote connexion; and from the ſucceſs of which, however complete, they could not derive any poſſible advantage; while, at the ſame time, their coaſts were ravaged, and their cities deſolated by the Turks. It is impoſſible to eſtimate, or calculate the extent of loſs, ſuffered from that implacable enemy, between the years 1504, and 1574. The hoſtilities, being carried on, not as between two ſtates, engaged in a political controverſy; but, between chriſtians and infidels, there intervened neither peace, nor truce, under the reign of Charles the Fifth, and a conſiderable part of that of Philip the Second. Religious antipathy encreaſed the mutual rancour; and ſuch numbers of the inhabitants were carried into captivity, that the ſea-ſhore was totally abandoned in many parts of Calabria and Apulia. Vaſt ſums were annually tranſmitted to Conſtantinople, in order to ranſom theſe unfortunate perſons; and the evil was rendered greater, from the circumſtance of the Turks never extending ſimilar attention to their own countrymen, who fell into the hands of the chriſtians [38].

Depredations of the Turks.

Decline of commerce.

Under ſuch a government, it cannot be matter of ſurprize, that manufactures and commerce not only declined, but, became almoſt extinct. The kingdom of Naples, favoured by nature, above any other part of Europe; ſurrounded on three ſides by the Mediterranean, in the midſt of which ſea it is ſituated; abounding in ports and harbours; calculated by its happy poſition, to maintain a beneficial intercourſe with Aſia and Africa; producing many of the moſt valuable articles of foreign conſumption, and capable of carrying on a very extenſive trade; was deſtitute of ſhipping, or mercantile induſtry and emulation. Famine frequently viſited the capital, and drove the inhabitants to demand bread of their viceroys, with importunity and menaces [39]. The abſence of the ſovereign, and the diſtance of Madrid, aggravated the general misfortunes. Charles the Fifth, a

[38] Giannoné, vol. iv. p. 333, and p. 335, and p. 341, and p. 347.

[39] Ibid. paſſim.

prince of activity and energy, had viſited Naples in perſon; but, none of his ſucceſſors ever followed the example. Philip the Second, immured in the Eſcurial, affected to govern his immenſe dominions, from the receſſes of his cabinet; and after having once retired to Spain, no inducements or exhortations were ſufficiently powerful, to prevail on him to quit that country. He was equally deaf to the entreaties of the Neapolitans, and to the cries of the Flemings. The effect of ſo oppreſſive a tyranny ſeemed to extinguiſh all exertion in the human mind; and we find ſcarcely any men of genius, or talents, among the Neapolitans of this period. The Spaniards dreaded the energy, which accompanies knowledge, and ſpared no endeavours to impede the entrance of ſcience among the people. Even the fine arts were ſlow in their progreſs, while Rome, Venice, and Florence, abounded in the moſt eminent artiſts. It was not till towards the cloſe of Toledo's adminiſtration, as late as 1553, that theatrical exhibitions were performed, for the firſt time, at Naples. The actors were brought thither from Sienna, as well as the the dramatic pieces, and comedies, repreſented [40]. The duke of Alcala, and cardinal Granvelle, ſeem to have paid ſome attention to the police of the metropolis; and the former viceroy commanded exact regiſters of all births, to be kept [41]. In order to reſtrain the national propenſity to games of chance, it was prohibited by the latter, for any perſon to riſk at play, a greater ſum than ten ducats, in the courſe of a day [42]. Theſe remarks may appear too minute for the dignity of hiſtory; but every regulation, by which manners are humanized, or ſociety poliſhed and improved, better merits commemoration, than deſcriptions of ſieges, and details of war and ſlaughter.

1574.

Depreſſion of the human mind.

[40] Giannoné, vol. iv. p. 224. [41] Ibid. p. 330. [42] Ibid. p. 344.

CHAP. X.

GENOA.

Survey of the Genoeſe ſtate and hiſtory, during the middle ages.—Its power, commerce, and revolutions.—Decline of the Genoeſe greatneſs, after the ſubverſion of the Greek empire.—Eſtabliſhment of the Republic by Andrew Doria.—Conſpiracy of Fieſco.—Death, and character of Doria.—Revolt of Corſica.—Domeſtic diſſenſions.—State of Genoa, in 1574.—Its dependance on Spain.—Policy of Philip the Second.—Origin of the practice of funding.—Hiſtory of the bank of "St. George."—Political conſequences of that inſtitution.

CHAP. X.

Grandeur, and commerce of Genoa, in the middle ages.

GENOA ſtands confeſſedly at the head of the ſmaller Italian ſtates; and, like Venice, is an object of great curioſity, during the middle ages. The diſadvantages of its ſituation, at the foot of the mountains of the Apennines, on the barren ſhore of Liguria, and the ſterility of its contracted territory, were amply compenſated by the enjoyment of freedom and commerce. Their fleets covered the Mediterranean, navigated the Black Sea, aſcended the Nile, and divided with Piſa, the profits of a vaſt and lucrative trade, as early as the twelfth century. Theſe two ſmall, and rival Republics, which, like Sparta and Athens, were frequently engaged in hoſtilities, poſſeſſed incredible reſources, and effected, either partially, or totally, many important conqueſts. The Genoeſe obtained, even before the year 1100, very ample immunities, and commercial exemptions or privileges, from the princes who had invaded and conquered Paleſtine; as a return for the aſſiſtance given them, in tranſporting troops, and carrying ſupplies of proviſions to the coaſt of Syria.

Conqueſts of the Republic.

Michael Paleologus, emperor of Conſtantinople, whom they aided to recover the Byzantine throne, of which the Latin princes had deprived

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prived him, ceded to the Republic a ſuburb of the Imperial city itſelf; and with it, the iſland of Chios in the Archipelago, ſo famous among the antients, for the delicacy of its wines. This event took place in 1261 [1]. When Louis the Ninth undertook the memorable Cruſade, and invaſion of Tunis, in 1270, before which city he expired, the Genoeſe furniſhed the ſhipping, which conveyed the French monarch and his army into Africa [2]. In the courſe of that century, continually extending their acquiſitions, they became maſters of Caffa, in the peninſula of the Crimea, the Theodoſia of the Romans; conteſted with Venice the navigation and commerce of the Euxine; and poſſeſſed factories or eſtabliſhments in Egypt, and every part of the Levant [3].

1300—1396.

Notwithſtanding the internal feuds and diſſenſions, which perpetually agitated the Commonwealth, Genoa ſtill continued in a progreſſive ſtate of improvement and aggrandizement. Even the vaſt naval armaments, fitted out to combat their rivals the Venetians; and the defeats which they occaſionally ſuſtained, in their conteſt with that power, do not appear to have exhauſted their revenues, or to have impaired their national vigor. In 1373, a powerful fleet and army effected the reduction of the iſland of Cyprus; though the magnanimity or policy of the Genoeſe commander induced him only to retain poſſeſſion of Famagoſta, the capital; and ſix years afterwards, their forces beſieged Venice itſelf, and were on the point of ſubjecting or deſtroying the Republic [4]. Theſe great exertions impreſs with the more wonder, as during the ſpace of fourteen years, which intervened from 1317, to 1332, Genoa was convulſed and deſolated by the two factions of the Guelphs and Ghibbelines, to ſuch a degree, as to reduce the coaſt of Liguria, on which the city is ſituated, to a barren deſert: but, their induſtry and extenſive trade repaired theſe temporary misfortunes [5]. Early in the four-

Internal feuds and convulſions.

[1] Hiſt. de Genes, en 3 tomes, vol. i. p. 121—123.

[2] L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 732.

[3] Hiſt. de Genes, vol. i. p. 137—161.

[4] Ibid. p. 227—229, and p. 240—254.

[5] Ibid. p. 170—182. Villani, liv. ix.

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teenth century, the inhabitants, by a voluntary act, elected the emperor Henry the Seventh for their governor, or patron, during the term of twenty years; and they accompanied this mark of their confidence, with an annual donation of conſiderable magnitude. The office, with which they had inveſted Henry, appears, however, to have been more titular than real, and did not affect the independance of the State, as a free commonwealth [6]. His death having taken place two years afterwards, and Robert, king of Naples, coming in perſon to the aſſiſtance of Genoa in 1318, at that time beſieged by the Ghibbelines; the gratitude of the people to their deliverer, induced them to delegate the ſovereignty to him, for ten years. The term was prolonged, before its expiration, for ſix years more; but, at its concluſion, the Genoeſe, among whom new political changes had ariſen, compelled the vicar of the king of Naples to withdraw, and reſumed their republican form of conſtitution [7]. Its duration was ſhort; for, in 1353, their fleet having ſuſtained a complete overthrow from the Venetians, the conſternation which it occaſioned, was ſuch, as to reduce them to claim the protection of John Viſconti, archbiſhop and lord of Milan. He held the ſovereignty only about three years; and the Republic again relapſed into anarchy, rather than recovered its freedom, after his deceaſe [8]. They continued, notwithſtanding, during forty years, to retain the appearance of liberty, and to extend their commerce, though Genoa was a prey to the moſt inveterate factions: but, towards the cloſe of the fourteenth century, wearied with diſſenſions which exhauſted their ſtrength, and deſpairing of the eſtabliſhment of tranquillity, they ſent delegates to Charles the Sixth, king of France, offering him their ſubmiſſion in perpetuity. He accepted the propoſal, and took poſſeſſion of the city [9].

Election of Henry the Seventh to the ſovereignty.

Changes in the government.

1396.

1397—1521. Declenſion of Genoa.

From this period, for near a hundred and thirty years, the hiſtory of Genoa is only that of a ſtate, abandoned to perpetual fluctua-

[6] L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 733. Hiſt. de Genes, vol. i. p. 167.
[7] Hiſt. de Genes, vol. i. p. 173, and p. 194—211.
[8] Mod. Univ. Hiſt. vol. xxviii. p. 409. Hiſt. de Genes, vol. i. p. 212—216.
[9] Hiſt. de Genes, vol. i. p. 286—294.

tions;

CHAP. X. 1397—1521.

tions; deſtitute of order, or ſubordination; and, transferring its allegiance to France, to the dukes of Milan, the marquiſſes of Montferrat, or the emperors of Germany, as the caprice of a tumultuous populace, or the ambition of its leaders, impelled. Subjected repeatedly by all theſe powers, tyrannized by their governors, and held in awe by citadels, they only emerged from oppreſſion, to relapſe into it with greater violence. Their foreign poſſeſſions, which had been ſo numerous and conſiderable, on the coaſts of the Black Sea, and in the Archipelago, gradually fell into the hands of the Turks, as that nation advanced towards the final conqueſt of the Greek empire [10]. Yet, in 1453, the Genoeſe, then in the enjoyment of an interval of freedom, made a magnanimous uſe of it, by ſending a naval and military force to the aſſiſtance of Conſtantinople, beſieged by Mahomet the Second. It ought not to be forgotten, that this ſuccour, conſiſting of nine hundred men, was the only effectual aid given to the emperors of the eaſt, by any of the European powers; the fleet, diſpatched by the Venetians, not arriving till after the capture of the Imperial city. Juſtiniani, who commanded the troops of Genoa, ſignalized himſelf, and died of the wounds, received in the attack, which rendered Mahomet maſter of Conſtantinople. Pera ſurrendered on the following day to the conqueror; and the loſs, ſuſtained by the Genoeſe, was not only great, but ruinous to their commerce [11]. Caffa, together with many inferior ſettlements in the Crimea, and on the ſhore of Anatolia, were ſubjected to the ſame power, in 1475; and the vaſt trade, which, by means of theſe poſſeſſions, Genoa had carried on, for near two hundred years, with the Tartar nations, became totally extinct. The Republic, if it could be ſaid to deſerve that appellation, oppreſſed beneath the odious and feeble tyranny of Galeazzo Sforza, duke of Milan, was too much occupied with its domeſtic misfortunes,

Juſtiniani, ſent to the relief of Conſtantinople.

[10] Hiſt. de Genes, vol. i. p. 294—391, paſſim; and vol. ii. p. 1—143, paſſim.

[11] Laugier, Hiſt. de Veniſe, vol. vii. p. 70—74.—La Croix, Abregé Chronol. de l'Hiſt Ottomane, vol. i. p. 236—242. Hiſt. de Genes, vol. ii. p. 12, 13.

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either to ſend proper ſupport to its diſtant colonies, or to attend to their preſervation [12].

1397—1521. Revolutions in the government of Genoa.

All the calamities, incident to a ſtate, incapable of liberty, and impatient of ſervitude, were redoubled, at the commencement of the ſixteenth century. Genoa, in the courſe of a few years, paſſed through numerous revolutions, which alternately transferred the ſupreme power to France, or to the emperors, as the French, or Imperial faction predominated. Louis the Twelfth, yielding to the impulſe of his placable and beneficent diſpoſition, repeatedly pardoned their inſurrections. But, the marquis of Peſcara, who commanded the army of Charles the Fifth, when he became maſter of the city, in violation of the articles of ſurrender, abandoned it to pillage. Genoa was at that time regarded as only inferior to Venice, in opulence; and its commerce, though diminiſhed, was ſtill very conſiderable [13]. Francis the Firſt, aided by the celebrated Andrew Doria, admiral of the Genoeſe gallies, again obtained poſſeſſion of it ſoon afterwards; but, having refuſed to concur with that generous and patriotic citizen, in his requeſt to reſtore the liberties of his country, Doria, profiting of the weakneſs of the French garriſon, attacked and carried the place, without drawing his ſword. His adherents had already prepared the people to receive him; and the citadel being ſurrendered after a ſhort ſiege, Genoa remained at the diſpoſal of its new maſter [14]. It was in this ſituation, ſo trying to human virtue, that Doria, who might have eſtabliſhed his own greatneſs, and that of his houſe, on the complete extinction of freedom, diſintereſtedly preferred its revival. He laid the foundations of its permanency, by putting the Republic and all its dependancies, under the protection of the emperor, Charles the Fifth; but, with an expreſs ſtipulation, that, neither in his capacity of head of the empire, nor as king of Spain, ſhould he, or his ſucceſſors, claim any ſovereignty over the Genoeſe;

1522.

1527.

Doria expels the French.

1528. He reſtores Genoa to freedom.

[12] La Croix, vol. i. p. 278. Hiſt. de Genes, vol. ii. p. 38, 39.

[13] Hiſt. de Genes, vol. ii. p. 134, 135.

[14] Ibid. p. 143—145.

and

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and ſtill leſs, exact any ſpecies of pecuniary tribute, or contribution, as the price of his protection. We may, perhaps, juſtly queſtion, whether antiquity can furniſh any more ſublime example of patriotiſm; and may doubt, whether the virtue of Harmodius and Ariſtogiton among the Athenians, or that of the elder Brutus in the hiſtory of Rome, was more pure and elevated. 1397—1528.

Having taken theſe wiſe precautions to ſecure his country from external violence, he endeavoured to provide for its internal tranquillity. For that purpoſe, he committed the State to twelve reformers, who ſuppreſſed even the names of the antient factions, and who aſſociated, under certain reſtrictions, the people with the nobles, in the government. Content with his own approbation, and with the veneration which ſo generous a conduct muſt neceſſarily produce, in the minds of his fellow-citizens, he retired to his palace; and declared, that he emulated no other rank in the councils of Genoa, than that, to which he might pretend, in common with others of the nobility, and members of the Commonwealth. The public gratitude conferred on him by general conſent, the title of "Father of his Country, and "Reſtorer of Freedom." To theſe glorious diſtinctions, they added the offices of cenſor, and captain general of the fleet, for his life; with an exemption from all taxes or impoſitions of every kind [15]. Diſintereſtedneſs of Doria.

Suſtained by the ability and valour of Doria, and protected by the arms of Charles the Fifth, the Republic, during near nineteen years ſubſequent to this revolution, continued in the enjoyment of independance and repoſe. But, the memorable conſpiracy of Louis Fieſco, count of Lavagna, had nearly ſubverted Genoa, and reduced it anew to the obedience of France; or, expoſed it to all the misfortunes of anarchy. The maſſacre of Doria and his family, was among the primary objects of the plot; and the diſſimulation, intrepidity, and capacity, which marked its leader, at a very early period of life, 1528—1546. Conſpiracy of Fieſco, 1547.

[15] Hiſt. de Genes, vol. ii. p. 145, 146. Mod. Univ. Hiſt. vol. xxviii. p. 462, 463. L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 738.

CHAP. X.

1547. and throughout the profecution of ſo hazardous an enterprize, have rendered the attempt one of the moſt extraordinary, related in hiſtory. It was accompanied with complete ſucceſs, till the moment of its termination. Jeannetin Doria, the heir of that houſe, was ſtabbed: Andrew, his uncle, was with difficulty ſaved by his ſervants, who carried him out of the city; and the Senate was ready to ſubmit unconditionally to Fieſco, when that nobleman, by a ſudden and accidental death, cut ſhort his own hopes, and thoſe of his followers. The government, reſuming courage, expelled the ſurviving conſpirators; and Doria, on his return to the city, ſullied the luſtre of his high character, by proceeding to acts of cruelty againſt the brothers and adherents of the count of Lavagna [16]. Notwithſtanding this culpable exceſs, he continued invariably firm to the principles which he had inculcated, for maintaining the freedom of the Commonwealth. Philip, prince of Spain, ſon of Charles the Fifth, having viſited Genoa in the ſucceeding year, attempted to induce the ſenate, under ſpecious pretences of ſecuring their ſafety, to conſent to the conſtruction of a citadel, garriſoned by Spaniards. But, he found in that aſſembly, as well as in Doria, an inſurmountable oppoſition to the meaſure, which was rejected with unanimous indignation [17].

quelled.

1548.

1548—1558. Revolt of Corſica. The iſland of Corſica, ſubjected for ages to Genoa, and oppreſſed by a tyrannical adminiſtration, took up arms, at this period; and the French having aided the inſurgents, they maintained a long and ſucceſsful ſtruggle. But, the peace, concluded at Cateau between Philip, become king of Spain, and Henry the Second, in which the Spaniſh court dictated terms to France, obliged that nation to evacuate their Corſican acquiſitions, and to reſtore the iſland to the Genoeſe [18]. Soon afterwards, at the very advanced age of ninety, Andrew Doria expired, in his own palace, ſurrounded by the people on whom he had conferred freedom and tranquillity: leaving the

1559. Death, and character of Andrew Doria.

[16] Hiſt. de Genes, vol. ii. p. 161—198. L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 738, 739.

[17] Hiſt. de Genes, vol. ii. p. 198, 199.

[18] Ibid. p. 205—211.

Common-

CHAP. X.

1559, 1560.

Commonwealth in domeſtic repoſe, and undiſturbed by foreign war. He may be conſidered as one of the moſt illuſtrious perſons, whom modern Italy has produced; nor can it be doubted, that if he had lived in the fabulous ages of Greece, altars and temples would have been erected, to commemorate his virtue. His moderation and ſuperiority to the thirſt of power, which he might have gratified at the expence of his country, have juſtly given him a high reputation. It is, nevertheleſs, probable, that his ſagacity, and intimate knowledge of the Genoeſe, enabled him to ſee the impracticability of eſtabliſhing, on any ſolid baſis, his own authority; and he equally foreſaw, that they were too weak and turbulent, to ſubſiſt, without recurring to the protection of ſome foreign prince. He, therefore, wiſely put them under the ſafeguard of the Spaniſh monarchy, then in the plenitude of its proſperity; and he obtained from Charles the Fifth, conditions the moſt favourable. During his whole life, he continued to ſerve that ſovereign, and his ſucceſſor, as commander of the gallies; and he ordered his dying injunctions, enjoining adherence and fidelity to Philip the Second, to be tranſmitted to his heir; but, accompanied with the command, to defend the liberties of Genoa, at the price of his blood and fortune. Munificent, intrepid, calm in the article of danger, temperate, modeſt, and inflexibly attached to the principles of juſtice, he united in his character, many of the moſt ſublime virtues, or qualities, which can adorn, or elevate humanity. The rare felicity of emancipating his country, and enjoying for more than thirty years, the perpetual proſpect of a Commonwealth, reſcued from foreign ſervitude by his arms and counſels, was reſerved for Doria; who may be juſtly regarded as the moſt fortunate man of the age in which he lived [19].

1561—1563. New commotions in Corſica.

The commotions in Corſica, ſuſpended, but not extinguiſhed, broke out anew, ſhortly afterwards, and exhauſted the revenues of Genoa, in their ſuppreſſion. Alfonſo Ornano, a native of that iſland,

[19] Hiſt. de Genes, vol. ii. p. 211—213. L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 739.

equally

CHAP. X. 1561—1568.

equally diſtinguiſhed for his crimes and his hatred of the Genoeſe, commanded the inſurgents, and obtained many ſignal advantages. Even the aſſiſtance of a body of German and Spaniſh auxiliaries, furniſhed by Philip the Second, as protector of the Republic, was inſufficient to reduce a people, exaſperated by oppreſſion, and inured to every kind of hardſhip. The animoſity of the two nations, encreaſed by reciprocal injuries, roſe to a degree of fury; and ſtimulated each party to acts of barbarity, perfidy, and atrocity, unknown in the hiſtory of ordinary wars. Poiſon, aſſaſſination, and outrages of every ſort, were committed. Ornano fell by the treachery of his own ſervant, who betrayed him into an ambuſcade, where he was maſſacred; and, after ſeveral years, his ſon obtained honourable conditions from the Genoeſe commander. The Corſicans, abandoned by France, whoſe inteſtine diſſenſions, under Charles the Ninth, incapacitated the government, from interfering with vigour, ſubmitted to the tyranny of their antient maſters [20]. To this foreign war, ſucceeded domeſtic misfortunes. Notwithſtanding the endeavours, which the famous Doria had ſo ſucceſsfully exerted, to allay the feuds of the Commonwealth, they were too inveterate not to revive from a variety of cauſes. The jealouſies, ſubſiſting between the antient, and the new nobility, involved the State in confuſion, produced a temporary ſubverſion of all government, and compelled the two factions to have recourſe to the dangerous interference of foreign powers. Philip the Second offered his arbitration, and the emperor Maximilian the Second, his good offices, to terminate the diſputes; and the Court of Madrid again ineffectually urged the Genoeſe to permit the conſtruction of a citadel, garriſoned by Spaniards. The old nobility, meanwhile, overpowered by numbers, quitted the city. Each party took up arms, and mutual hoſtilities were commenced; nor was it till a year after the termination of the period under our review, that a final accommodation took place, which reſtored tranquillity to the Republic [21].

Submiſſion of the Corſicans. 1569—1574.

Internal animoſities between the nobility.

[20] Hiſt. de Genes, vol. ii p. 213—249.

[21] Mod. Univ. Hiſt. vol. xxviii. p. 482—500. Hiſt. de Genes, vol. ii. p. 254—302.

Such

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1574.

Such was the ſituation of Genoa, at this period of time. All thoſe valuable colonies and foreign poſſeſſions, in the Levant, and the Euxine, which had given the Commonwealth ſo great a luſtre, and enabled the Genoeſe to carry on ſo beneficial a trade for centuries, were loſt. Corſica, the only remaining province, deſolated by tyranny, and held by violence, produced neither revenue nor advantage, adequate to the expence of perpetually ſubjecting it by arms. The naval and military forces of the State were inadequate to its protection, and could not defend it againſt any powerful enemy, who might attempt its conqueſt. Philip the Second, whom they had choſen for their defender, might eaſily have become their maſter, and anxiouſly deſired to reduce Genoa to the ſame degree of ſubjection with Milan. Though the Senate and people had rejected the propoſal, made them by that monarch, for introducing Spaniſh troops, they were not leſs, in reality, become dependant upon the court of Madrid. Penſions, gratifications, and lands in the kingdom of Naples, which Philip beſtowed on the principal nobility, attached them inviolably to him; and Genoa might, without injuſtice, be regarded, if not among the provinces, yet as a dependancy of Spain. To theſe powerful bands of connection, was added another ſtill more coërcive; the vaſt ſums, borrowed by Charles and Philip, of the Genoeſe, and for which they received an enormous intereſt. The emperor, incenſed at the refuſal which his propoſition for conſtructing a citadel, met with from the Republic, had, in 1548, embraced a reſolution of never paying the capital; by which meaſure, the creditors, terrified at the proſpect of loſing their property, in caſe of a rupture with Spain, were held in perpetual dependance on that crown [22]. Philip purſued the ſame policy, and with great ſucceſs. He permitted the Genoeſe to carry on a lucrative commerce in ſilk, with his Neapolitan dominions, and to import grain from Sicily; beſides granting them permiſſion to trade with

State of Genoa, at this period.

Dependance on Spain.

Pecuniary connexions with that crown.

Loans made to Philip the Second.

[22] Hiſt. de Genes, vol. ii. p. 199.

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Milan, Antwerp, and his other poſſeſſions. Theſe privileges, revocable at pleaſure, when added to the ſums in which he ſtood indebted to the nobility, enabled him to threaten, and to exact obedience. To unite their intereſts indiſſolubly with thoſe of his own people, he mortgaged to them the domains of Naples, Sicily, and Milan, as a ſecurity for the money which he had borrowed [23]. In 1574, when he wiſhed to oblige the two factions to ſubmit to his deciſion, he not only refuſed to diſcharge the capital; but, he reduced the intereſt to five *per cent.* which had been previouſly at eleven, twelve, and, in ſome inſtances, as high as eighteen *per cent.* In the following year, he proceeded to much greater infractions of public faith, by withholding payment of the arrears of intereſt, and ordering a reviſion to be made of all accounts for the preceding fifteen years [24]. The old nobility, who were the principal creditors, would have been, in a great meaſure, reduced to poverty, by ſuch an inqueſt, and by the ſuſpenſion of their receipts. It may be eaſily conceived, how powerfully this engine muſt operate, in retaining the Genoeſe, and fettering their counſels. They were, in reality, notwithſtanding their apparent freedom, enſlaved to Spain.

Origin of the practice of funding.

The ſyſtem and practice of funding, unknown to the nations of antiquity, and by which a factitious circulation is produced, owes its firſt creation to the Genoeſe. As early as the year 1407, near three centuries before ſimilar national eſtabliſhments were formed in France and England, aroſe the celebrated "Society or Bank of St. George," at Genoa [25]. It is an object of the moſt liberal curioſity, to trace the outlines of its origin and progreſs, not only as it was, in ſome degree, the model of all thoſe which have ſucceſſively ariſen in Europe; but, as it powerfully evinces the extenſive commerce, and credit of the Republic, at that early period, when thoſe advantages were excluſively confined to the Italian ſtates. At the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Genoeſe, from the expence attending their wars, and

Bank of St. George.

Hiſtory of that inſtitution.

[23] Giannoné, vol. iv. p. 334. De Thou, vol. vii. p. 339, 340, and p. 347.
[24] Hiſt. de Genes, vol. ii. p. 286, and p. 299, and p. 33. [25] Ibid. vol. i. p. 322.

from

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from other cauſes, having contracted a conſiderable public debt, mortgaged the revenues to the perſons who had thus advanced money to the State. In 1407, the individuals were formed into a corporate body, and eight adminiſtrators, or directors, were appointed to regulate its concerns. The creditors themſelves choſe theſe; who were not only declared independant of the government; but, poſſeſſed a power of determining finally all matters relative to their conſtituents. The Doge and the Supreme Council of State, when they entered on the adminiſtration, took an oath, never to interfere with, or to violate the privileges of the Bank [26]. It became neceſſary in 1444, to add eight new directors, who conſtituted a ſeparate and diſtinct board from thoſe originally appointed; and a council was afterwards added, compoſed of one hundred proprietors, veſted with unlimited powers [27].

Fluctuations in the value of the ſtock.

The fluctuations in the value of the ſtock, appear to have been very conſiderable, and to have always borne an exact proportion to the proſperity, or misfortunes of the Commonwealth. In the firſt years after the inſtitution of the Bank, the troubles, which were excited by the Guelf and Ghibelline factions, greatly reduced its value: but, on the election of a Doge, acceptable to both parties, in 1415, and the reſtoration of a temporary calm, the ſtock, or ſhares, roſe forty-four *per cent.* [28] Previous to the capture of Conſtantinople by Mahomet the Second, the Republic reſigned to the Bank the iſland of Corſica, as a ſecurity for their property; and when, in the year 1453, that conqueror made himſelf maſter of Pera, the ſhock, given to their commerce and credit, was ſo great, as to induce them to make over to the body of creditors, the city of Caffa, and every other colony or poſſeſſion in the Black Sea [29]. The calamities, foreign and domeſtic, were ſuch at this period, that the ſhares fell ſixty-ſeven *per cent.* before the year 1464 [30]. But, when Francis Sforza, duke of Milan, became ſo-

[26] Folietta Hiſt. Gener. liv. ix.
[27] Hiſt. de Genes, vol. ii. p. 8.
[28] Mod. Univ. Hiſt. vol. xxviii. p. 428.
[29] Mod. Univ. Hiſt. p. 439. Hiſt. de Genes, vol. ii. p. 12, 13.
[30] Mod. Univ. Hiſt. vol. xxviii. p. 442.

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vereign of Genoa, the wiſdom and vigour of his government ſoon revived its credit. Such was the confidence, excited by theſe qualities, that the Bank of St. George voluntarily reſigned to him, in 1465, the ſovereignty of Corſica: he, notwithſtanding, declined its acceptance, and immediately reſtored it to that body [31].

Under his ſon, Galeazzo, Caffa was loſt, the Genoeſe commerce ſuffered ſevere depredations, and the State was again rent by civil war and commotion: but, in 1488, Louis Sforza having made himſelf maſter of the Republic, credit revived under his adminiſtration, and the ſhares in the Bank roſe proportionally in value [32]. It is matter of equal admiration and attention, that, during all the revolutions, conſpiracies, and political convulſions, with which Genoa was affected, no prince ever attempted to violate the privileges enjoyed by the Bank, or to invade the public credit, inſeparably connected with that inſtitution. In 1508, when Louis the Twelfth, king of France, entered Genoa as a conqueror, cauſed the records and archives of the Commonwealth to be burnt, and conſtructed a citadel at the expence of the vanquiſhed citizens; he cauſed a ſolemn declaration to be regiſtered, importing, that the ſociety of St. George ſhould remain in the poſſeſſion of all its antient rights and prerogatives. To this inviolability, was owing its permanent credit, which, though continually ſhaken, as conſtantly revived [33].

Inviolability of the Bank.

After the middle of the fifteenth century, ſome of the moſt eſſential and important functions of the ſovereign power, were devolved on, and executed by the Bank; nor is it eaſy, in many caſes, to diſcriminate its acts and authority, from thoſe of the State itſelf. In 1484, that ſociety received the city of Sarzana in depoſit, and immediately ſent a garriſon thither [34]. When Corſica revolted, in 1497, they diſpatched forces to reduce the iſland to ſubjection, and named the general, to whom the expedition was entruſted [35]. At the peace

Political power, enjoyed and exerciſed by the Bank.

[31] Hiſt. de Genes, vol. ii. p. 36.

[32] Hiſt. de Genes, vol. ii. p. 38. Mod. Univ. Hiſt. vol. xxviii. p. 447.

[33] Hiſt. de Genes, vol. ii. p. 109, 110.

[34] Mod. Univ. Hiſt. vol. xxviii. p. 445.

[35] Hiſt. de Genes, vol. ii. p. 88, 89.

of

of Cateau, in 1559, Henry the Second, king of France, reſtored his Corſican conqueſts, not to the Republic, but to the ſociety of St. George[36]. In like manner, when the inſurrection began anew in that iſland, in 1563, the ſame company proſecuted the war to its concluſion; and the oath of ſubmiſſion, taken by the rebel chiefs, when they laid down their arms, and returned to their allegiance in 1568, was tendered by, and received in the name of the Bank[37]. It continued long afterwards in the enjoyment and poſſeſſion of all theſe powers. CHAP. X. 1574.

To encreaſe the ſingularity of the inſtitution, its adminiſtration was as permanent and unchangeable, as that of the Republic was agitated, mutable, and fluctuating. No alterations ever took place in its mode of regulation and government. Two ſovereign and independant powers were ſeen, within the walls of the ſame city, without their producing any ſort of diſcord, or ſhock[38]. It has, however, been matter of enquiry and diſcuſſion, whether, notwithſtanding the advantages which Genoa derived from ſo vaſt a ſource of public credit, the eſtabliſhment did not accelerate the decline of the State. This queſtion is one, which, depending upon principles of finance, it is difficult to reſolve; but, the facility which the Bank lent to many operations of commerce, and the ſecurity which it held out to thoſe who had veſted in it their property, unqueſtionably tended to give a conſideration to the Republic, after the loſs of her colonies, and diminution of her trade. The preſent digreſſion will not, perhaps, appear long or unintereſting, when it is conſidered that almoſt all the nations of Europe have ſince imitated the model, exhibited to them by the Genoeſe; and that the grandeur of thoſe ſtates is inſeparably connected with the maintenance of an artificial circulation, and of the faith, pledged to the public creditors.

Permanency of its adminiſtration.

Conſiderations on the inſtitution.

[36] Hiſt. de Genes, vol. ii. p. 210, 211.
[37] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 214, and p. 248.
[38] Foletta, Hiſt. Gen. liv. ix. Ann. 1407.

CHAP. XI.

FERRARA.

History of Ferrara during the sixteenth century.—State of the duchy in 1574.—Protection accorded to letters.—State of Mantua in 1574.—Establishment of the Family of Farnese, in Parma and Placentia.

CHAP. XI.

History of Ferrara, in the sixteenth century.

AFTER Genoa, Ferrara may be accounted the most powerful among the minor states of Italy, at the period which we are reviewing. It then comprehended under one head, the dependant duchies of Modena and Reggio; but, Ferrara was a papal fief, held of the holy see; and the two latter were Imperial fiefs, which the emperor, Frederic the Third, raised to the rank of duchies, in 1452[1]. Paul the Second, who occupied the chair of St. Peter, in 1471, conferred the same title upon Ferrara[2]. During the fierce and obstinate wars, which took place in the beginning of the sixteenth century, between France and Spain, relative to the possession of Milan, the dukes of Ferrara were necessarily involved, and compelled to take a decided part. Alfonso the First, who succeeded to the government at that period, was a prince of valour and capacity; and in the course of a reign of considerable duration, he evinced, under many reverses, an invincible constancy. His inveterate enemies, the popes, were constantly attentive, to find a favourable occasion of re-uniting Ferrara to the patrimony of the church; and in the prosecution of the attempt, they spared neither violence, perfidy, nor excommunications[3]. Francis the First, king of France, whose anxiety to retain, or recover the Milanese, rendered him sensible to every circumstance by which it might

Alfonso the First. 1505.

[1] L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 698. [2] Idem, ibid. [3] Ibid. p. 698, 699.

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be facilitated, endeavoured to attach to his intereſts, by ſtrong ties, the dukes of Ferrara. He, therefore, conferred on Hercules, ſon to Alfonſo, the princeſs Renëe, daughter of Louis the Twelfth, his own predeceſſor, in marriage. That prince, after his acceſſion, evinced his unſhaken adherence to the French crown and nation, throughout his whole life, and was regarded as their chief ſupport and ally beyond the Alps. It would be difficult to adduce a ſtronger proof of his devotion, than his acceding to the league, formed by Henry the Second, and the Caraffas, for the conqueſt of Naples. The entreaties of Henry, and the menaces of Paul the Fourth, induced him, reluctantly, to embark in ſo unjuſt, ill-concerted, and unfortunate an enterprize. Philip the Second, granted him, nevertheleſs, honorable conditions of peace, by the mediation of Coſmo, grand duke of Tuſcany[4]. He was ſucceeded by his ſon, Alfonſo the Second; whoſe near affinity with the kings of France, and the employments, or honours, which they conferred on him, retained him in the ſame political connections. He occupied the ducal throne, in 1574.

1505—1534. Hercules the Second.

1535—1558.

1559—1574.

The united territories of Ferrara, Modena, and Reggio, formed a conſiderable tract of Lombardy, extending from the ſhore of the Adriatic, and the mouths of the river Po, to the frontiers of Tuſcany, and the Republic of Lucca. The revenues were ample; and rendered more ſo, by the ſalt works of Comacchio, which ſupplied many parts of Italy with that important article. On ſeveral occaſions, the dukes of Ferrara brought into the field, numerous bodies of troops; and their ſituation, between hoſtile and contending powers, involved them in continual war during the courſe of the ſixteenth century. The court of Ferrara was one of the moſt poliſhed and magnificent of Italy, under the princes of the houſe of Eſté; and they were peculiarly diſtinguiſhed for their love of letters, and protection of genius. Borzo d'Eſté, before the year 1470, eſta-

1574. Territories of Ferrara.

Forces.

Arts.

[4] Galluzzi, vol. ii. p. 315—323. L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 699, 700.

bliſhed

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bliſhed in his capital the art of printing, by inviting and retaining in his ſervice, Andreas Gallus, who exerciſed that profeſſion [5]. Arioſto, whoſe "Orlando Furioſo" may rank among the fineſt productions of poetic genius, reſided and died at Ferrara, under the reign of Alfonſo the Firſt, by whom, and his brother, the cardinal Hyppolito, he was beloved and cheriſhed. He was employed in various negotiations, and made by the duke, governor of Graffignana. Not content with the care of his fortune, Alfonſo gave him the moſt flattering teſtimonies of admiration for his talents. Such was the enthuſiaſm which they excited, that the comedies of Arioſto were performed on a ſplendid theatre, conſtructed for the purpoſe, in the hall of the ducal palace at Ferrara, and the reſpective parts were filled by perſons of the higheſt quality [6]. Renée of France, wife to Hercules the Second, was the protectreſs of merit and learning. She poſſeſſed an elevated mind, cultivated by all the knowledge of the age in which ſhe lived; and her liberality of diſpoſition attracted to the court of her huſband, ſtrangers of eminence, from all parts of Italy [7]. The ſame taſte for ſcience, equal munificence, and endowments of every kind, characteriſed her ſon, Alfonſo the Second, who, in 1565, invited to his court, the celebrated Torquato Taſſo. That poet enjoyed for many years the diſtinguiſhed favour and regard of the duke, and of his brother, Louis, cardinal of Eſté; though reaſons, not clearly aſcertained by hiſtorians, induced Alfonſo afterwards to confine, and even to treat him with rigour [8].

1574. Arioſto.

Taſſo.

Beauty of the city of Ferrara.

The city of Ferrara, under the reign of Alfonſo, was inferior in beauty and elegance, only to the great capitals of Italy, and was adorned with ſtately edifices, ſtatues, and fountains. Sculpture and painting, protected by the duke, embelliſhed his palaces, which afforded an aſylum to the moſt eminent artiſts. The country was populous, induſtrious, and flouriſhing. But, all theſe advantages ceaſed

[5] L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 698.
[6] Biograph. Diction. vol. i. p. 306, 307.
[7] L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 699, 700.
[8] Biograph. Diction. Article Taſſo, vol. xii.

with

with his life, before the close of the sixteenth century, when Ferrara was seized on by the popes, and was sunk in the ecclesiastical state. CHAP. XI. 1574.

MANTUA.

THE house of Gonzaga reigned at Mantua in the sixteenth century, and had been in possession of that country, since the year 1328. Sigismond, emperor of Germany, conferred on them the title of marquis, in 1433; and Charles the Fifth, in 1530, raised them to the ducal dignity[9]. The Mantuan was far inferior in extent to the dominions of Ferrara; and its sovereigns were not ashamed to accept the command of the papal or Venetian armies. Louis the Third, who flourished towards the middle of the fifteenth century, derived a considerable part of his revenues, from the sale of his troops to the Italian powers, his neighbours[10]. Yet, Mantua, in 1574, was a superb capital, containing near fifty thousand inhabitants, and adorned with monasteries and religious edifices, of singular beauty. The palace of its dukes is described, as containing five hundred apartments, in which luxury and magnificence had exhausted their efforts[11]. None of the capitals beyond the Alps could boast of similar edifices, at that period. The Thuilleries at Paris, and the Escurial, near Madrid, were not yet finished; and the arts of painting, sculpture, and architecture were only to be found in Italy, at their summit of perfection. The dukes of Mantua, like those of Ferrara, protected letters. Balthazar Castiglioné, a man of the finest genius whom Italy has produced, flourished in the beginning of the sixteenth century, and was employed by Frederic the Second, duke of Mantua, in the most difficult affairs. We may judge of the enthusiastic veneration, in which Virgil was held, by the construction of a palace, called "Virgiliana,"

1500—1574. History of Mantua.

Magnificence of the capital.

Fine Arts.

Castiglioné.

[9] L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 664, and p. 665, and p. 668.

[10] Ibid. p. 666.

[11] Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. xxxvii. p. 463, 464. Etat de Mantoue, p. 273, 274.

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1500—1574.

in order to commemorate the ſpot, which is ſuppoſed to have given birth to the Roman poet, in the vicinity of Mantua [12]. William the Third occupied the ducal dignity, in 1574. The marquiſate of Montferrat, now a part of the dominions of Savoy, was then ſubject to the dukes of Mantua, and gave them no inconſiderable influence in Lombardy, at a period when that country was almoſt perpetually the ſcene of hoſtilities [13].

PARMA and PLACENTIA.

1521—1544. Hiſtory of Parma.

THE two duchies of Parma and Placentia, after having undergone many revolutions, were conquered by Leo the Tenth, from Francis the Firſt, king of France, and incorporated into the patrimony of the church [14]. The ambition of one of his ſucceſſors in the papal ſee, Paul the Third, diſmembered them again, and conferred them on his ſon, Peter Louis Farneſe. That prince, who is juſtly ſaid to have had all the vices of Cæſar Borgia, without poſſeſſing his talents, abandoned himſelf, in his new ſovereignty, to every exceſs of unbridled licentiouſneſs, and to all the crimes which rapacity, ſupported by power, could perpetrate. His reign was ſhort, and it was terminated by a conſpiracy, which his enormities had occaſioned. Several noblemen, ſecretly ſupported by Ferdinand Gonzaga, governor of the Milaneſe, aſſaſſinated him in his own palace at Placentia; and every indignity, which an enraged populace could inflict, was exerciſed on his dead body [15]. The Imperial troops immediately took poſſeſſion of the city and citadel of Placentia, in the name of Charles the Fifth; who refuſed to releaſe them to Octavio, ſon of the late duke, though that young prince had married his natural daughter, Margaret, widow of Alexander of Medecis. Paul the Third, at the ſame time, deprived him of Parma, which he re-united

Elevation of the family of Farneſe to the duchy. 1545.

1547.

1548.

[12] Mod. Univ. Hiſt. vol. xxxvii. p. 464. Etat de Mantoue, p. 276.
[13] L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 640.
[14] Onuphr. Panvin. p. 48.
[15] Gallizzi, vol. i. p. 164, 165. Etat de Parme. p. 391—398.

to

to the eccleſiaſtical dominions; but, at his death, ſoon afterwards, Julius the Third, his ſucceſſor, reſtored the place and its territory to Octavio. By the aſſiſtance of Henry the Second, king of France, whoſe protection he ſought and obtained, Parma was preſerved from the fate of Placentia; but, Octavio, ſenſible that he could neither maintain himſelf in the former, nor regain the latter city, without the friendſhip of the houſe of Auſtria, threw himſelf on the generoſity of Philip the Second, who, by the abdication of his father, was lately become maſter of Placentia. That monarch, who loved and eſteemed the ducheſs of Parma, his ſiſter, ſo far granted Octavio's requeſt, as to reinſtate him in the city; but, he withheld the citadel, and garriſoned it with Spaniſh troops, which he even compelled the duke to maintain [16]. Such was the ſituation of theſe duchies in 1574. They were totally dependant on Spain; and Alexander, prince of Parma, ſo renowned in hiſtory for his military capacity and virtues, was educated under the eye of Philip, with his own ſon, Don Carlos. He had been ſent to the court of Madrid, as a pledge and a hoſtage for his father. Octavio's fidelity; and the important ſervices which he rendered to the Spaniſh crown, ultimately procured his complete emancipation, and that of his poſterity, from the ignominious ſervitude in which they were held by the troops of Philip the Second [17].

State of Parma in 1574.

Of Milan, which, ſince the extinction of the family of Sforza, in 1536, had become a province of the Spaniſh monarchy, it is unneceſſary to ſay any thing, as its hiſtory is loſt in that of Spain. The Milaneſe was adminiſtered by governors, ſent from Madrid. Sicily and Sardinia were in the ſame ſituation, during the ſixteenth century. Still leſs can it be of importance to enumerate, or to enter into any detail, upon the minor principalities and republics of Italy. They neither influenced the fate of Europe, nor merit hiſtorical attention.

Milan.

[16] L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 657, 658. [17] Leti. Hiſt. de Phil. II. vol. ii. p. 267.

CHAP. XI.

1549—1574. General picture of Italy.

On a review of the ſituation of this beautiful country in 1574, we ſhall perceive that the predominant power was that of Spain; which, by the abſolute poſſeſſion of Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, the Milaneſe, and the Tuſcan garriſons, added to its aſcendancy in Genoa and Parma, reduced the remainder of Italy, to a ſpecies of ſervitude. We ſhall obſerve, that Venice and the papal ſee were on the decline; that Savoy and Tuſcany, well adminiſtered, retained their independance in a certain degree, though they looked to Philip the Second, as their ally and protector againſt France; and that the other ſtates were of no conſideration in the great ſcale of European politics.

CHAP. XII.

SWITZERLAND.

Review of the Swiſs hiſtory, from the æra of their revolt, under Albert the Firſt.—Ineffectual efforts of the Auſtrian princes to ſubject Switzerland.—Defeat of Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy.—Participation of the Swiſſers in the wars of France and Italy.—Battle of Marignan.—Stipendiary treaties with the crown of France.—State of the Helvetic confederacy, in 1574.—Introduction of letters.—Simplicity of manners.—Tolerance.—Police.—Manners.—Military force, ſkill, and diſcipline.—Weapons, offenſive, and defenſive.

CHAP. XII.

1300. Origin of the Swiſs Republic.

THE hiſtory of that revolution which produced the independance of the thirteen cantons, is one of the moſt memorable and important leſſons, ever given by mankind to tyrants. The freedom, enjoyed during ſeveral centuries by the Helvetic confederacy, and which renders that body ſo reſpectable, originated among the pooreſt inhabitants of the deſolate tracts of the Alps, in the midſt of ſnows and precipices. That the Italian cities, rich, flouriſhing, and commercial, ſhould either purchaſe an exemption from the indefinite ſupremacy of the German emperors, or ſhould expel their own domeſtic oppreſſors, excites little ſurprize. But, the peaſants of Uri, Schwitz, and Underwald, deſtitute of allies, and incapable from their poverty, of buying protection, oppoſed and vanquiſhed their ſovereigns, although ſupported by numerous forces, and frequently armed with the terrors of the Imperial power. The emperor, Albert the Firſt, ſon to Rodolphus of Hapſbourg, who founded the greatneſs of the houſe of Auſtria; a prince of a cruel, rapacious, and unjuſt

Revolt of the three Cantons from Albert the Firſt.

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1300. juſt diſpoſition, by his repeated and wanton acts of violence, alienated the affections of a people, ſlow to reſent; and who, in defiance of inſults and injuries, long abſtained from any attempts at reſiſtance. Even though we ſhould ſuppoſe, with ſome modern hiſtorians, that the infancy of the Swiſs liberty, has, like that of Greece, been disfigured, or embelliſhed, by a mixture of fable; yet proofs innumerable, and inconteſtible, will ſtill remain, of the inſolent abuſe of authority, in the Auſtrian governors. Towards the cloſe of the thirteenth century, theſe outrages became ſo inſupportable, as to excite univerſal indignation; and after patiently enduring, or humbly remonſtrating for ſeveral years; the inhabitants of three mountainous cantons, Uri, Schwitz, and Underwald, took up arms.

1307. Their enterpriſe, was crowned with complete ſucceſs. The Auſ-

Aſſaſſination of Albert. trians were every where expelled; and the emperor Albert, who, incenſed at their revolt, prepared to inflict on them an exemplary puniſhment, having been aſſaſſinated in the following year, by his own nephew, at the paſſage of the river Ruſs, not far from Zurich, the inſurgents derived from this event, a ſhort and precarious reſpite [a].

Leopold, duke of Auſtria, who ſucceeded to his father's claims, prepared to aſſert them, at the head of a great military force; and rejecting the entreaties of the three cantons, who offered to refer the diſpute to arbitration, he determined to reduce them to implicit obedience. In this deſperate condition, thirteen hundred men, to which number their united ſtrength amounted, having aſſembled, embraced the generous reſolution of periſhing, or ſecuring their freedom. It is a fact, tranſmitted to us by hiſtory, and too memorable to be paſſed over in ſilence, that this little troop refuſed to admit into their body, about fifty exiles of the canton of Schwitz; who having fled to the moſt inacceſſible faſtneſſes, implored permiſſion of their countrymen, to be allowed to die in defence of their common liberty.

[a] Simler. Hiſt. de la Repub. des Suiſſes, a Paris, en 1578, p. 8—41. Abregé de l'Hiſt. de Suiſſe, par Plantin, a Geneve, 1666, p. 133—136.

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Nor ought it to be omitted, that theſe exiles, thus denied the honourable privilege of mixing with their virtuous fellow-citizens, and driven out by them, were yet incapable of betraying the cauſe of freedom. They even contributed, in an eminent degree, to the victory, obtained at Morgarten, by ſeizing on an eminence, overhanging the valley through which the Auſtrians paſſed; from whence they rolled down ſtones, threw the army into confuſion, and facilitated the defeat that followed. Leopold himſelf fled: above fifteen hundred cavalry, beſides a greater number of foot, periſhed in the action; and the three cantons, who had hitherto only aſſociated together for the term of ten years, immediately changed their temporary league, into a perpetual alliance[2]. Supported by their courage, and deſtitute of every external aid, they continued to oppoſe an invincible barrier to the numerous attempts of the houſe of Auſtria; and their infant confederacy was ſoon afterwards ſtrengthened and augmented by the acceſſion of Lucern.

1307. Battle of Morgarten. 1315. 1332.

To this city, after an interval of near twenty years, ſucceeded Zurich, one of the moſt opulent and commercial places in Switzerland. Zug, and Glaris, conquered by their joint forces, were next received into the union; which was rendered more formidable from the junction of Bern. Theſe eight, diſtinguiſhed by the title of "the antient Cantons," remained during near a hundred and twenty-five years, before they admitted any new aſſociates; and in that period of time, they ſuſtained and repelled the rudeſt aſſaults[3]. Every weapon, which reſentment and diſappointed ambition could arm againſt them, was uſed by the deſcendants of Albert and Leopold. It will not be regarded as among the leaſt injurious, that they were repeatedly excommunicated by popes, and biſhops of Conſtance, the allies of their enemies. To weak, and ſuperſtitious minds, in a dark

Union of the eight antient cantons. Efforts of the Auſtrian princes, to ſubject the Swiſs. 1350.

[2] Simler. p. 47—51, and p. 53—57. Plantin. p. 139—144.
[3] Simler. p. 61—158. paſſim. Plantin. p. 161—167.

and

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1350.

and bigotted age, ſuch anathemas were matter of pious terror and conſternation, in an extreme degree. The cantons addreſſed the moſt urgent ſupplications to the emperor Louis the Fifth, beſeeching his interpoſition with the ſovereign pontiffs, to obtain their releaſe from a ſtate of reprobation. Nor can their anxiety appear either ridiculous or extraordinary, when we reflect, that, during its continuance, all the ceremonies and exerciſes of religion were completely ſuſpended. The prieſts, and monaſtic orders quitted the city, and territory, on which the papal interdict fell, as if driven from thence, by a peſtilential malady; and they even refuſed to adminiſter to the dying, any of the ſacraments of the Romiſh church. We can ſcarcely believe, that Zurich remained near eighteen years, in this deſerted ſtate, from 1332, to 1350; and that, of all the regular, or ſecular clergy, only the Cordeliers, of the order of St. Francis, continued to reſide in the city [4].

Excommunications.

Conſpiracies. 1351—1385.

Conſpiracies, and even attempts to compel ſubmiſſion, by prohibiting the ſupplies of proviſions, of which their ſterile and contracted territory rendered them in perpetual want, having proved ineffectual; Leopold the Second, duke of Auſtria, uninſtructed by the fate of his anceſtors, renewed his attack upon the cantons. At the memorable action of Sempach, he periſhed, together with more than ſix hundred gentlemen, and almoſt half his army, conſiſting of four thouſand men. The victory was obtained with the loſs of ſcarcely more than two hundred [5]. The battle of Naefels, in the canton of Glaris, fought two years afterwards, is leſs celebrated; though the diſparity of forces was far greater, and the event equally glorious to the Swiſs [6]. Such repeated proofs of intrepidity and conſtancy, at length ſecured their repoſe. A truce of fifty years was made between them and the Auſtrian princes, who did not venture to repeat their attacks before the fifteenth century. During that interval, the cantons, far

1386. Battle of Sempach.

1388.

Truce.

[4] Simler. p. 84, 85.

[5] Ibid. p. 135, 136. L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 591. Plantin. p. 176—181.

[6] Simler. p. 137, 138. Plantin. p. 182—184.

from

from relaxing in vigilance, were attentive to carry their military diſcipline to the higheſt point of excellence; and they ſucceeded in the endeavour, beyond any European nation of the age. 1388.

Louis the Eleventh, before his acceſſion to the throne of France, when commanding the troops of Charles the Seventh, his father, received the moſt inconteſtible proof of their hardy virtue and contempt of death. A detachment of only ſixteen hundred Switzers, marched to meet, and engage his army near Baſil, which was thirty thouſand ſtrong. They periſhed in the attempt, which partook of temerity; but, they left five times their number of the enemy's troops, on the field of battle. Penetrated with equal reſpect and admiration for ſuch a people, Louis not only deſiſted from the further proſecution of hoſtilities, and led back his forces; but, he determined to conciliate their affection, as one of the beſt ſupports of his own power. Twelve Switzers are ſaid to have ſurvived the ſlaughter of their fellow-ſoldiers before Baſil; and theſe were noted with infamy, by their countrymen. In the peruſal of their early hiſtory, we are perpetually reminded of the Spartans; and we trace the ſame heroic ſacrifice of their lives for the ſafety of their country, which has immortalized Leonidas, and his three hundred followers [7]. 1444. War with France. Heroiſm of the Swiſs.

The reputation and renown, acquired by ſo many acts of proweſs, were ſtill heightened, during the war, which Charles the Bold, laſt duke of Burgundy, imprudently undertook againſt the allied cantons. They deprecated his reſentment, and endeavoured, by expoſtulation, as well as entreaty, to induce him to deſiſt from his unjuſt enterprize. But, that prince, intoxicated with the idea of his own greatneſs, perſiſted, even after his firſt defeat, at Granſon. A ſecond, and more ſignal victory, gained by the Swiſs, at Morat, near Bern, in which, it is aſſerted, that near eighteen thouſand Burgundians periſhed, broke the power of their invader, and prepared the final ruin of his houſe, which 1474—1476. War with Charles the Bold.

[7] Simler. p. 140, 141. L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 594, 595. Plantin. p. 203—208. Hondorf. Theatrum Hiſtoria, p. 453.

 ſhortly

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1474—1476. shortly followed. The bones of the ſlaughtered ſoldiers, collected together, and preſerved by the conquerors, long preſented the moſt eloquent leſſon to unjuſt ambition, and the rage of conqueſt [8].

1477—1481. Internal diſſenſions. Some diſſenſions, which aroſe among the Cantons, at this period, relative to the diſtribution of the ſpoil, taken from Charles the Bold, had nearly proved fatal to their union, and involved them in a civil war; but, by the intervention of a patriot hermit, named Nicholas d'Underwald, who quitted his retreat, in order to appeaſe the diſputes of his countrymen, they were amicably terminated. Friburg and Soleure, two cities, which had long been partially united by treaty with ſome of the members of the Helvetic confederacy, were incorporated into the general league, which encreaſed to ten the number of Cantons [9].

1482—1498. War renewed with the houſe of Auſtria. Powerful as they were now become, and juſtly dreaded by every ſurrounding power, yet, the houſe of Auſtria, unwilling to relinquiſh their antient claims of ſupremacy, did not totally deſiſt from endeavours to ſubject Switzerland, before the concluſion of the fifteenth century. The emperor, Frederic the Third, heir to the poſſeſſions and pretenſions of his anceſtors, during a long reign of more than fifty years, never loſt ſight of the object. Unable, from his poverty and weakneſs, to attack them in perſon, his intrigues had produced, or fomented the invaſions, undertaken by France and Burgundy. Maximilian the Firſt, his ſon, commenced that, denominated the Swabian

1499. war, which only confirmed the independence, that it was intended to ſubvert. He was repeatedly defeated, and compelled formally to renounce his title to the territories, conquered from his family [10].

1500. The Switzers become ſtipendiaries. This unſucceſsful attempt of Maximilian, may be eſteemed the laſt effort to ſhake the liberties of the Switzers; who, after near two centuries of avowed, or concealed hoſtility, on the part of their antient maſters, remained in the undiſturbed enjoyment of their well-earned

[8] L'Art de Verif. vol. ii. p. 523. Simler. p. 143—147. Plantin. p. 224—228. Memoires de Comines, liv. vii.

[9] Simler. p. 149, 150, and p. 163—170. Plantin. p. 254.

[10] Annales de l'Empire, par Voltaire, p. 373. Simler. p. 172—174. Plantin. p. 268—274.

freedom,

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freedom. We are, from this period, to view them in another, and, in some respects, a less pleasing point of view; as stipendiaries, entering into the service of foreign princes or powers, and occasionally sustaining, or attacking the French, the Papal, and the Venetian interests. Even the Austrian princes, and Maximilian himself, so lately their enemy, availed himself of their assistance. The same intrepidity and martial spirit accompanied them beyond the Alps, which they had displayed in the defence of their own invaded rights; and so high was the esteem, entertained for their valour and discipline, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, that every sovereign was anxious to secure their friendship. Basil, and Schaffhousen, which were admitted soon afterwards into the union; and Appenzel, which obtained the same privilege twelve years later, completed the number of thirteen Cantons; beyond which the confederacy has never extended [11]. The Grisons, who inhabited the Rhætian Alps, and whose character for patriotism had been established by the same severe trials, to which the Switzers were subjected, connected themselves likewise with the Helvetic body, in 1498, by the closest ties of alliance; though they still continued to remain a distinct political state, and were never entirely incorporated into the Swiss Republic [12].

1500. The Helvetic confederacy is augmented. 1501. 1513.

Previous to this æra, and almost immediately after the close of the Burgundian war, in 1479, and the following year, the Switzers were already active in the concerns of France and Italy. Louis the Eleventh, who, by artfully inflaming the quarrel between the Cantons and Charles the Bold, had rendered them subservient to his vindictive policy, omitted no means to attach them closely to his interests. He found that money was one of the most effectual. Repeated treaties, in which reciprocal immunities and exemptions were stipulated, but which were cemented by gold, connected the two countries. The Cantons, in 1480, sent him a military aid; and, under his son, Charles the Eighth, their soldiers fought, as auxiliaries, in the battle of St. Aubin,

Treaties between France and the Cantons.

[11] Simler. p. 177—188, and p. 195—199. Plantin. p. 278, and p. 294.
[12] Ibid. p. 218—224. L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 596, 597. Plantin. p. 267, 268.

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which determined the fate of Bretagne; as well as in that of Fornoua, in the year 1495, which ſecured the ſafe retreat of Charles from Italy, after his Neapolitan expedition. The ſurvivors of the latter of thoſe enterprizes, on their return home, firſt introduced among their countrymen, the fatal diſtemper, ſaid to have been brought by Columbus from the New World, and which they contracted during their ſtay at Naples [13].

Surrender of Louis Sforza.

One of the moſt diſgraceful circumſtances in the annals of Switzerland, is the ſurrender of Louis Sforza, duke of Milan. That unfortunate prince, beſieged in the city of Novarra, by the forces of France, and repoſing on the valour and adherence of five thouſand Switzers, experienced a treatment unworthy their national character. He was not only abandoned, but betrayed. Having, in order to effect his eſcape, aſſumed a military diſguiſe, and mixed in the ranks of his auxiliary friends, a private ſoldier diſcovered, and delivered him up to Louis the Twelfth. A captivity, which only terminated with his life, was the conſequence: but an indelible ſtain attached to the act; and ſo ſenſible were the Cantons to the infamy incurred by it, that they endeavoured to expiate the guilt, by inflicting on the individual who had diſhonoured them, a public and ignominious death [14]. They gloriouſly repaired their crime, ſome years afterwards, on the ſame ſpot; as if determined to efface its remembrance, by rendering to Maximilian, ſon and ſucceſſor of Louis Sforza, the moſt important ſervices. It is rarely, that in the hiſtory of nations, we find the fault and the atonement ſo cloſely united.

1513—1514. Battle of Novarra.

Louis the Twelfth, during the courſe of his reign, had derived from the Switzers, the ſame aſſiſtance, as his predeceſſors; but an injudicious parſimony, joined to ſome mortifying inſults, on the part of the king of France, converted their attachment into an inveterate enmity. Determined on revenge, they flocked to their ſtandards with ſuch eagerneſs, that they ſolely demanded, without receiving any pay,

[13] Simler. p. 147, 148, and p. 170, 171, and p. 188, 189. Hottinger. p. 416. Plantin. p. 265.
[14] Simler. p. 174, 175.

to

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1513, 1514.

to be led againſt the French, who were occupied in the ſiege of Novarra. Maximilian Sforza, with four thouſand Switzers, had retreated to that city, and could not long maintain himſelf againſt the aſſailants. Only eight thouſand men, deſtitute of cavalry, magazines, or artillery, and unſupported by any aid, except their own enthuſiaſm, having formed a junction with their countrymen, ventured to attack the mareſchal Trivulſio in an entrenched camp, fortified with twenty-two pieces of cannon. Their battalions, though repeatedly ſwept away by the diſcharge of the French artillery, advanced in order, leapt the trenches, and fell upon the enemy with an impetuoſity, that rendered all reſiſtance ineffectual. The victory was complete; and was followed by the reſtitution of the Milaneſe to Maximilian, of which their defection had deprived his father. Even the Italian writers of the ſixteenth century, though little diſpoſed to magnify, or exaggerate the Swiſs exploits, have ventured to compare the battle of Novarra, with the moſt ſublime actions of antiquity. Not content with having inflicted on Louis the Twelfth this exemplary chaſtiſement, they entered the province of Burgundy, laid ſiege to Dijon, the capital, and could ſcarcely be induced, by the promiſe of an ample indemnification, to withdraw from before the city, and to evacuate the kingdom [15].

Victory of the Switzers.

1515.

At the acceſſion of Francis the Firſt, to the crown of France, that prince exerted every endeavour to mollify their reſentment; and to obtain, if not their aſſiſtance, at leaſt, their neutrality, during his invaſion of the Milaneſe. But, the Cantons, irritated at the infraction of the articles, which had been agreed on with his predeceſſor, and ſtimulated by the ſuggeſtions of the celebrated Schiener, biſhop of Sion, in the Valais, rejected the offers of the king, at the moment when the conditions were on the point of adjuſtment. The memorable battle of Marignano enſued. After near two days of obſtinate conflict, the Switzers, rather worſted than vanquiſhed, ſullenly and ſlowly retreated. But, their retreat bore no reſemblance to flight: they

Battle of Marignano.

[15] Simler. p. 191—193. L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 595. Machiavel. liv. ii. chap. xvii. Guicciardini, liv. xi. Plantin. p. 290—293.

placed

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placed their wounded in the center of the army, marched in complete order, back to Milan; and even, in this ſituation, impreſſed with ſo much reſpect, the French forces, though victorious, that not the ſlighteſt attempt was made to impede or purſue them [16]. Francis, charmed with their valour, and penetrated with a ſenſe of their political importance, judged it expedient to ſecure their future friendſhip, at almoſt any price. He ſucceeded in his object, and concluded with the Republic two ſucceſſive treaties, by which he rendered their troops ſubſervient to all his projects of ambition. It ought not, however, to be omitted, that only twelve of the thirteen Cantons could ever be induced to ſign a compact of ſo binding a nature; and which, in ſome meaſure, compelled them to enter into every war, however unjuſt, in which the French monarchy might be eventually involved. Zurich, alienated by the inflammatory harangues of the cardinal biſhop of Sion; and ſtill more ſenſible to the exhortations of the famous Zuinglius, who introduced the reformation into his native country, and who forcibly depictured the immorality of adopting all the political reſentments of a foreign power; pertinaciouſly refuſed to be included in the alliance, or to partake of the French largeſſes [17]. Great, and deciſive privileges were accorded to Francis, by the ſecond treaty. He was authorized, at his pleaſure, to levy in Switzerland, from ſix thouſand, to ſixteen thouſand men, and to name all the ſuperior officers. This body of troops was to be entirely at his devotion, and to act againſt any ſtate or power, indifferently. In return for ſuch conceſſions, which ſecured him a military force ever ready to march, he manifeſted his liberality to the Helvetic union; and beſides the immediate payment of a large ſum, to the league collectively, he ſtipulated an annual donation in future to each ſeparate Canton [18].

1515.

1521. Treaty with the French crown.

Privileges, accorded to Francis the Firſt.

1549. New treaties with the French kings.

On the deceaſe of Francis the Firſt, his ſon Henry the Second renewed, and even more cloſely cemented the alliance; but Bern, as well as Zurich, declined to be comprehended; eſteeming the

[16] Simler. p. 202—206. Guicciardini. liv. xii. Paul Jovius. liv. xv. Plantin. p. 295—300.
[17] Simler. p. 206—212. Plantin. p. 302. [18] Simler. p. 275—283. Plantin. p. 302.

principle

principle upon which it was founded, contrary to the immutable rules of morality and juſtice. The eleven remaining Cantons did not the leſs ratify the compact, which became permanent and hereditary [19]. Charles the Ninth confirmed his father's engagements; and that prince, during the civil wars againſt his proteſtant ſubjects, repeatedly derived, from the fidelity and valour of their troops, the moſt important ſervices. In the battle of Dreux, they extorted involuntary applauſes from their enemies. At the memorable retreat of Meaux, Fifer, with ſix thouſand Switzers, received the young king, his mother, Catherine of Medecis, and the whole royal family, into the center of their battalions; and oppoſing their pikes to the attack of the Hugonot cavalry, conducted Charles in ſafety to Paris [20].

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1549.

1567.

1574. State of Switzerland, at this period.

After this ſhort review of the outlines of the hiſtory of Switzerland, it is requiſite to ſurvey their ſituation in 1574; and it may not be unpleaſing to compare it with the earlier periods of their political exiſtence. They were, in many reſpects, eſſentially altered from the rude and uncultivated people, whom the Auſtrian oppreſſion drove to reſiſtance, and who were unacquainted with every ſcience, except that of war. In the courſe of near three centuries, a degree of refinement had gradually been introduced among the more opulent Cantons, and had ſoftened the manners of their inhabitants. As early as the year 1459, Pius the Second, who, previous to his elevation to the papacy, had been ſecretary to the general council, convoked at Baſil; founded in that city, a univerſity [21]. Seminaries for the inſtruction of youth, were ſucceſſively eſtabliſhed at Bern, Zurich, and Lauſanne. The introduction and ſtudy of letters were facilitated, by the printing houſes, opened in the two former of thoſe places, and at Geneva; which laſt city, from its vicinity, and cloſe alliance with the Cantons, might be regarded as almoſt an integral part of the Helvetic confederacy [22]. A very conſiderable, and lucrative commerce was carried on, in the article of books, with which Switzerland furniſhed France and Italy [23].

Letters.

Seminaries of learning.

[19] Plantin. p. 335. Simler. p. 283—285. [20] Plantin. p. 346.
[21] Plantin. p. 216. Simler. p. 302. [22] Ibid. p. 302. [23] Galluzzi, vol. iii. p. 356.

Their

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1574.

Their close connexions with the French crown introduced a circulation of money; and the troops, constantly retained in its service, at their return home, with the vices, brought the improvements of a more polished nation.

Condition of the mountainous Cantons.

These remarks were, however, principally applicable to the Cantons bordering on the Rhine, or the lake of Geneva. Among the mountainous ones, the primitive simplicity of earlier times, still subsisted, and civilization had faintly penetrated. Their ceremonies, laws, and usages, had suffered little alteration. The catholic religion, which had been expelled from Bern, Zurich, and several others of the more fertile Cantons, maintained itself among the highest Alps, in all its purity and bigotry. The doctrines of Luther, Zuinglius, and Calvin, which had spread over so large a portion of Europe, were eagerly imbibed by the Switzers. But, the same religious difference of opinion, which had rudely agitated the German empire, and subverted France; caused little effervescence, and no animosity, among a people, whose organs and passions were less delicate and susceptible. They retained the same mutual affection for their common country, and the same ardor to unite for its defence. In the two Cantons of Glaris and Appenzel, there was not any predominant religion; and in the first of those, on the anniversary of the victory of Naefels, which was gained over the Austrians, in 1387, when three hundred and eighty Switzers defeated nine thousand of their enemies; the sermon, preached to the people, was delivered alternately by the catholic priest, and the Calvinist minister [24].

Moderation in religious concerns.

Internal mode of government.

As their tenets of faith were different, so were their forms of government. The three earliest Cantons, Uri, Schwitz, and Underwald, small, and destitute of cities, were pure democracies; and they were imitated in this mode of constitution, by Zug, Glaris, and Appenzel [25]. But, the larger and more wealthy members of the union, embraced an aristocratic government; or, at least one, in

[24] Simler. p. 390—395.

[25] Ibid. p. 287, 288.

which

which that principle ſtrongly predominated [26]. Throughout every part of Switzerland, the laws were implicitly obeyed, and rigidly enforced. Property was more ſecure than in any European ſtate; and while Italy, through all its various ſovereignties, was infeſted with robbers, who rendered the public roads unſafe; the meaneſt and moſt unprotected individual travelled through the Cantons, without alarm or moleſtation [27]. This ſuperiority was one of the moſt enviable circumſtances, attached to their freedom; and reſulted, in a great degree, from the extermination of the numerous feudal tyrants, who had long committed depredations on the inferior orders of the people, with impunity. Their hoſpitality was a characteriſtic virtue; but, intoxication too frequently accompanied and diſgraced their public feſtivals. Songs, commemorative of the victories, obtained by the firſt Switzers, over their oppreſſors, uſually exhilarated theſe banquets, and kept alive the ſpirit, which had given birth to the Republic [28]. The juriſprudence was, like every other inſtitution, ſimple and conciſe. If the interference of friends was ineffectual to produce a reconciliation between the parties in litigation, the council, which was uſually aſſembled at Baden, proceeded to try and determine the cauſe, not by the principles or ordinances of the Roman, or civil law; but, by the dictates of equity, and the uſages, immemorially received among the people. The neceſſary conſequence of ſo ſuccinct a form of trial, was to extinguiſh, in a great meaſure, the delays and chicane, that too frequently accompany and diſgrace the diſtribution of juſtice, in countries which boaſt of higher civilization [29].

1574. Security.

Juriſprudence.

But, the political feature, which diſtinguiſhed the Switzers, from every other European nation, and which gave them a manifeſt ſuperiority over all, was their military ſkill and diſcipline. Unlike to the inhabitants of France, or Germany, where the profeſſion of arms was confined to a few, whoſe choice and genius determined them to

Military ſkill and diſcipline.

[26] Simler. p. 288.
[27] Ibid. p. 306, 307.
[28] Ibid. p. 301, and p. 307—311.
[29] Ibid. p. 302—304, and p. 327—329.

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embrace it; throughout all the Cantons, the meaneſt peaſant was born a ſoldier. He was, from his cradle, accuſtomed to the uſe of thoſe weapons, uſed in war; and inured to the viciſſitudes of cold, hunger, and fatigue. Nature, independant of practice, had peculiarly qualified them for the field, by the characteriſtic virtues of patience, ſubmiſſion, and the endurance of hardſhips without murmur, or revolt [30]. Their affection towards each other, which was almoſt fraternal, and their diſpoſition to extend mutual kindneſs, diſcriminated them, in an eminent manner, from the German mercenaries of that age, denominated Landſquenets, who ſerved in the armies of France and Spain. The Switzers were rarely engaged in private quarrels, and were expreſsly enjoined by the magiſtrates, to forget every perſonal injury, and to diſmiſs all reſentment, while acting together in the camp, againſt an enemy [31]. The Roman diſcipline was not more ſevere: they were forbidden, under pain of death, to quit their ranks, or to plunder, before the victory was completely gained; and the moſt ſacred regard to every edifice, appropriated to religious uſes, as well as to the honour and ſafety of women, was inculcated and enforced [32].

Infantry.

The Swiſs infantry of that century, was regarded as the moſt invincible in Europe, and able to ſtand the ſhock of cavalry, without breaking, or diſordering their ranks. At the battle of Dreux, in 1562, between the Hugonots, and the forces of Charles the Ninth, the French and German horſe, in the ſervice of the Prince of Condé, repeatedly charged the Swiſs battalions: almoſt all the officers were put to the ſword; but, the troops rallied three times, preſerved their order, and repulſed the aſſailants. In 1574, their offenſive weapons conſiſted of the harquebuſs, halberd, and two-edged ſword: but, their principal and diſtinguiſhing ſtrength lay in their pikes, which were eighteen feet in length, and being croſſed, preſented, like the Pha-

Armour, and weapons.

[30] Simler. p. 291, 292.
[31] Ibid. p. 296—298.
[32] Ibid. p. 299, 300.

lanx

lanx of the Macedonians, an impenetrable foreſt of ſpears [33]. The de- CHAP. XII.
fenſive armour, worn by the private ſoldiers, varied according to 1574.
their ability and choice. Some were covered with a ſhirt of mail, a corſlet, or a cuiraſs; but, the meaner ſort contented themſelves with a helmet; and ſubſtituted the hides of oxen or bears, in the place of iron armour. Every Switzer wore on his head, a plume, partly white, and partly of the colour of the enſign of his peculiar Canton; beſides which, they had on their breaſts, a white croſs. It is not undeſerving of remark, that the military muſic, then in uſe, was preciſely the ſame which is ſtill common in armies; namely, the drum, fife, and trumpet [34]. When their fidelity, intrepidity, and ſkill, are conſidered, it cannot be matter of ſurprize, that every prince was deſirous to ſecure their friendſhip; and that they frequently, during the ſixteenth century, compelled victory to incline towards that ſide, whoſe intereſts they eſpouſed.

[33] Simler. p. 300, and p. 294. [34] Ibid. p. 295, 296.

CHAP. XIII.

THE GERMAN EMPIRE.

HOUSE of AUSTRIA.

Riſe, and elevation of the houſe of Hapſburg.—Election of Frederic the Third, to the Imperial dignity.—Character, and reign of Maximilian the Firſt.—Review of the great features of the adminiſtration and policy of Charles the Fifth.—His abdication.—Acceſſion of Ferdinand the Firſt.—Condition of Hungary and Bohemia, at that period.—Reign of Ferdinand.—Character of that monarch, and of Maximilian the Second, his ſucceſſor.—Toleration of Maximilian.—State and limits of the Imperial power, in 1574.—Want of revenues, or ſupplies.—Prerogatives exerciſed by the emperors.—Ceremonial.—Condition of Hungary.—Contracted authority of Maximilian in Auſtria.—Revenues.—State of the clergy.—General Reflexions.

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1273. Origin, and elevation of the houſe of Auſtria.

THE power of the houſe of Auſtria, which, from the time of Charles the Fifth, to the treaty of Weſtphalia, impreſſed Europe with ſo much apprehenſion, was due to the vigour and ability of Rodolph of Hapſburg. That prince was unanimouſly choſen to fill the Imperial throne, after the long ſtate of interregnum and anarchy, which followed the death of the emperor Frederic the Second, in the thirteenth century. Having vanquiſhed Ottocar, king of Bohemia, and diſmembered from his dominions, the extenſive duchies of Auſtria, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola; Rodolph, with the conſent of the diet, aſſembled at Augſburg, conferred thoſe fiefs on his eldeſt ſon, Albert [1].

Rodolph the Firſt.

[1] Annales de l'Empire. p. 248. L'Art de Verif. vol. ii. p. 31.

Notwith-

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Notwithſtanding the facility, with which the emperor procured ſo important an inveſtiture, he was unable to ſecure to Albert the ſucceſſion to the Imperial crown; which the latter did not obtain till after the battle of Gelheim, when he dethroned Adolphus of Naſſau. On the death of Albert, ten years afterwards, his ſon Frederic, who aſpired to the ſame dignity, was taken priſoner by his competitor, Louis of Bavaria; and the houſe of Auſtria, for more than a century, ſunk into its original obſcurity, while the family of Luxembourg roſe. By the marriage of Albert, duke of Auſtria, with the daughter of Sigiſmund, laſt emperor of the dynaſty of Luxembourg, he inherited, on that monarch's deceaſe, the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia; to which was added in the following year, the Imperial dignity. But, Albert, who might have founded a powerful race of princes, and who poſſeſſed talents, civil and military, was carried off by a premature end. The electors, aſſembled to ſupply his place, choſe Frederic, duke of Styria, his couſin [a].

1282—1291. His ſucceſſors.

1298.

1437.

1439.

It was not poſſible to have made a ſelection, leſs calculated to ſupport the majeſty, annexed to the title of chief of the empire. Frederic the third poſſeſſed neither the perſonal qualities, nor the revenues and territories, indiſpenſable to inſpire reſpect, and enforce obedience. In an age, when the only honorable profeſſion was that of arms, and when chivalry diffuſed univerſally a martial ſpirit through all the higher orders of ſociety, Frederic betrayed no aptitude for war. Slow, irreſolute, and deſtitute of talents for conceiving, or executing enterprizes of difficulty; he remained, during the courſe of his long reign, a quiet, and almoſt an indifferent ſpectator of the diſſenſions which aroſe in the empire, or exerted himſelf ineffectually for their ſuppreſſion. Far from being maſter even of Auſtria, and its dependancies, he was involved in conteſts with the other princes of his family, for Styria, and Carinthia. The Imperial crown was only a ſplendid title, ſtripped of the revenue, by which

1439—1493. Election of Frederic the Third to the Imperial throne.

Character of that prince.

Weakneſs of Frederic.

[a] Annales de l'Empire. p. 344—347. L'Art de Verif. vol. ii. p. 37.

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alone its poſſeſſor could dictate to the great vaſſals, with whom he was ſurrounded. The nobility of his hereditary dominions refuſed to aid him in that quality, or to accompany him in any expeditions, foreign to the intereſts of their own duchy. From all the provinces of his patrimonial inheritance, he only drew the annual ſum of fourteen thouſand marks of ſilver; and the nominal ſucceſſor of the Cæſars, was inferior in pecuniary reſources, to the meaneſt prince of Italy [3].

Theſe internal defects were aggravated by external attacks and misfortunes. His brother, Albert, beſieged him in Vienna; and a more powerful enemy, the celebrated Matthias Corvinus, king of Hungary, after ravaging Auſtria, ultimately effected its conqueſt; and eſtabliſhed himſelf in the capital, of which he maintained poſſeſſion till his death. Frederic, during ſeveral years, expelled from his native dominions, led a wandering and ignominious life; transferring his reſidence to various cities of the German empire, and retaining little more than the external inſignia of the Imperial rank. Yet, in this ſtate of humiliation and depreſſion, the future greatneſs of his houſe was ſilently preparing to unfold itſelf, and to aſtoniſh Europe. By the death of his brother, Albert, and the reſignation of Sigiſmund, his couſin, count of Tyrol, the patrimony of the Auſtrian family became again united under one head. Matthias Corvinus having left no legitimate deſcendants, Vienna, and the province of Auſtria, returned to Frederic; and he eventually ſecured the rich ſucceſſion of the Burgundian princes, by the marriage of his only ſon, Maximilian, with Mary, daughter and heireſs of Charles the Bold. He even procured the election of Maximilian, as king of the Romans, and devolved on him the Imperial crown, ſome years afterwards, at his own deceaſe [4].

Commencement of the Auſtrian greatneſs.

1493—1519. Maximilian the Firſt.

Of a character widely different from that of his father, the new emperor diſplayed talents and qualities, which might have capaci-

[3] Schmidt. Hiſtoire des Allemans. vol. v. p. 229—232, and p. 358. L'Art de Verif. vol. ii. p. 37, 38.

[4] Schmidt. vol. v. p. 296—301, and p. 333—336. L'Art de Verif. vol. ii. p. 38, and vol. iii. p. 576, 577.

tated

tated him for atchieving the moſt difficult enterpriſes, if he had been properly ſupported. Active, and ardent to ſignalize himſelf, he poſſeſſed equally the valour and conduct, requiſite to command armies. Generous even to profuſion, he partook, in no degree, of the parſimony, with which Frederic was, perhaps unjuſtly, reproached. Affable in his manners, beneficent in his diſpoſition, and born with an elevation of mind, which never forſook him under the ſevereſt reverſes of fortune; Maximilian was confeſſedly, one of the moſt amiable and accompliſhed princes of the age. But, the ſame defect of revenues, which had rendered his predeceſſor weak and contemptible, operated to retard, or diſconcert every project, by which he hoped to augment the Imperial power, or to enlarge his territories[5]. The early and premature death of Mary of Burgundy, his wife, had deprived him of any participation in the government of the Low Countries; which, during the minority of Philip, his ſon, was conducted by a council of ſtate, from which Maximilian was wholly excluded. The princes of the empire, inſtead of contributing to his aggrandizement, viewed his efforts with indifference, or watched them with jealous apprehenſion; and his own dominions were unequal to ſupporting foreign wars, or facilitating his views of ambition.

His character.

Jealouſy of the German princes.

To this irremediable deficiency, may be traced, and juſtly attributed, all the failures and diſappointments of his reign. Repulſed by the Venetians in his attempt to force a paſſage through their territories, on his way to receive the Imperial crown from the hands of the pope, he ſaw his perſon and dignity alike expoſed to contempt. He had been equally unfortunate, at an earlier period of his reign, in the wars which he ſucceſſively undertook againſt France and Switzerland. The league of Cambray, when the moſt powerful ſovereigns of Europe, formed a combination to humble the Republic of Venice, and in which the emperor occupied a diſtinguiſhed place; appeared to offer him a favourable occaſion for recovering his ho-

League of Cambray.

[5] Schmidt. vol. v. p. 363—365, and p. 389. Pfeffel. Abregé Chronol. d'Allemagne, vol. ii. p. 60.

nour,

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nour, while he augmented his poſſeſſions, at the expence of that Commonwealth. Maximilian over-ran, without reſiſtance, the unprotected provinces of Venice; captured Verona, Vicenza, and Padua; and already flattered himſelf with reviving the Imperial name and functions, which had been ſo long forgotten in Italy. But, the gradual dereliction of his allies, his own want of pecuniary reſources, and the deſperate efforts of the Venetians, ſoon undeceived him; and ultimately compelled him to accept an equivalent in money for Verona, the only conqueſt that he had retained. Theſe repeated mortifications and diſgraces, which accompanied him to the termination of his life, were, however, amply compenſated by the riſing greatneſs of his houſe. The arch-duke Philip, his ſon, had, in right of his marriage with Joanna, daughter of Ferdinand and Iſabella, prepared for Charles, his heir, the ſucceſſion to Spain, Naples, the Netherlands, and the new world beyond the Atlantic, recently diſcovered by Columbus. If, to ſo many kingdoms and provinces of Europe and America, could be joined the Imperial crown, a more powerful monarch muſt ariſe, than had been ſeen ſince Charlemagne. The laſt years of Maximilian were gratified by this exhilerating proſpect, though its entire accompliſhment did not take place till after his deceaſe; but, his negotiations in the Electoral College greatly facilitated the elevation of his grandſon, Charles, to the dignity of chief of the empire. That event forms an important æra in the hiſtory of modern Europe[6].

Rapid progreſſion of the houſe of Auſtria.

1519—1530. Reign of Charles the Fifth.

Charles the Fifth had ſcarcely attained his twentieth year, when he was called to the Imperial throne; and the choice of a prince, already maſter of ſuch extenſive dominions, appeared, on a firſt view, to menace the extinction of the Germanic ſyſtem and liberties, in caſe the new ſovereign ſhould be poſſeſſed of ability, and not deficient in ambition. The princes, and cities of the empire, who had ſucceſs-

[6] Pfeffel. Abregé Chronol. d'Allemagne, vol. ii. p. 75—111 paſſim. Annales de l'Empire: p. 369—393. L'Art de Verif. vol. ii. p. 39, 40. Schmidt. vol. v. p. 390—482 paſſim.

fully

fully reſiſted every effort of Frederic and Maximilian, whoſe ſcanty reſources incapacitated them to undertake any enterprize of duration or magnitude; might find their united ſtrength unequal to contending with an emperor, ſuſtained by the troops of Spain, Italy, and the Low Countries, in addition to thoſe, furniſhed by the patrimony of his Auſtrian dominions. But, on a cloſer examination, the circumſtances which had ſeemed to facilitate, did, in fact, augment the difficulty of the attempt. Poſſeſſions ſo vaſt, and ſo disjointed, were not only ſubject to invaſion; but, could ſcarcely be united in any great operation of offenſive war; and it was natural to conclude, that, whatever anxiety the king of Spain had evinced to attain to the firſt dignity of the chriſtian world, he could not dedicate a large portion of his time or attention to the affairs of the empire.

Obſtacles to his attainment of arbitrary power in Germany.

The whole reign of Charles affords proofs of the juſtice and ſolidity of this reaſoning. During the courſe of more than twenty years, from his election to the year 1540, he only made three ſhort viſits to Germany; and was continually occupied in the other kingdoms ſubject to his government, or in the expeditions which he undertook againſt Francis the Firſt, Solyman the Second, and Barbaroſſa. His impatience to take poſſeſſion of the Imperial crown, after his election, had, it is true, induced him, at a moment when Spain was menaced with a dangerous rebellion, to embark from that country, for Flanders. At the riſk of loſing his hereditary dominions, he proceeded to Aix la Chapelle; from whence he continued his progreſs to Worms, and entered on the functions of his office in the Diet, convoked for the purpoſe of extinguiſhing the troubles, excited by the Reformation. But, Charles gave an inconteſtible proof, that ambition was not ſo predominant a feature of his character, as to exclude the emotions of affection, and the dictates of generoſity; by ceding, at this early period of his life, to his brother, Ferdinand, all the inheritance, devolved to him from Maximilian, their grandfather. The donation included the arch-

Donation of Auſtria to the arch-duke Ferdinand.

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duchy of Auſtria, with the dependant provinces of Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, and the Tyrol. Hiſtory preſents few examples of ſimilar liberality; and the emperor, by thus dividing the poſſeſſions of his houſe, diminiſhed his own power, and that of his immediate poſterity [7].

In the interval, which elapſed between the firſt and ſecond viſit of Charles the Fifth to the empire, the moſt brilliant ſucceſs had attended his arms. Francis the Firſt had become his priſoner, at Pavia; and at the termination of the war, he had dictated the terms of pacification. His character, which had not unfolded itſelf in 1521, when he quitted Germany, was fully known; and the aſſemblage of great qualities which he poſſeſſed, was univerſally admitted. When, in 1530, after an abſence of nine years, he re-appeared at Augſburg, his deportment and conduct excited general reſpect, and conciliated the affections of every order of men. But, the religious diſſenſions between the princes of the catholic and Lutheran faith, exceeded his ability to moderate, or extinguiſh; and after fruitleſs exertions to reconcile them, he was compelled to adopt meaſures of delay, which only tended to produce greater eventual calamities. The celebrated league of Smalcald, into which the proteſtant chiefs entered, for their mutual protection, laid the foundation of thoſe wars by which the empire was convulſed; and compelled the adherents of the antient religion, ſome years afterwards, to form a ſimilar alliance, at Nuremberg, in Franconia [8].

Return of Charles into Germany.

1531, 1532. Election of Ferdinand, to the dignity of king of the Romans.

Theſe alarming indications of future misfortune did not prevent Charles from ſteadily purſuing his plan, for perpetuating the Imperial title in the houſe of Auſtria, by procuring the election of his brother Ferdinand to the dignity of king of the Romans. In thus preferring him to his ſon Philip, prince of Spain, the emperor evidently ſacrificed the intereſts of his own lineal deſcendants, to that of his family; and impoſed limits to the ambition of the Spaniſh branch

[7] Schmidt, vol. vi. p. 445, 446. Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 116—147. Annales de l'Empire, p. 393—418. Heiſs, Hiſt. de l'Empire, vol. i. p. 339—351.

[8] Schmidt, vol. vi. p. 447—459. Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 147.

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of Auſtria, which he afterwards vainly endeavoured to remove. The battle of Mohatz, gained by Solyman, the Turkiſh ſultan, over Louis the Second, king of Hungary and Bohemia, had already raiſed Ferdinand to the throne of thoſe kingdoms. Louis himſelf periſhed in the action, at twenty years of age; and leaving no iſſue, the archduke Ferdinand, by virtue of an antient compact between the two houſes, and in right of Anne, his wife, ſiſter to the young king, recently ſlain, laid claim to both the crowns. The Bohemians delegated to him the ſovereignty, although they, at the ſame time, declared it elective, and not hereditary: but, in Hungary, a faction proclaimed John Zapoli, prince of Tranſylvania; who was, nevertheleſs, compelled ſoon afterwards, by the ſuperior forces of his competitor, to fly into Poland. Having implored the aſſiſtance of Solyman, that powerful prince, at the head of a vaſt army, marched to his relief; and not content with ſubjecting all Hungary, he even puſhed his conqueſts into the German empire, and laid ſiege to Vienna. Compelled by the generous defence which the garriſon made, to abandon his attempt, he conferred on Zapoli, the Hungarian crown, at Buda; and retreated over the Danube, into his own dominions, loaded with ſpoil and captives. The terror of the Turkiſh arms, and the impatience of Charles to repel thoſe formidable invaders with the united forces of the empire, induced him to favour the proteſtant princes; who obtained, in the diet at Nuremberg, that ſuſpenſion of all judicial proceedings againſt them, known in hiſtory by the name of the "Peace of religion[9]."

1531, 1532. Affairs of Hungary.

The vaſt projects of the emperor; his two expeditions againſt Tunis and Algiers, the former of which was diſtinguiſhed by ſuch brilliant ſucceſs, and the latter by equal misfortunes; his perpetual avocations; and above all, the wars in which, with only ſhort and precarious intervals, he was involved with Francis the Firſt; theſe

1532—1544. Meaſures of Charles the Fifth.

[9] Sacy, Hiſtoire d'Hongrie, vol. i. p. 255—257. Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 148—150. Schmidt, vol. vi. p. 459—491.

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1532—1544.

united cauſes prevented him from giving any regular and ſyſtematical attention, during many years, to the political concerns of the empire. His meaſures were all calculated to procraſtinate and temporize; notwithſtanding the encroachments perpetually made by the princes of the reformed religion, which ſeemed to menace the Imperial power with extinction, and Germany with univerſal anarchy.

Moderation towards the proteſtants.

Every conceſſion which could, without totally ſubverting the catholic faith and eſtabliſhments, conciliate that party, and even ſecure to them the undiſturbed enjoyment of the eccleſiaſtical property on which they had ſeized, was made by Charles and Ferdinand, in the diets of 1541, and 1544, convened at Ratiſbon, and at Spires. But, the effect of theſe yielding and moderate counſels was ineffectual towards producing any permanent union or reconciliation, between two parties, inflamed by theological animoſity. After the peace of Crepy, when a ceſſation of hoſtilities took place with France, it was evident that, unleſs the emperor choſe to ſubmit to the deſtruction of his ſupremacy, and to the complete ſubverſion of all the inſtitutions of the Romiſh church in the empire, he muſt defend them by the ſword [10].

1544—1550. War with the Smalcaldic league.

It was not without the utmoſt reluctance, and after making every effort to retain the proteſtants in civil and religious obedience, that Charles had recourſe to this expedient. His augmenting bodily infirmities; the exhauſted ſtate of his finances; his deſire to reviſit Spain; his apprehenſion of the concealed oppoſition of Francis the Firſt; and his dread of the open hoſtilities of Solyman; all theſe combined reaſons inclined him to peace. But, the contempt with which his entreaties and his commands were equally received, by John Frederic, elector of Saxony, and Philip, Landgrave of Heſſe, ſurmounted his repugnance. The latter prince had peculiarly irritated and indiſpoſed the emperor, by rejecting his perſonal ſolicitations to attend the diet, ſummoned to meet at Ratiſbon; and from the

[10] Heiſs, vol. i. p. 352—378. Annales de l'Empire, p. 419—439. Schmidt, vol. vi. p. 491—533; and vol. vii. p. 1—170 paſſim. Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 150—165.

former,

former, who was conſcientiouſly attached to the reformation, no condeſcenſion could be expected, nor any ſubmiſſion to articles of faith, impoſed by violence. At no period of his reign, did Charles evince greater magnanimity, capacity, and reſources, than during the war, carried on againſt the proteſtant league. Under numerous diſadvantages, with inferior forces, and ſuſtained by the Imperial name, rather than by any eſſential ſupport from the German empire, he humbled and ſubdued his opponents. The battle of Muhlberg, in which he obtained a deciſive victory, delivered up to him the elector of Saxony; and the Landgrave of Heſſe, truſting to ſome vague and indefinite aſſurances of perſonal freedom, ſurrendered himſelf voluntarily, ſoon afterwards. With John Frederic, the emperor exerciſed extreme ſeverity; ſentenced him to loſe his dominions; conferred the electoral dignity on Maurice of Saxony, his relation, who, though a proteſtant, had adhered to the Imperial cauſe; and finally retained him in captivity. The Landgrave, leſs rigorouſly puniſhed in his public capacity, was equally deprived of his liberty. The inferior princes and cities, terrified at theſe examples, ſubmitted; and expiated, by pecuniary fines or contributions, their late reſiſtance.

Battle of Muhlberg.

Charles, victorious over the confederacy, opened with the utmoſt ſolemnity, the diet of Augſburg, and cauſed to be publickly adopted by the States, as a fundamental law, the famous declaration, known in hiſtory by the name of the "Interim;" which regulated the eccleſiaſtical diſcipline and ceremonies, in all their eſſential points, till the determination of a general council of the chriſtian church. If the aſperity and rancour of the religious parties in that age, could have allowed them to embrace healing and conciliatory meaſures; the expedient, propoſed by the emperor, was calculated to reſtore concord. But, he ſoon experienced, that it is more eaſy to vanquiſh nations, than to controul the freedom of the human mind on ſubjects of faith; and notwithſtanding the ſilence and ſubmiſſion, with which the "Interim" was received, it was either eluded, or indig-

Diet of Augſburg.

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indignantly rejected, by catholics and proteſtants. Yet, Charles long adhered to this favourite object, and exhauſted the remaining ſtrength of his mind and body, in endeavouring to procure its reception throughout the empire. He was not leſs anxious to induce the members of the Germanic body to ſend delegates to the general council; which, after having been ſuſpended under the pontificate of Paul the Third, had been convoked anew at Trent, by Julius, his ſucceſſor [11].

1551, 1552. Maurice, elector of Saxony, takes up arms againſt Charles.

All theſe projects were rendered abortive by unforeſeen impediments. Maurice, on whom he had conferred the electorate of Saxony, and whom he had elevated, on the ruin of his relation, the unfortunate John Frederic, irritated at the emperor's detention of the Landgrave, and diſſatisfied with the regulations promulgated relative to matters of religion, took up arms againſt his benefactor. Availing himſelf of Charles's ſecurity and defenceleſs condition, Maurice attacked the city of Inſpruck, in which he had fixed his reſidence, and compelled him to fly with precipitation, over the Alps, into Carinthia. Terrified at the approach of ſo formidable an enemy, the prelates, aſſembled at Trent, inſtantly diſperſed; after having diſſolved the council, which had been the object of the emperor's anxious ſolicitude, and on whoſe deliberations he had repoſed, for the reſtoration of religious tranquillity throughout the empire.

Concluſion of peace.

Yielding to the preſſure of neceſſity, and convinced of the impracticability of his projects for eſtabliſhing unity of faith, he renounced all further interference, or exertions for that purpoſe; while his brother, Ferdinand, king of the Romans, repairing to Paſſau, ſubmitted to the conditions of peace, which were dictated by the elector of Saxony, as head of the proteſtant confederacy. The uncontrouled freedom of opinion on matters of conſcience, and the maintenance of the Lutherans in all their immunities, civil and eccleſiaſtical, till

[11] Schmidt, vol. vii. p. 183—365 paſſim. Heiſs, vol. i. p. 379—398. Annales de l'Empire, p. 439—449.

the

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the future deciſion of a diet, formed the baſis of the accommodation, to which Charles reluctantly acceded [12].

1553, 1554.

From this memorable period, we may regard his reign, as chief of the empire, at an end, though he continued to retain the Imperial title, and to exerciſe its nominal functions, for more than three years. Diſguſted with power, fruſtrated in his views, debilitated by diſeaſes, and incapable of renewing the conteſt, Charles haſtened to quit the ſcene of his late humiliation; after having inveſted Ferdinand with ample authority, to terminate definitively all diſputes with the proteſtants. Anxious to repel the invaſion, made by Henry the Second, king of France, and to recover the conqueſts which that prince had recently effected, he led his troops to the ſiege of Metz; and regardleſs of the advanced ſeaſon of the year, he perſiſted in his endeavours for its reduction. But, fortune, which had ſo eminently favoured him in the early part of his life, abandoned him at the cloſe; and the bravery of the garriſon, commanded by the celebrated Francis, duke of Guiſe, compelled him to relinquiſh his enterprize, and to conduct his ſhattered army into Flanders [13].

Siege of Metz.

1555, 1556.

The ſhort remainder of his reign preſents the moſt eloquent and affecting diſplay of the vanity of human greatneſs, which is to be found in hiſtory. Charles appeared no more in perſon, either among his German, or Spaniſh ſubjects, ſo long as he continued to retain the adminiſtration of affairs. Immured at Bruſſels, he devolved on his miniſters all public buſineſs, and began to diveſt himſelf of his power, by reſigning to Philip, his ſon, the kingdom of Naples, and his poſſeſſions in Lombardy. This partial renunciation involved him in the neceſſity of abdicating all his other dominions, or of coming to a rupture with his ſucceſſor; and he concluded his political career, by the reſignation of Spain, and his acquiſitions in the New World, at a

Abdication of Charles.

[12] Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 174—178. Schmidt, vol. vii. p. 373—404. Heiſs, vol. i. p. 398—402.

[13] Annales de l'Empire, p. 453—457. Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 178—179.

time

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1555, 1556.

time of life when the infirmities of age are uſually unknown, and when the love of ambition is generally moſt predominant [14]. Previous to ſo extraordinary an act, the king of the Romans, in virtue of the full powers delegated to him by his brother, convoked a diet at Augſburg; in which, after numerous and almoſt inſurmountable difficulties, a final termination was put to the diſputes between the two religions, which had ſo long deſolated the empire. The Lutheran princes and ſtates were confirmed in the poſſeſſion of all the eccleſiaſtical lands or property, ſeized on ſince the introduction of the reformation; and every ſecurity for the enjoyment of their liberties, ſtipulated at the treaty of Paſſau, was ſtrengthened and augmented. But, an inſuperable limit was, at the ſame time, oppoſed to their further encroachments on the lands or poſſeſſions of the catholic church, by the famous clauſe, known under the name of the "Eccleſiaſtical Reſervation." It enacted, that every perſon, of whatever quality, who might in future embrace the confeſſion of Augſburg; if he had been previouſly poſſeſſed of any preferment in the Romiſh church, ſhould forfeit it by that act. The proteſtants, repeatedly, but vainly, endeavoured, to remove a barrier, which precluded them from overturning the hierarchy, and from gradually alienating, or ſeizing on all the great eſtabliſhments of the catholic faith and worſhip in the empire. Neither Ferdinand, nor any of his ſucceſſors, however inclined to yield upon many other points, could ever be induced, or terrified into the ſlighteſt infraction of this fundamental declaration [15].

Final termination of the diſputes of religion.

Eccleſiaſtical reſervation.

1556. Character of Charles the Fifth.

The reign, character, and abdication of Charles the Fifth, offer to the hiſtorian and the philoſopher a croud of reflexions, which the nature and limits of the preſent work do not permit us to purſue. No prince of his age attracted ſo much attention, from his endowments of mind, as well as from the extent of his dominions. Even Francis

[14] Schmidt, vol. vii. p. 477—483. Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 184, 185.

[15] Heiſs, vol. i. p. 404—407. Annales de l'Empire, p. 458—460. Schmidt, vol. vii. p. 437—477. Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 185, 186.

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the First, his rival, more amiable as a man, was far inferior in the virtues of a sovereign. During the greater portion of his life, he is to be regarded as king of Spain, rather than emperor of Germany; and in the former capacity, he appears more elevated than in the latter. Against France, with the exception of his attack upon Provence, in 1536, he was almost uniformly successful and victorious. In the empire, he was over-reached by Maurice; driven from Inspruck with circumstances of personal humiliation; and obliged to renounce his projects of every kind, which he had pursued with such unwearied pertinacity. Even in the plenitude of his power, after the victory of Muhlberg, he vainly attempted to procure the substitution of his son Philip, in the place of his brother, Ferdinand, as king of the Romans; or to associate him to that dignity. Before his abdication, his Imperial authority had already expired: Ferdinand occupied his place in the memorable diet of Augsburg in 1555, and was virtually regarded as head of the empire [16].

Situation of Ferdinand the First, at his accession.

His situation differed, notwithstanding, in many important particulars, from that of Charles the Fifth. Destitute of the vast resources, possessed by so powerful a monarch; unsupported by the forces and treasures of Spain, Italy, and the Netherlands; pressed on the eastern frontier by the Ottoman forces: Ferdinand scarcely occupied a higher place in the political scale of Germany, than his ancestors, Frederic the Third, and Maximilian the First, had done; while the difficulties with which he had to struggle, were far greater and more numerous. It was, indeed, true, that, to the patrimonial inheritance of Austria, and the duchies dependant on it, he added the crowns of Hungary and Bohemia, united in his own person. But, these dignities imposed severe obligations, and produced a very inadequate compensation. Bohemia was agitated and disturbed by the followers of the celebrated John Huss, and Jerome of Prague; who, above a century before the appearance of Lu-

State of Bohemia.

[16] Schmidt, vol. vii. p. 365—373, and p. 483—491. Pfeffel. vol. ii. p. 187. Heiss, vol. i. p. 408—409.

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ther, had promulgated doctrines, deemed so heretical by the council of Constance, as only to be expiated by committing their authors to the flames. The people universally regarded the crown as elective, though Ferdinand had compelled them to declare it hereditary; and their allegiance was very problematical. During the war, carried on by Charles and Ferdinand, against the protestant league, the Bohemians had evinced the strongest attachment to the cause of the reformed princes, and were not retained in obedience without great exertions.

State of Hungary.

Hungary was in a far more unfortunate condition; and instead of augmenting the power of its nominal sovereign, drained his exchequer in perpetual efforts to recover it from the Turkish yoke. After the memorable battle of Mohatz, in 1526, no European country, for above a hundred and fifty years, was so desolated, and abandoned to every calamity. Solyman, the scourge of the house of Austria, under pretence of maintaining the son of John Zapoli, on the Hungarian throne, appeared again in person, at the head of a formidable army. The Austrian general was repulsed, with loss, and dishonor, from before Buda, the capital; and the Turkish emperor, no longer restrained by any regard to the laws of justice, or to the sanctity of the trust reposed in him by the deceased king, who, when dying, had placed under Solyman's protection his infant successor; took possession of the city, and banished the queen dowager, together with her son, into Transylvania. Treating with indignity the embassadors of Ferdinand, who demanded the investiture of Hungary, he proceeded to complete the reduction of the kingdom; and, notwithstanding the united exertions of Charles the Fifth and his brother, the Ottoman troops continued to advance towards the frontiers of the German empire [17].

Conduct of Solyman the Second.

History of Martinuzzi.

The troubles and anarchy which ensued, were favorable to the bold and aspiring talents of Martinuzzi, bishop of Waradin; who go-

[17] Sacy, Hist. d'Hongrie, vol. i. p. 264—304. La Croix, Hist. Ottomane, vol. i. p. 378—380, and p. 386—392, and p. 394—396, and p. 414—416, and p. 424—426.

verned

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verned the principality of Tranſylvania, under the minority of the young king, John Sigiſmund, and who had reduced the queen, his mother, to a ſtate of ſervitude. After having long ſuſtained himſelf by the authority of Solyman, Martinuzzi, diſguſted at the barbarities exerciſed by the Turks, or apprehenſive of the loſs of his own power, opened a negotiation with Ferdinand; and prevailed on the queen, in her ſon's name, formally to ſurrender the Hungarian crown, together with the inſignia of the royal dignity, and the province of Tranſylvania, to that prince. Two inconſiderable duchies in Sileſia, which formed a very inadequate compenſation for ſuch a ceſſion, were given him in exchange. Grateful for ſo diſtinguiſhed a ſervice, Ferdinand ſtrove to repay it, by heaping honors, eccleſiaſtical and civil, on Martinuzzi; who was made a cardinal, and entruſted with the almoſt unlimited conduct of affairs, in the countries which he had thus ſubjected to the houſe of Auſtria. But, the temporary tranquillity, produced by this event, was followed by greater convulſions. Caſtaldo, who commanded the Spaniſh forces, ſent by Charles the Fifth to the aſſiſtance of the king of Hungary, accuſed the cardinal of a treaſonable correſpondence with the court of Conſtantinople; and received directions to anticipate its effect, by cauſing him to be aſſaſſinated. The order was executed, almoſt in the preſence of the Spaniſh commander, by five gentlemen, with circumſtances of the moſt revolting and perfidious barbarity. It is difficult to juſtify Ferdinand for ſuch an act, even if we admit, in its fulleſt extent, the truth of the accuſation brought againſt Martinuzzi; and although we ſhould allow, that, under the circumſtances, it was dangerous or impracticable to bring ſo powerful and ambitious a ſubject, to a public trial. Solyman, irritated at the proceeding, and determined on revenge, aſſerted anew the cauſe of the young king, John Sigiſmund; who was recalled by the Tranſylvanians, and conducted by his mother, into that country, which became the theatre of hoſtilities. He maintained himſelf againſt the Auſtrian generals, ſupported

His aſſaſſination.

Troubles of Hungary.

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ported by the affection of the people; and the kingdom of Hungary was again desolated by the misfortunes incident to a war, in which the two parties equally trampled upon all the laws of humanity [18].

1557—1563. Distrust of the German princes.

Under these circumstances, Ferdinand succeeded to the Imperial throne. His situation demanded the utmost caution, and rendered it necessary to blend firmness, with yielding and conciliatory measures. The wars, produced by religion, had left a distrust the most fatal to general union, or harmony, among all the members of the Germanic system; and it was difficult, if not impossible, to induce them to contribute even to the expences, indispensible for their own preservation as a political body. Ferdinand vainly called their attention to the alarming state of Hungary, and the augmenting danger from the Turkish arms. Neither the catholic, nor protestant states would listen to his requisitions; and after fruitless attempts, in repeated diets, he was necessitated to defend his dominions, with the resources arising from his hereditary possessions [19]. All his efforts to effect a reunion of the two religions, by adopting those rules of faith and discipline, in which the followers of both were agreed, proved no less ineffectual. The princes, who had embraced the Creed, known by the name of "the Confession of Augsburg," refused either to attend, or to concur in the deliberations of the council of Trent, which, at the emperor's solicitation, Pius the Fourth had again convoked. The papal see was equally deaf to his demand, for permitting the Austrian clergy to marry; notwithstanding the cogent and unanswerable reasons, alleged by Ferdinand and his ministers, to justify the measure, on moral as well as political principles. It was not till after long negotiation, and many delays, that the court of Rome thought proper to relax on another article; that of allowing the laity to partake of the communion in both kinds: a conceffion, indispensible for retain-

Inflexibility of the papal see.

[18] La Croix, vol. i. p. 438—442, and p. 452—460. Sacy, vol. i. p. 304—342, and vol. ii. p. 1—22.

[19] Schmidt, vol. viii. p. 49—63. Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 192—194.

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ing the ſubjects of Ferdinand in their ſubjection to the catholic church and worſhip [20].

1557—1563. Tranquillity of the German empire, under Ferdinand.

Notwithſtanding theſe mortifying refuſals, or diſappointments, relative to meaſures eſteemed by the emperor of the higheſt conſequence to his own greatneſs, and the general happineſs of the empire; his reign will ever be regarded as a period, marked by the moſt auſpicious circumſtances of tranquillity, and diſtinguiſhed by its wiſdom. The amiable character of Ferdinand, his moderation, his liberality of ſentiment on matters of conſcience, and his ardent, though uſeleſs zeal to extinguiſh religious animoſity among the German princes and ſtates: theſe virtues were univerſally felt and acknowledged. The momentary incurſions and depredations of Grumbach, a private gentleman, who aſſaſſinated the biſhop of Wurtzburg in Franconia, and committed various exceſſes in that city, were the only interruptions of the profound peace which prevailed throughout the circles of Germany. All the hereditary dominions of the houſe of Auſtria participated in this repoſe, with the exception of Hungary, which continued, during many years, a prey to the calamities, inſeparable from a conteſted ſucceſſion, aggravated by the Turkiſh ferocity. Towards the concluſion of his life, the emperor condeſcended to purchaſe of Solyman a truce for eight years, at the annual price of thirty thouſand ducats; and John Sigiſmund, his competitor, was included in the treaty. The vaſt inequality of revenues and forces, between the Turkiſh, and the German emperors; the indifference expreſſed by the diets to the fate of Hungary; and the precarious, or inadequate contributions, granted to repel the Turks, who gained ground of the Imperial commanders: theſe circumſtances form an eloquent juſtification of Ferdinand's conduct, in ſubmitting to terms of ſo humiliating a nature [21].

Truce purchaſed of Solyman.

[20] Schmidt, vol. viii. p. 80—156. Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 196—198. Annales de l'Empire, p. 462, 463. Heiſs, vol. i. p. 411—413.

[21] Schmidt, vol. viii. p. 76—79, and p. 178, 179. Sacy, vol. ii. p. 28—34.

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1563, 1564. Maximilian, elected king of the Romans.

The unanimity, with which the electors, of both religions, eccleſiaſtical and civil, concurred in electing his ſon, Maximilian, to the dignity of king of the Romans, was calculated to conſole the emperor for his involuntary conceſſions to the Porte. The ceremony of that prince's coronation was performed at Francfort, with the accuſtomed ſolemnities, and ſeemed to ſecure the Imperial title in the family of Auſtria. His ſucceſs in ſo favourite a meaſure, induced Ferdinand to renew his exertions for reſtoring unanimity on religious ſubjects, throughout the empire; and he redoubled his efforts in the council of Trent, to procure a relaxation of the points, which had hitherto impeded this ſalutary object. In order, by his perſonal weight and exhortations, to facilitate its completion, he removed his reſidence to Inſpruck; and, notwithſtanding his bodily infirmities, could not, without extreme reluctance, be induced to relinquiſh his patriotic endeavours. Convinced at length, that the council, far from being animated with any deſire of conciliating the proteſtants, or of producing a reform in the Romiſh church and court, was only an engine, directed by the legates, ſubſervient to the papal intrigues or intereſts, and incapable of liſtening to any enlarged principles of comprehenſive toleration, he deſiſted, and even conſented to the diſſolution of ſo uſeleſs an aſſembly. His concern at the event, is ſuppoſed to have haſtened the attacks of the diſeaſe, which ſoon afterwards terminated his life, at ſixty years of age [22].

Ineffectual endeavours of Ferdinand, to obtain a toleration for the proteſtants.

His death.

1564. Character.

The luſtre of his predeceſſor's reign, and the temporary grandeur of the Imperial dignity, while held by Charles the Fifth, have thrown the actions of Ferdinand into the ſhade, and obſcured their intrinſic merit. His endowments of mind were leſs calculated to extend the limits of his dominions; but, were far more adapted to conduce to the felicity of his ſubjects. His judgment was ſound, and influenced in all its operations by a heart, replete with humanity. Eraſmus had ſu-

[22] Heiſs, vol. i. p. 413, 414. Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 199, 200. Annales de l'Empire, p. 463, 465. Schmidt, vol. viii. p. 157—267. paſſim.

perintended

perintended his education, and directed his ſtudies: Cicero, with whoſe philoſophical productions he was familiar, had enlarged his conceptions. Zealouſly attached to the catholic faith, he was neither perſecuting, nor intolerant, in an age of religious violence and rancour. Firm, and capable of ſupporting his meaſures, he was yet free from the obſtinate inflexibility of his brother. Irreproachable in the walks of private life, he was a model of conjugal fidelity, temperance, and every domeſtic duty. His application to public buſineſs never intermitted, and continued undiminiſhed, even to the near approach of his diſſolution. The great act, denominated "the Peace "of Religion," which ſuſpended the diſputes between the catholic and proteſtant ſtates of the empire, was due to his unwearied exertions, and was maintained by his vigor, in defiance of every attack. His love of juſtice and of peace, his tenacious adherence to his promiſes, and the gentleneſs of his manners, conſpired to render him one of the moſt excellent princes who has held the Imperial ſceptre, and to endear his memory to the Germans. He may be regarded as the founder of the greatneſs of the younger branch of the houſe of Auſtria, by the acquiſition of Hungary and Bohemia; though the former of thoſe kingdoms was not effectually reduced to the obedience of his deſcendants, by the expulſion of the Turks, till towards the termination of the ſeventeenth century. In no circumſtance of his life, was he more fortunate, than in his ſon, Maximilian; who, in ſucceeding to his crowns, inherited his talents and virtues [23].

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If Europe has ever ſeen the throne occupied by a ſage and a philoſopher, it was in the perſon of Maximilian the Second. In benevolence and humanity, his contemporaries compared him with Titus; and in the ſimplicity of his manners, renunciation of pleaſure, and ſevere diſcharge of every moral obligation, we are reminded of Marcus Antoninus. Formed for peace, he endeavoured to diſpenſe that in-

Acceſſion, and character of Maximilian the Second.

[23] Schmidt, vol. viii. p. 267—272. Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 200, 201. Heiſs, vol. i. p. 414.

valuable

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valuable poſſeſſion to all his ſubjects; and to allay, by his interpoſition, or authority, the animoſities, produced by difference of religious belief. Suſpected of leaning towards the new opinions, he yet ſteadily maintained, in his hereditary dominions, and in the empire, the purity of the catholic faith; nor ever permitted the proteſtants to break down the barriers, oppoſed to their further progreſs, by his predeceſſors. His mild and beneficent temper, illuminated by reflexion, induced him to regard all violence, in matters of conſcience, as equally unjuſt and impolitic. He ſtands, in this particular, ſtrikingly oppoſed to his couſin, Philip the Second, king of Spain; whoſe bigotry and intolerance produced the revolt of the Netherlands, and purſued hereſy throughout Europe, with fire and ſword. To render Maximilian one of the moſt illuſtrious, as he indiſputably was one of the moſt amiable princes, whom Providence has raiſed up for the felicity of mankind, a more martial and enterpriſing diſpoſition was alone wanting. His expoſed ſituation on the Hungarian frontiers, and the perpetual inroads of the Turkiſh ſultans during the ſixteenth century, demanded a ſovereign, poſſeſſed of military talents, and perſonal activity in war. The operation of this defect in his character, was, however, confined to Hungary; while his virtues diſpenſed happineſs and tranquillity over all the other people, ſubjected to his government. He was beloved by the Auſtrians, idolized by the Bohemians, and regarded throughout Germany, by the catholics and proteſtants, as the common parent and protector of his ſubjects, of every denomination [24].

1564—1567. War with Solyman.

The reſtleſs ambition and pretenſions of John Sigiſmund, prince of Tranſylvania, who had broken the truce, and invaded Upper Hungary, neceſſitated the emperor, at an early period of his reign, to convoke a diet, and to demand ſupplies of men and money. They were granted with an alacrity and celerity, little cuſtomary in thoſe aſſemblies; and which was not more the reſult of the apprehenſions,

[24] Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 215, 216. Schmidt, vol. viii. p. 386—390.

excited

excited by the impending war, than due to the general reſpect and affection borne to Maximilian. Solyman, notwithſtanding his age and infirmities, appeared again in the field, as the ally of his Tranſylvanian vaſſal; and, at the head of a vaſt army, laid ſiege to Sigeth. He expired, in the camp, before the capture of that city was effected; and the count de Serini, to whom its defence had been entruſted, obtained an immortal reputation, by the deſperate valour, with which he long repulſed the aſſailants. Reduced at length, to the neceſſity of dying, or of capitulating with an enemy who violated all compacts, he generouſly preferred the former alternative; and ruſhing on the Turks, with the ſmall remains of his garriſon, periſhed by the ſcimitars of the Janizaries. The vizier ſent his head to Maximilian, with a contemptuous and inſulting meſſage, reproaching him for puſillanimity, or inactivity, in not advancing to the relief of Serini[25]. Since the memorable campaign of 1532, when Charles the Fifth had, in perſon, oppoſed Solyman, Germany had not ſent ſo numerous a body of forces to combat the Turks, as that, which Maximilian commanded. But, the timidity, or prudence of his generals, who were ſtill greatly inferior to the Ottoman army; and the recollection of the many unfortunate battles, which the Hungarian princes had fought againſt thoſe invaders, induced the emperor to remain upon the defenſive. Selim the Second, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Solyman, whoſe views of conqueſt were directed againſt the Venetians, conſented, ſoon after his acceſſion, to renew the truce between the two empires, upon terms favourable to the houſe of Auſtria. The Tranſylvanian prince was not included in the treaty, and continued his hoſtilities, or depredations, for ſeveral years: but, they were at length terminated by his renunciation of the title of King of Hungary; which article formed

Capture of Sigeth by the Turks.

Renewal of the truce with Selim the Second.

[25] La Croix, vol. i. p. 534—537. Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 202—204. Annales de l'Empire, p. 465—468. Schmidt, vol. viii. p. 306—315. Sacy, vol. ii. p. 38—51.

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the baſis of an amicable agreement, and reſtored tranquillity to thoſe deſolated provinces [26].

The benign influence of the qualities and virtues, by which Maximilian was peculiarly diſtinguiſhed, was more ſenſibly felt in the empire, and in his hereditary German provinces, where he appeared in his proper and natural character, as the father and legiſlator of his people. The internal repoſe of Germany ſuffered a temporary interruption, from the inflexibility and miſguided adherence of John Frederic the Second, duke of Saxe Gotha, to Grumbach, whoſe acts of violence had already excited univerſal indignation, under the reign of Ferdinand. The duke, ſon to the magnanimous and unfortunate elector of Saxony, depoſed by Charles the Fifth after the battle of Muhlberg, perſiſted, in defiance of the Imperial mandate, to afford a retreat and protection to this invader of the public peace. Moved by conſiderations of compaſſion and friendſhip, the emperor warned him of his error, pointed out to him its conſequences, and exhorted him to avert the inevitable puniſhment, by delivering up Grumbach. But, John Frederic, who, to a contracted underſtanding, joined the wildeſt fanaticiſm, and the moſt unlimited credulity, perſiſted to grant him an aſylum in his palace and capital. Maximilian was, therefore, reluctantly neceſſitated to lay him under the ban of the empire; and Auguſtus, the reigning elector of Saxony, principally charged with its execution, beſieged him in the city of Gotha. He was reduced to ſurrender; carried priſoner to Vienna; and after being expoſed to the view of the populace, in a ſtate of ignominy and degradation, he was finally detained in captivity, till his death. Grumbach ſuffered by the hand of the executioner, together with ſeveral of his adherents, or accomplices. Some ſlight diſturbances in the electorate of Treves, and in the duchy of Mecklenburg, were the only circumſtances, be-

Affairs of Saxe Gotha.

Repoſe of Germany.

[26] Schmidt, vol. viii. p. 315—318. La Croix, vol. i. p. 543—544. Sacy, vol. iii. p. 51—57. Heiſs, vol. i. 418, 419.

fides,

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ſides, which invaded the profound quiet, enjoyed by Germany, under Maximilian [27].

1568—1574. Toleration granted by Maximilian.

Encouraged by ſo favourable an aſpect of public affairs, and yielding to the benignity of his diſpoſition, he ventured on a ſtep, which places the ſuperiority and expanſion of his mind, in the moſt conſpicuous point of view. The ſtipulations, contained in his coronation oath, when elected emperor, as well as the articles conſtituting "the Peace of Religion," on which alone, the ſtability and maintenance of the catholic faith depended, fettered him in his Imperial capacity, and permitted him to make no infringement whatever on thoſe points. But, as arch-duke of Auſtria, he poſſeſſed a power of relaxing the ſeverity of the laws, which denied liberty of conſcience to his proteſtant ſubjects. Notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the Spaniſh embaſſador, in the name of his ſovereign, Philip the Second; and in defiance of the menaces of Pius the Fifth, who filled the papal chair; Maximilian gave the firſt voluntary example of religious toleration to Europe, by permitting the nobility, and equeſtrian order in Auſtria, to celebrate publickly the ceremonies of their worſhip, in their caſtles and houſes, as well as on their eſtates. This indulgence was, however, ſtrictly limited to the two claſſes, above mentioned; and neither extended to the people at large, nor even to the inhabitants of cities; who vainly endeavoured to ſhake the emperor's determination on the ſubject, or to elude his vigilance [28].

Nature and limits of it.

In the preſent century, when the minds of men, enlarged and humanized by philoſophy, are become familiar with toleration; and when the moſt bigotted European nations admit ſome ſpecies of religious freedom; a permiſſion ſo circumſcribed in its operation, as that granted by Maximilian, may not appear to merit any extravagant

Reflexions on the emperor's conduct.

[27] Schmidt, vol. viii. p. 319—328. Heiſs, vol. i. p. 417, 418. Annales de l'Empire, p. 468, 469. Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 208, 209.

[28] Schmidt, vol. viii. p. 329—341. Annales de l'Empire, p. 470. Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 210. Heiſs, vol. i. p. 421.

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eulogiums. But, the actions of men are not only to be appreciated by the eternal laws of rectitude and juſtice: they muſt be, in ſome meaſure, likewiſe, referable to the modes of thinking, received by their contemporaries, and generally adopted. On every ſide, Maximilian ſaw only the moſt intolerant bigotry. The Netherlands, and France, were deſolated by their reſpective ſovereigns, in order to extinguiſh hereſy, and to ſpread the unity of the catholic faith. Even, among the proteſtants themſelves, the moſt rancorous and ſanguinary animoſities prevailed, to the ſubverſion of all mutual good offices. Servetus was committed to the flames at Geneva, by Calvin, for ſome ſpeculative difference of opinion on abſtruſe points of theology; and the Lutherans regarded with horror the doctrines, inculcated by that reformer, and Zuinglius. Maximilian, in an age of perſecution, declared publickly his repugnance to all religious violence, and his unalterable opinion, that "to the Supreme Being alone, it belonged, to "judge the conſcience." Nor did he content himſelf with only aſſerting this principle: his active benevolence impelled him to make every exertion, to ſtop the deſtructive influence of bigotry, in other countries. Touched with the cries and complaints of the Flemings, he diſpatched his brother, the arch-duke, Charles, to Philip the Second, with directions to remonſtrate with him on his violation of their privileges, civil, and religious; though this humane interpoſition was ineffectual. He did not conceal his deteſtation of the maſſacre of St. Bartholemew, for which Rome and Madrid made public demonſtrations of joy; and when Henry the Third, king of France, paſſed through Vienna, in his flight from Poland to his own country, the emperor ſtrongly exhorted him to commence his reign, by maxims and principles of toleration. It would have been happy for Henry, and his people, if he had been capable of profiting by the advice [29].

Enlargement and beneficence of his character.

1574. State and ſituation of

In order to form a juſt eſtimate of the political power, ſituation, and reſources of the houſe of Auſtria, at this period, we muſt ſeparate

[29] Heiſs, vol. i. p. 421. Mezerai, vol. ix. p. 142.

the

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the Imperial dignity, from the hereditary dominions of Maximilian. Notwithſtanding ſome acts of authority, approaching to abſolute, which Charles the Fifth ventured to exerciſe, after the defeat and diſperſion of the proteſtant ſtates, in 1546; it is inconteſtible, that the real weight and conſequence of the emperors were reduced, under Ferdinand the Firſt, and Maximilian the Second, to a very low condition. Scarcely any revenues or appropriate domains whatſoever were annexed to the office; and whenever contributions were to be levied from the Germanic body, for ſupporting its prerogatives, or enforcing its claims, the greateſt impediments were to be previouſly ſurmounted, of every kind [30]. Numberleſs examples and proofs might be adduced, from a review of the two laſt reigns. It was not without reiterated ſolicitations, that Ferdinand the Firſt obtained ſupplies of men and money, to enable him to defend Hungary when attacked by the Turks; though the empire was, obviouſly, intereſted in the preſervation of a kingdom, which formed a barrier againſt the Ottoman conqueſts, and a bulwark to Germany. Ferdinand complained to the members of the diet aſſembled at Augſburg, in 1559, that the pecuniary ſupplies, voted him three years preceding, were not then fully paid; and that he had been reduced to the neceſſity of diſbanding his troops, without diſcharging their arrears, from the deficiency in making good the money granted him by the empire [31].

the houſe of Auſtria, at this period.

Prerogatives annexed to the Imperial dignity.

Poverty of the emperors.

This evil reſulted principally, from the want of a fixed and regular aſſeſſment. Not only the money was levied with notorious partiality and inequality; the free cities contributing in a much larger proportion, than the powerful princes: but, theſe latter exacted taxes from their ſubjects, to more than double the amount of their reſpective quotas, and afterwards paid into the Imperial treaſury whatever part of the ſum they thought proper [32]. Such glaring injuſtice was practiſed, that in the diſtribution of the taxes, impoſed in 1559,

Cauſes of it.

Unequal and partial levies of money.

[30] Schmidt, vol. v. p. 545—549. [31] Ibid. vol. viii. p. 60—62. [32] Ibid. p. 62.

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in order to raiſe the amount of five hundred thouſand florins of gold, granted by the diet to Ferdinand the Firſt; the city of Nordlingen, in Suabia, was compelled to pay as large a proportion, as the whole palatinate and the duchy of Neubourg. In like manner, the ſingle abbey of Elchingen was rated higher than the extenſive duchy of Brunſwic Wolfenbuttle [33]. The emperors did not venture to attempt a reform of the grievance, which would have been too dangerous an experiment. Maximilian the Second, who, from his popularity, and from the univerſal affection borne him by catholics and proteſtants, found more facility than his predeceſſor, in obtaining ſupplies from the empire; yet, complained of the inadequacy of the ſums, accorded him for protecting Auſtria and Styria againſt the Turks [34].

To augment the misfortune, they were only given for a limited, and uſually, for a ſhort period; nor was it ever poſſible to induce the diets to render the contribution permanent and perpetual. The encreaſe of the Imperial authority was too much an object of apprehenſion [35]. Even in matters which ſeemed to reſpect the Germanic body more than the head, it was difficult to rouſe that unwieldy confederacy, or to induce them to make any pecuniary exertions. When it was determined to ſend an embaſſy to the king of France, in 1559, to demand reſtitution of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, as dependencies of the empire; the neceſſary expence, though not eſtimated at more than fifty thouſand florins, long delayed the departure of the embaſſadors [36]. Livonia, till after the middle of the ſixteenth century, was conſidered as part of the German empire; but, from the want of timely ſupport or aſſiſtance, that important and fertile province, ravaged by Ivan Baſilowitz the Second, Czar of Muſcovy, and abandoned by its natural protectors, ſubmitted to Poland. The emperor, Ferdinand, made repeated application to the diets, in favour of the Li-

Sluggiſhneſs of the Germanic body.

[33] Schmidt, vol. viii. p. 62.

[34] Ibid. p. 306, 307.

[35] Ibid. vol. v. p. 549.

[36] Scarcely five thouſand pounds ſterling. Schmidt, vol. viii. p. 66—69. Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 194.

vonians;

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vonians; and he obtained, in 1561, a ſupply of two hundred thouſand florins, which was tranſmitted to Riga; but, ſo ſmall and ineffectual an aid produced no beneficial effect. Livonia was irrecoverably loſt [37]. 1574.

Power and prerogatives of the emperors.

Notwithſtanding the diminiſhed ſtate of the Imperial power, and the total want of revenue under which it laboured, many valuable prerogatives and claims ſtill remained to its poſſeſſor. His ſupremacy, ſovereignty, and juriſdiction over all the members of the empire, were unqueſtioned; though the exerciſe was accompanied with reſtrictions, and could only be put in force againſt any one prince, with the conſent and participation of the others. Among the moſt important rights of the emperors, was the faculty of granting inveſtitures, and the diſpoſal of vacant fiefs. The houſe of Auſtria owed its original greatneſs to this very privilege; the emperor Rodolph the Firſt, having, in virtue of his office, inveſted his own ſon, Albert, with the vacant duchies of Auſtria, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola [38]. Reverſions of fiefs, not yet open, were even conferred by Frederic the Third, and Maximilian the Firſt, from the plenitude of their Imperial authority, without the conſent of the ſtates of thoſe countries; and the validity of ſuch donations was not called in queſtion [39].

Inveſtitures.

Honors and dignities.

The emperor was regarded as the legitimate ſource of all nobility; and his right to confer every title, without exception, admitted of no diſpute: the papal ſee, which conteſted ſo many of the Imperial pretenſions, acquieſced in this claim [40]. Frederic the Third, had entered into a negotiation with Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, in 1473, the object of which, on the part of the latter prince, was to obtain his elevation to the rank and title of king; but, a diſpute which aroſe between them, prevented its accompliſhment [41]. Almoſt all the dukedoms in the German empire, as well as thoſe of

[37] Schmidt, vol. viii. p. 73—76. Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 194, and p. 197, 198.

[38] Schmidt, vol. v. p. 529—531.

[39] Schmidt, vol. v. p. 531, 532.

[40] Ibid. p. 539.

[41] Heiſs, vol. i. p. 321.

Savoy,

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Savoy, Luxemburg, and many others, were created by the emperors, in the fifteenth and ſixteenth centuries [42]. Numberleſs inferior prerogatives appertained to, and were exerted by them. The right of impoſing duties or tolls, of coining money, of holding markets, exerciſing juſtice, and exemption from foreign courts of judicature; theſe, and many more veſted in the chief of the empire [43]. He poſſeſſed, likewiſe, in his quality of "defender and protector of "the chriſtian church," an undefined and extenſive ſupremacy over all eccleſiaſtical property, and over the eccleſiaſtics themſelves [44].

Inferior privileges.

Ceremonial.

But, it was in the ceremonial accompanying public acts of ſtate, that the Imperial office and dignity appeared to be peculiarly preeminent, and to eclipſe all other royalty. In 1562, at the election of Maximilian to the title of King of the Romans, the elector of Brandenburg, as great chamberlain, preſented him the golden baſon, and napkin: the elector of Saxony, as maſter of the horſe, brought in a ſilver buſhel, filled with oats; and the elector palatine, in virtue of his office, as lord ſteward, went to the kitchen, took thence two ſilver diſhes, and ſerved them at the Imperial table. An opinion, that the emperor was ſuperior to all other monarchs, and that he repreſented the Roman Cæſars, prevailed throughout Europe: the idea was nouriſhed by the vanity of the German nation, and gave riſe to the moſt unlimited pretenſions, on various occaſions [45].

Powers of the Hungarian kings.

If the real and ſolid advantages of this high office were ſo ſmall, thoſe, which Maximilian derived from his Hungarian title and dominions, were ſcarcely more valuable. He poſſeſſed, in fact, only a very limited portion of the kingdom, compriſing the northern provinces, bounded towards Tranſylvania, by the river Teiſſe; the Tibiſcus of the Romans [46]. Buda, the capital, together with the ſouthern part of Hungary, and all Sclavonia, belonged to the Turks. Sigeth and Giula, two cities, had recently fallen into the hands of

[42] Schmidt, vol. v. p. 539.
[43] Ibid. p. 540, 541.
[44] Ibid. vol. vi. chap. xlvi.
[45] Schmidt, vol. v. p. 542.
[46] Buſbequius. Leg. Turc. Epiſtolæ. Lug. Batavor. 1633. p. 17 and 19.

Selim

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Selim the Second, and were retained by him at the truce of 1566[46].

John Sigiſmund Zapoli, prince of Tranſylvania, was dead in 1571; but the inhabitants of the province had elected in his place, a nobleman of valor, activity, and capacity, Stephen Bathori, who was equally dependant on the German and Turkiſh emperors. Even the part of Hungary, which Maximilian retained, was deſolated by the Ottoman incurſions, depopulated, and held by a precarious tenure[47]. It appears, by the account which he preſented to the diet at Ratiſbon, a ſhort time before his death, that the annual expence, incurred by the garriſons on the Ottoman frontier, amounted to near a million, ſeven hundred thouſand florins[48]. His power, likewiſe, was extremely curtailed: the Hungarian Magnates, or grandees, poſſeſſed an abſolute and almoſt unlimited authority, which it was dangerous to attack; while, on the other hand, the people were in a ſtate of abject vaſſalage, ſuperſtition, and ignorance. The vaſt armies, raiſed by the joint contributions of the emperor and empire, notwithſtanding their apparent ſtrength, manifeſted every ſymptom of weakneſs; and the officers were perpetually employed in preventing, or extinguiſhing the diſſenſions, inevitable among ſoldiers of different manners and nations. The Bohemians and Hungarians treated the Germans with contempt, as deficient in bravery; while the quiet and paſſive valor of the latter, diſdained the impetuous fury, by which their comrades were diſtinguiſhed, as only proper for incurſions and ſkirmiſhes. This want of harmony in the Imperial camps, formed an inſurmountable impediment to the operations of war, and gave a great advantage to the enemy[49].

Vaſt expences of maintaining garriſons.

Nature of the armies.

It was from his Bohemian and Auſtrian dominions, that Maximilian derived his principal conſideration, ſtrength, and reſources. Even of theſe, the bequeſt of Ferdinand the Firſt, his father, diminiſhed a

Hereditary dominions of Maximilian.

[46] Sacy, vol. ii. p. 51—55.

[47] Ibid. p. 57—60. Schmidt, vol. viii. p. 318. Buſbeq. Epiſtolæ, Legat. Turc. p. 19—21.

[48] About one hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds ſterling. Schmidt, vol. viii. p. 370, 371, and p. 380, 381.

[49] Ibid. vol. vii. p. 541—543.

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considerable portion. By his last will, he left to his second son, Ferdinand, Tyrol, Alsace, the Brisgaw, and his possessions in Swabia; to the third, Charles, the duchies of Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola [50]. The collateral branches were not totally reunited under one head, till the reign of the emperor Leopold, in 1665. After the termination of the sixteenth century, we find scarcely any instance among the Germans, in which independant fiefs, or territories, were granted to younger children. The right of primogeniture, and the obvious advantages of keeping the succession undivided, prevented those pernicious proofs of paternal affection, and reduced the younger sons to a strict dependance on the chief of the family. The kingdom of Bohemia, at the period under our review, comprised the provinces of Silesia, Moravia, and Lusatia, which, united to Upper and Lower Austria, formed a compact and powerful state, subject to Maximilian. His authority was not, however, by any means, arbitrary. The States of all the provinces were convoked, whenever supplies were wanted; and their consent to every imposition was requisite, before taxes could be levied on the people. Even, in 1566, when on the arrival of Selim the Second, in the camp before Sigeth, a vigorous and active campaign was expected, which demanded instant preparations; the emperor could not impose the slightest contribution, till he had assembled the States, and obtained their approbation [51].

Limited power of the sovereign.

In the list of European powers, Maximilian the Second, if divested of the consideration annexed to the Imperial title and prerogatives, could scarcely be regarded as occupying the third rank. Spain and France were far superior. Even England, and Portugal, in 1574, enjoyed, on many occasions, a greater national consequence, and possessed a much more extended commerce. The revenues of Bohemia and Austria were, by no means, ample; and those countries were destitute of a single maritime port. Trieste and Fiume, upon the Adriatic, were included in the dominions of Charles, duke of Styria. The mines of Schwatz, in the county of Tyrol, produced

Revenues.

[50] Schmidt, vol. viii. p. 271. Heiss, vol. ii. p. 232—234. [51] Schmidt, vol. viii. p. 314.

annually,

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annually, on an average, ſilver, to the amount of near two millions of florins; but, the expences of working them, were conſiderable; and they belonged to Ferdinand, the brother of Maximilian [52].

State of religion, and of the eccleſiaſtics.

The firm adherence of the Auſtrian princes to the catholic religion and the Romiſh ſee, prevented the doctrines and followers of Luther from ever attaining beyond a very limited point of power; but, the united authority, Imperial and Papal, could not contain the clergy within the bounds of celibacy. All the letters of Ferdinand the Firſt, to Pius the Fourth, atteſt in the ſtrongeſt terms, the impracticability of reſtraining prieſts, and even monks, from marrying, or living in an avowed commerce with concubines. Hence aroſe the preſſing, though ineffectual entreaties of that prince, to the pope, to permit the clergy to contract marriages. Though the pontiffs would never relax on this point, it was, nevertheleſs, indiſpenſible to connive at the unions, and to allow them to be conſidered as legitimate; otherwiſe the people, in many diſtricts, muſt have been totally deprived of eccleſiaſtics, to officiate in the catholic churches [53]. By an inqueſt taken of the convents in Auſtria, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, in 1563, it appeared that in one hundred and twenty-two monaſteries, containing four hundred and thirty-ſix monks, and one hundred and ſixty-eight nuns; there was no leſs a proportion than one hundred and ninety-nine concubines, fifty-five married women, and four hundred and forty-three children [54].

State of letters.

This evil, reſulting from the genius and prohibitions of the catholic religion, was in ſome meaſure, connected with another, by which Auſtria and Bohemia were characteriſed; the want of proper

Seminaries of learning.

ſeminaries of education for youth. There were, it is true, univerſities eſtabliſhed at Prague, and at Vienna; but, ſo deficient were they in profeſſors of learning, or merit, that the nobility were reduced to the neceſſity of ſending their children to other places of inſtruction. The univerſity of Wittemberg, in Saxony, under the auſpices

[52] Schmidt, vol. vii. p. 545, 546.
[53] Ibid. vol. viii. chap. xvii. and p. 256—262.
[54] Ibid. vol. viii. p. 182. Note.

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of Luther and his followers, had riſen to a high degree of celebrity; and notwithſtanding every injunction to the contrary, that city was generally preferred to every other in Germany. Neither the fine arts, nor ſciences, had made any great progreſs in the hereditary dominions of the houſe of Auſtria, at this period. Even the German language was rude, unharmonious, and little cultivated by men of letters. The elegant epiſtles of Buſbequius, which contain ſo much information on the Turkiſh court, capital, and manners, were written in Latin.

Vienna began to be conſidered under Ferdinand the Firſt, and Maximilian the Second, as the ordinary reſidence of the German emperors; though they frequently transferred their court to Prague, in order to conciliate the affections of their Bohemian ſubjects, or to inſpect perſonally the condition of that kingdom. Ferdinand procured from the States, convoked in 1547, a declaration, that the crown was hereditary, and not elective. Perhaps, the moſt glorious teſtimony to the virtues of a ſovereign, and to the felicity of a people under a wiſe and vigilant adminiſtration, which is contained in hiſtory, is the one given by the embaſſadors of Bohemia, to the Poliſh nation, in favour of Maximilian the Second, when he was a candidate for the crown of Poland, after the flight of Henry of Valois from Cracow. It ought to be engraven over the thrones of princes, as the higheſt incitement to ſimilar exertions of beneficence, and as the greateſt recompence in the power of man to beſtow. In peruſing the expreſſions of the affection and gratitude of the Bohemians, we are penetrated with reſpect and pleaſure; while we ſeem to behold a legiſlator, ſuch as Pythagoras, or Solon, are depictured by antiquity, occupied only in diſpenſing happineſs, extinguiſhing diſcord, and reviving the primitive ſimplicity of the early ages of the world [55]. It excites a melancholy regret, to reflect that the reign of ſo excellent a ſovereign as Maximilian, was limited to the tranſitory period of twelve years.

Teſtimony of the Bohemian embaſſadors, to Maximilian's wiſdom and beneficence.

[55] Schmidt, vol. viii. p. 388, 389.

CHAP. XIV.

THE GERMAN EMPIRE.

View of the German empire.—History of Saxony, from the commencement of the sixteenth century to the year 1574.—Dominions, revenues, and forces of the electors, at that period.—Progress of Letters.—State of the electorate of Brandenburg.—Gradual and progressive elevation of the Prussian monarchy, to the present time.—History of the Palatinate.—Cultivation of Letters by the Electors Palatine.—Survey of the German empire in the sixteenth century.—Bavaria.—Cleves.—Brunswic.—Mecklenburg.—Hesse.—Wirtemberg.—Number, and state of the free, Imperial cities.—General review of Germany, in 1574.—Introduction of knowledge.—Characteristic virtues and vices of the Germans.—Troops.—Landsquenets.—Arms.—Taxes.—Manners.—Commerce.—State of the Hanseatic league.—Effects of the religious effervescence, caused by the reformation of Luther.—Letters.—Arts.—Manufactures.—Jurisprudence.

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General form of the Germanic body, in the sixteenth century.

THE Germanic body, at the period of which we are treating, had, already, in a great measure, assumed the political form, which it still continues to retain. During more than four centuries, the electors, seven in number, had arrogated, and exercised the undisputed right of choosing the emperors; and this exclusive pretension had been sanctioned by the famous constitution of Charles the Fourth, published in 1356, and known by the name of "the Golden Bull." Every prerogative of royalty was annexed to the electoral dignity; and they preceded, if not in power and extent of dominion, in rank and eminence, all the other princes of the empire[1]. Three were ec-

[1] Heiss, vol. ii. p. 50, 51.

clesiasti-

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cleſiaſtical and elective; the archbiſhops of Mentz, Cologne, and Treves. The vote of the king of Bohemia in the electoral college, was exerciſed by the family of Auſtria; and the remaining electors were thoſe of Saxony, Brandenburg, and the Palatine.

1500—1548. Saxony.

The hiſtory of Saxony, during the greater part of the ſixteenth century, is ſo much blended with that of Charles the Fifth, and his two ſucceſſors, Ferdinand, and Maximilian, as to be inſeparable in all its great features. Frederic, ſurnamed the Wiſe, reigned over Saxony, in the year 1500, and, as hiſtorians aſſert, declined the acceptance of the Imperial crown, offered him by his colleagues, after the death of Maximilian the Firſt. He had ſeen, during the reigns of the two preceding emperors, how little conſequence or power that eminent dignity conferred, unleſs ſupported by ample patrimonial revenues; and how many expenſive, or painful duties it impoſed. His own territories were unequal to the preſſure of ſo vaſt a weight, and he therefore exhorted the other electors to make choice of the king of Spain; who, from his poſſeſſions in Germany, the Low Countries, and Italy, could becomingly ſuſtain the majeſty of the firſt office in the chriſtian world [2]. The memorable example of Charles the Seventh in the preſent century, who was raiſed by the intrigues of the French cabinet, to the ſame eminence, and who became the victim of his own ambition, may enable us fully to appreciate and to admire the wiſdom of Frederic, in diſdaining and rejecting the Imperial ſceptre. Under his protection, and towards the termination of his life, Luther firſt ventured to promulgate his doctrines, which produced ſo rapid and ſurprizing a revolution. This protection appears, nevertheleſs, to have originated more in the elector's opinion of Luther's capacity and utility, as a theological profeſſor in the univerſity of Wittemberg, which he had recently founded; than from any conviction, or zealous adherence to the tenets of the reformation [3]. Frederic

Frederic the Wiſe.

[2] Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 118. Schmidt, vol. vi. p. 190—192. Heiſs, vol. i. p. 340.

[3] Schmidt, vol. vi. p. 232—234.

died

died in 1525; and his brother, John, who ſucceeded him, embraced openly the proteſtant faith, which he evinced by preſenting, in his own name, and that of many other German princes, the celebrated expoſition, diſtinguiſhed by the title of "the Confeſſion of Augſburg." It was received by Charles the Fifth, in the Diet, convoked in 1530, at that city [4]. CHAP. XIV. 1500—1548.

The unfortunate John Frederic, who, by his father's deceaſe, became ſoon afterwards elector, was, from his acceſſion, regarded as the head of the proteſtant intereſt in the empire. His religious zeal induced him to join the "League of Smalcald," to which he fell a victim. Abandoned by his aſſociates, betrayed by his miniſters, attacked by his own relations, and ſelected for an exemplary chaſtiſement by Charles the Fifth, whom he had perſonally irritated and offended; he was finally vanquiſhed at the battle of Muhlberg, on the banks of the Elbe. The emperor, abuſing the rights of war, in the perſon of John Frederic, as he had done at an earlier period of his life, by Francis the Firſt, at Madrid; and exerciſing the Imperial prerogative, in violation of his oath, to the purpoſes of oppreſſion; degraded the captive prince, deſpoiled him of his electoral voice and dignity, and deprived him of almoſt all his hereditary dominions. Theſe he conferred on Maurice of Saxony, head of a younger branch of the electoral family; and who, though a proteſtant, had attached himſelf to Charles, and carried arms againſt the chief of his houſe. The city of Gotha, with a part of Thuringia, were alone reſerved for the unhappy John Frederic, who was likewiſe detained a priſoner. In ſo humiliating a ſituation, he betrayed the moſt unſhaken magnanimity, and the moſt zealous adherence to the proteſtant religion, for the defence of which he had facrificed every inferior conſideration. His deſcendants ſtill retain, after more than two centuries, the diminiſhed poſſeſſions, allotted them by the rigor of Charles the Fifth [5]. John Frederic. Transfer of the electoral dignity to Maurice.

Acting by virtue of the plenitude of his authority, in the Diet, aſſembled at Augſburg, in the following year; the emperor pro- 1548—1553. Inveſtiture of Maurice.

[4] L'Art de Vérif. vol. iii. p. 415. [5] Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 167—172. Heiſs, vol. i. p. 385—388.

ceeded

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1548—1553.

ceeded publickly to the inveſtiture of Maurice, who took poſſeſſion of the dominions and electoral title of his relation. Charles did not, however, experience from him either the gratitude or ſubmiſſion, to which he ſeemed to have acquired a right, by ſo many benefits. Maurice, incenſed at the detention of his father-in-law, Philip, Landgrave of Heſſe; and ſtung by the reproaches of his countrymen, who accuſed him of having ſacrificed his honor, and religion, to the gratification of his ambition; determined to redeem his character. After having nearly captured the emperor himſelf at Inſpruck, and reduced him to fly with precipitation, the elector concluded, at Paſſau, an accommodation with Ferdinand, king of the Romans; by the articles of which, the late regulations, civil and eccleſiaſtical, ſolemnly publiſhed by Charles the Fifth, were reſcinded and annulled. Liberty of conſcience, in the moſt extended degree, was granted to the proteſtants, and the Landgrave was reſtored to his freedom.

Death of Maurice.

Maurice did not long ſurvive a tranſaction, which covered him with perſonal glory, and which had rendered him the defender of the Germanic rights, nearly extinguiſhed under the deſpotiſm of the Imperial power. He periſhed, at the age of thirty-two, in the battle of Sieverſhauſen, gained over Albert, margrave of Brandenburg, who had deſolated Germany by his ravages and depredations[6]. His premature death, in the moment of victory, and in the act of expelling the enemy and invader of the repoſe of his country; when added to his talents, valour, and ſucceſsful attainment of the objects of his ambition: this combination of qualities and circumſtances, have rendered him peculiarly illuſtrious in the annals of the ſixteenth century. As he left no male iſſue, his brother, Auguſtus, ſucceeded to the electoral title and dominions, notwithſtanding the fruitleſs reclamations of the depoſed John Frederic, who vainly attempted to recover his patrimony. Auguſtus, ſupported by the friendſhip of Ferdinand, king of the Romans, maintained himſelf in his new poſſeſſion; received the in-

1553—1574. Acceſſion of Auguſtus.

[6] Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 174—179. Heiſs, vol. i. p. 399—404. Annales de l'Empire, p. 441—456.

veſtiture

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1553—1574.

veſtiture from Maximilian the Second; and tranſmitted thoſe acquiſitions to his poſterity, by whom, notwithſtanding the convulſions which have agitated Germany, they are ſtill enjoyed [7]. Deſtitute of the ſhining and active qualifications of his predeceſſor, Auguſtus was nevertheleſs highly eſtimable as a ſovereign. Warmly attached to the purity of the Lutheran doctrines, he ardently exerted himſelf to prevent, or to ſuppreſs the differences of religious opinion among the proteſtants, which began to manifeſt themſelves, and to divide the party. Magnificent in his court, but, œconomical in his diſtribution of the public treaſure, he was equally beloved and reſpected throughout the empire. He continued to reign in 1574 [8].

1574. Dominions of the electors of Saxony.

The dominions, ſubject to the electors of Saxony, at this period, were not ſo extenſive as at preſent; the marquiſate of Luſatia, a fief of the crown of Bohemia, having been ceded by the emperor, Ferdinand the Second, in 1635, to John George the Firſt, at the treaty of Prague [9]. The territories, poſſeſſed by Frederic the Wiſe, and the antient electoral houſe, only comprehended the part of Saxony, denominated "the Electoral Circle," together with a portion of Thuringia, of which Wittemberg was the capital, and ducal reſidence. The margraviate of Miſnia was re-united to it, by the elevation of Maurice, to whom the province antecedently belonged. Dreſden, ſituate in this diviſion of Saxony, began to be regarded as the metropolis of the electorate, under Auguſtus, towards the concluſion of the ſixteenth century; and its happy poſition on the Elbe, in a fertile country, ſoon contributed to its augmentation and embelliſhment [10]. The electorate of Saxony was the moſt favoured part of the German empire, in ſoil, productions, and population; watered throughout

[7] L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 417. Heiſs, vol. ii. p. 33.

[8] L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 417. Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 208.

[9] Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 330.

[10] Heiſs, vol. ii. p. 254. Schmidt, vol. vi. p. 191, and p. 314; and vol. vii. p. 239, 240. and p. 266, 267, and p. 274, 275.

its

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Military forces.

its whole extent, by the Elbe, and abounding in natural advantages. John Frederic, during the progreſs of the war, which terminated ſo fatally for his family, evinced the reſources of which he was poſſeſſed: his troops did not fall ſhort of twenty-ſix thouſand; and when defeated at Muhlberg, he had fifteen thouſand Saxons under his immediate command [11]. His revenues were very ample, and they were further augmented under Maurice and Auguſtus. The ſilver mines of Schneeberg in Miſnia, were the moſt profitable of any in Germany. As early as the year 1477, Albert, duke of Saxony, was publickly ſerved at dinner, on a block of ſilver, at Schneeberg, of ſo prodigious a ſize, that from it were extracted four hundred quintals of that metal [12]. The produce of the mines, in the ſixteenth century, was ſtill very large, and formed a conſiderable article of the public revenue.

Revenues.

Univerſities.

No univerſity in the empire enjoyed ſo high a reputation, or attracted ſo great a number of ſtudents, as Wittemberg. The celebrity of Luther, and the emancipation which he had introduced in many branches of letters, as well as religion, conduced to give it an advantage over the catholic ſeminaries of education. Luther himſelf, after having acted ſo diſtinguiſhed a part on the theatre of the world, and diminiſhed the papal influence throughout a vaſt part of Europe, was fortunately removed by death from being a witneſs to the ſubverſion of the family, under whom he had propagated his doctrines, and from whom he had always derived ſecurity and protection. He expired at Iſleben, in the county of Mansfeldt, the place of his nativity; and his body was interred at Wittemberg, with extraordinary ſolemnity. Charles the Fifth, after his victory at Muhlberg, having viſited the church, in which were depoſited his aſhes, was exhorted by ſome of his attendants, to order the tomb to be broken open. But, ſucceſs had not corrupted his natural character and diſ-

Letters.

Luther.

[11] Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 169.

[12] Schmidt, vol. v. p. 515.

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position sufficiently, to render him capable of listening to the advice. "It is with the living, and not with the dead, said he, that I wage "war: let him repose in peace; he has already met his judge"[13]." The magnanimity and moderation of this conduct, in an age when the sanctity of the Sepulchre afforded no asylum from bigotry and animosity, excite surprize; and may justify the opinion, that Charles, however necessitated from his situation to oppose the progress of Lutheranism, did not altogether condemn the principles of the reformer himself.

State of Brandenburg, in the sixteenth century.

1415—1571.

THE Prussian monarchy, so respectable among the great powers of Europe in the present age, was only in its infancy, during the sixteenth century; and in the contracted territories of the margraves of Brandenburg, it was not easy to foresee the future elevation of that family. Frederic of Hohenzollern, Burgrave, or governor of Nuremburg in Franconia, purchased the marquisate, of the emperor Sigismund, for the sum of four hundred thousand ducats, about the year 1415[14]; and he transmitted it, together with the electoral dignity, to his descendants. Joachim the First, who died in 1535, was a prince of activity and merit; zealously attached to the catholic faith, and anxious for its maintenance in his dominions. But, under his son and successor, Joachim the Second, the Lutheran religion was adopted throughout the electorate. This change in his faith, had not, however, influence on his political conduct: he remained unshaken in his adherence to the emperor, during the troubles, occasioned by the "League of Smalcald," and refused to enter into the confederacy of protestant princes; though, after the conclusion of the war, he exerted every effort, in conjunction with Maurice, the new elector of Saxony, to procure the enlargement of the landgrave

Electors.

[13] Schmidt, vol. vii. p. 276. [14] L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 525.

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of Heſſe. Previous to his deceaſe, he obtained, in 1569, from Sigiſmund Auguſtus, king of Poland, the right of ſucceſſion to the dominions of Albert Frederic of Brandenburg, duke of Pruſſia, on the event of that prince's death without iſſue [15]. Joachim the Second was a lover of the arts; pacific, moderate, and an enemy to perſecution. He was ſucceeded in 1571, by John George his ſon.

1574. Territories.

The part of Germany, ſubject to the electors of Brandenburg, at this period, was neither extenſive, fertile, nor commercial. It was limited to the tract of country, denominated the old, middle, and new march: even the latter of theſe had been diſmembered from the others, and was only re-united by John George, ſoon after his acceſſion, at the death of his uncle, without male iſſue [16]. The ſoil was, in general, barren; the population, thin; and the ſtate of induſtry, languid. Stettin, and the mouths of the Oder, belonged to the dukes of Pomerania; nor had the margraves of Brandenburg any territories which confined on the Baltic. Their poſſeſſions were among the leaſt favoured by nature, of any in the empire; and Berlin, which was already become the capital, contained no object of curioſity, or of magnificence.

Letters.

The ſciences penetrated ſlowly, and were little cultivated, notwithſtanding the foundation of a univerſity at Francfort on the Oder, by Joachim the Firſt, as early as 1506 [17]. His ſon obtained ſome augmentation of power and territory, by the ſeizure and ſecularization of all the biſhopricks; among which, thoſe of Brandenburg, Havelburg, and Lebus, were the chief [18]: but, it was not till the ſeventeenth century, that the grandeur of his deſcendants began to manifeſt itſelf. Their progreſs has been one of the moſt rapid and extraordinary, recorded in modern hiſtory, and may, perhaps, not yet have attained its ſummit. John Sigiſmund, after the extinction of the dukes of Cleves, in 1609, ſeized on a portion of their ample inheritance, comprehending the duchy of Cleves, and the counties of La

Gradual formation, and augmentation of the Pruſſian monarchy.

[15] Schmidt, vol. vii. p. 321 and 332. L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 529.
[16] L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 530. [17] Ibid. p. 529. [18] Idem, ibid.

Mark

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Mark and Ravenſperg, which have ultimately been adjudged to, and retained by his family [19]. In 1618, he ſucceeded to the duchy of Pruſſia, vacant by the demiſe of Albert Frederic, his father-in-law [20]. The treaty of Weſtphalia conferred on Frederic William, the great elector, the eventual ſucceſſion to the archbiſhoprick of Magdeburg; and the actual poſſeſſion of the biſhopricks of Halberſtadt, Minden, and Camin; together with the eaſtern Pomerania [21]. In 1657, he liberated his duchy of Pruſſia from its feudal vaſſalage to the Republic of Poland; and before his death, he obtained from the emperor Leopold, the circle of Schwibus [22].

Frederic the Firſt, his ſucceſſor, procured from the Imperial court, and ſucceſſively, from all the others in Europe, a recognition of his title of King of Pruſſia; an act, which though it probably originated as much from perſonal vanity, as from ambition, yet, has aided in no ſmall degree, by its conſequences, the other cauſes of the greatneſs of the family of Brandenburg [23]. The county of Tecklenburg, and afterwards, the principality of Neuchatel in Switzerland, devolved to the new monarch, in 1707, as part of the patrimony of William the Third, king of England, and prince of Orange [24]. His ſon, Frederic William the Second, added Upper Guelderland to his dominions, at the peace of Utrecht, in 1714; and at the treaty of Stockholm, concluded in 1720, he retained Stettin, and the diviſion of Swediſh Pomerania, compriſed between the rivers Oder and Peene, which he had previouſly conquered from Charles the Twelfth [25]. In 1731, the principality of Mœurs, the county of Lingen, and ſeveral other lordſhips in the Auſtrian Brabant, were adjudged to him, in right of his deſcent from the daughter of Frederic Henry, prince of Orange [26].

[19] Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 249. L'Art de Verif. p. 530. Heiſs, vol. ii. p. 266, 267.

[20] Heiſs, vol. ii. p. 268, 269. L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 530, 531.

[21] Annales de l'Empire, p. 542. Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 357.

[22] L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 531, 532.

[23] Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 465, 466.

[24] L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 533.

[25] Idem, ibid.

[26] Ibid. p. 534.

Bur,

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But, all preceding acquiſitions were obſcured and ſwallowed up in the magnitude of thoſe, made by Frederic the Second. The extenſive and fertile province of Sileſia, together with the county of Glatz, a part of the kingdom of Bohemia, were reduced to his obedience in 1741, and ſecured by a peace with Auſtria, in the following year [27]. In 1744, on the deceaſe of Charles, laſt prince of Eaſt Frieſland, his troops took poſſeſſion of that country, without moleſtation, by virtue of a donation made to his family, in 1694, from the emperor Leopold [28]. The partition of Poland, in 1772, by rendering him maſter of the rich and extenſive tract of country on both ſides of the Viſtula, from the gates of Dantzic to the walls of Thorn, together with the biſhoprick of Ermeland, has enabled him to join his electoral dominions to the duchy of Pruſſia, and to form an uninterrupted line along the ſouthern ſhore of the Baltic, from the frontiers of Courland and Samogitia, to thoſe of Mecklenburg and Swediſh Pomerania. Under the preſent reign, the two Franconian margraviates of Bareith and Anſpach, ſeparated from the marquiſate of Brandenburg for near two centuries, have been again united to it, by the voluntary ceſſion of the reigning prince. A ſecond partition of the unfortunate Republic of Poland, has augmented the Pruſſian monarchy by the addition of Dantzic, Thorn, and the rich provinces of Poſnania and Cujavia. So uninterrupted a ſeries of territorial acquiſitions, during a period when the powers of Europe have been conſtantly occupied in endeavours to prevent any ſtate from acquiring a political preponderance, or greatly enlarging its poſſeſſions at the expence of its neighbours; is not one of the leaſt ſingular events by which our own times are diſtinguiſhed. Whether wiſdom, or fortune, have conduced principally to produce it, is a queſtion foreign to the preſent work, and which would lead to a great variety of reflexions.

Reflexions on ſo extraordinary an event.

[27] L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 535. [28] Ibid. p. 535.

THE

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THE electors Palatine might be juſtly regarded, during the ſixteenth century, as more powerful princes, than thoſe of Brandenburg. The lower Palatinate formed a conſiderable tract of country, on the Rhine and the Neckar, in a fertile and commercial part of Germany. Its vicinity to the frontiers of France and Flanders, enabled, or compelled the electors to take an intereſt, and frequently a ſhare, in the diſturbances of thoſe ſtates. The upper Palatinate, a detached and diſtant province, ſituated between Bohemia, Franconia, and Bavaria, which was a part of the electoral dominions, added to their political weight, as members of the Germanic body. Frederic the Firſt, elector Palatine, who died in 1476, was a martial and enterprizing prince, under whom the inſtitution of diſciplined troops, regularly trained to war, and retained after its concluſion, was introduced into the empire. Previous to his reign, armies were only compoſed of vaſſals or peaſants, aſſembled on an emergency, and diſbanded immediately afterwards. The emperor Maximilian the Firſt imitated the example ſet by Frederic, in this particular [29]. Two princes of the Palatine family, both of whoſe names were Frederic, diſtinguiſhed themſelves gloriouſly in the ſucceeding century, at the memorable ſiege of Vienna, by Soliman the Second. While one attacked the Turkiſh army, encamped before the walls of the city, the other gallantly and ſucceſsfully defended the place [30].

1450—1517. State of the Palatinate in the ſixteenth century.

Electors.

Under Louis the Fifth, Luther began to diſſeminate his doctrines at Heidelberg, which were eagerly and generally imbibed; the moderate character of the elector permitting the utmoſt freedom of religious opinion, though he continued himſelf to profeſs the catholic faith. His ſucceſſors withdrew from the Romiſh ſee, and openly declared their adherence to Lutheraniſm; but, on the acceſſion of Frederic the Third, a new revolution took place. He was the firſt, among the proteſtants, who introduced and profeſſed

Introduction of the reformation. 1518.

1530—1559.

[29] L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 325. Schmidt, vol. vi. p. 57.
[30] Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 145. L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 325.

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1530—1559. the reformed religion, denominated Calviniſm. As the toleration, accorded by the "Peace of religion," to thoſe who embraced the "Confeſſion of Augſburg," did not, in a ſtrict and legal ſenſe, extend to, or include the followers of Calvin, Frederic might have been proſcribed, and put to the ban of the empire; nor did he owe his eſcape ſo much to the lenity or friendſhip of the Lutherans, as to the generoſity of Maximilian the Second, who then filled the Imperial throne, and who was an enemy to every ſpecies of perſecution [31].

1559—1572. Frederic the Third.

Frederic the Third, animated with zeal for the ſupport of the Proteſtant cauſe, took an active part in the wars which deſolated the kingdom of France under Charles the Ninth; protected all the French exiles who fled to his court, or dominions; and twice ſent ſuccours, under the command of his ſon, John Caſimir, to Louis, prince of Condé. Not content with theſe unequivocal proofs of his diſpoſition, he reſerved the moſt ſevere and mortifying treatment for the arrival of Henry, duke of Anjou. That young prince, newly elected to the crown of Poland, having accepted the elector's invitation to paſs through Heidelberg, in his way from Paris to Cracow, was received by him with every mark of indignant reſentment; entertained in a hall, on the walls of which was depictured the maſſacre of St. Bartholemew; and ſerved by French refugees during the repaſt. Frederic even carried his vengeance ſo far, as to declaim with animation againſt the authors of that atrocious act, and to lament the fate of Coligni. We ſcarcely know how to condemn a conduct, which although it might be regarded as a violation of the laws of hoſpitality, yet expreſſed the generous abhorrence, excited by the recent recollection of a maſſacre, unexampled in the hiſtory of mankind, and in which Henry bore a diſtinguiſhed ſhare [32].

Reception of the king of Poland. 1573.

1574. Univerſity of Heidelberg.

The Palatinate was not only one of the richeſt, but, one of the moſt improved and poliſhed parts of the empire: the univerſity of Heidel-

[31] Schmidt, vol. viii. p. 294—300.

[32] Mezerai, vol. ix. p. 112. De Thou, vol. vii. p. 28.

berg,

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berg, founded towards the concluſion of the fourteenth century, was the firſt inſtitution of that kind, known in Germany, and produced many illuſtrious perſons [33]. The electors Palatine were peculiarly diſtinguiſhed as the protectors of letters; and ſo early as the year 1421, Louis the Third bequeathed to the univerſity his library. An enumeration of the literary works which it contained, may ſerve to convey no inaccurate idea of the ſtate of knowledge, and of the progreſs of the human mind, before the diſcovery of printing had more widely diſſeminated information. The volumes, in number one hundred and fifty-two, conſiſted entirely of manuſcripts; and many of them were already written upon paper, which article was procured from Venice. Of theſe productions, eighty-nine were theological treatiſes; forty-five, were upon medicine; ſeven, on the canon law; five, on the civil law; and ſix, upon aſtronomy and philoſophy: not one, upon hiſtory. Such was the nature and genius of the ſtudies, then proſecuted and held in eſtimation among the Germans [34].

1574.

Palatine library.

Otho Henry, during his ſhort reign of only three years, began the celebrated collection of books and manuſcripts, known by the name of "the Palatine Library;" and which was greatly augmented by his ſucceſſors. The moſt valuable part of it was ſent by the duke of Bavaria, in 1621, as a preſent to Gregory the Fifteenth, who then filled the papal chair, after the ſack of Heidelberg, and the expulſion of the unfortunate elector, Frederic the Fifth, from his capital and dominions. Œcolampadius, Melancthon, Bucer, and many of the moſt eminent reformers, ſtudied at the univerſity of Heidelberg, which attained to a high reputation at the commencement of the ſixteenth century [35]. The perſecutions of Philip the Second in the Netherlands, were favourable to the population of the Palatinate; as thoſe of Charles the Ninth in France had been, at nearly the ſame period. Frederic the Third received the expatriated proteſtants; and having diſſolved the monaſtery of Frankendal, he founded there a city, which was imme-

[33] L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 324.
[34] Schmidt, vol. v. p. 520, 521.
[35] L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 326, 327.

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diately peopled with Flemings, and ſoon became one of the moſt conſiderable in his territories [36].

1574. Rude magnificence of the electors.

Heidelberg was the capital, and reſidence of the electors Palatine, in the ſixteenth century, where they diſplayed a rude magnificence. Frederic the Third kept a tame lion in his palace, which mingled among the domeſtics, entered the chamber of the electreſs, and daily received his food at her feet. The motive for taming and retaining ſuch an animal was not a little ſingular, and aroſe only from the elector having immemorially worn on his ſhield, the figure of a lion, as his armorial bearing. This prince continued to reign at the period of which we are treating [37].

State of the human mind in Germany, at the time of Luther's appearance.

So diſpoſed were the minds of men towards religious innovation, at the beginning of the ſixteenth century, and ſo weary was mankind become of the pecuniary exactions of the Romiſh church, that in leſs than fifty years after the appearance of Luther, the greater portion of Germany had withdrawn itſelf from its obedience to the holy ſee. The example, exhibited by the three ſecular electors, was followed by the inferior princes, nobility, and almoſt all the free, imperial cities. On the other hand, the biſhops, and dignified eccleſiaſtics, in general, adhered to the antient faith, and formed a powerful phalanx, ranged under the papal banners. The famous clauſe, inſerted by Ferdinand the Firſt, into the conſtitutions of the diet of Augſburg, in 1555, denominated "the Eccleſiaſtical Reſervation," preſerved the property of the catholic church from further dilapidation, and formed a bulwark impregnable by all the efforts of the proteſtants [38]. The bonds of religious union, which had been originally ſo ſtrong between the members of that communion, were likewiſe exceedingly weakened by the introduction of the doctrines of Calvin, Zuinglius, and other reformers,

[36] Heiſs, vol. ii. p. 282, 283.
[37] L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 326.
[38] Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 181, 182.

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who either openly rejected the "Confeſſion of Augſburg," or explained its expreſſions in a manner favourable to their own opinions. Notwithſtanding theſe obſtacles, or diſſenſions, the princes and ſtates, who had embraced the reformation before the middle of the ſixteenth century, far outweighed in political power, as well as exceeded in numbers, thoſe who remained firm in their original perſuaſion. At the head of the Catholics, almoſt alone, if we except the Imperial family, were the dukes of Bavaria and Cleves. The proteſtants were maſters of the remainder of the empire. The dukes of Brunſwic, Mecklenburg, and Wirtemberg; the landgrave of Heſſe, and a croud of petty princes had embraced the Lutheran, or Calviniſt doctrines [39].

Progreſs of the Reformation.

The dukes of Bavaria, and the electors Palatine ſprung from a common origin, about the middle of the thirteenth century. The former princes, at the period under our review, poſſeſſed a very conſiderable tract of country, extending from the ſouthern bank of the Danube, to the Alps which divide Bavaria from the Tyrol; though they had not acquired either the electoral dignity, or the upper palatinate, to both of which they ſubſequently attained, under the emperor Ferdinand the Second, during the war of thirty years. Bavaria, whether from the vigilance of its ſovereigns, or from the genius of the people, inclined to ſuperſtition, and averſe to novelty; was the part of the empire, in which the Lutheran opinions had met with the leaſt favourable reception. William the Firſt zealouſly adhered to the antient religion, and entered into the "catholic league," at Nuremberg, in 1538. His ſon, Albert the Third, who acceded in 1550, was regarded as one of the firmeſt ſupports of the Romiſh faith and ſee. His connexion with the houſe of Auſtria, by his marriage with the arch-ducheſs Anne, daughter of Ferdinand the Firſt, attached him by political ties to the Imperial family, and ſtrengthened his other motives for oppoſing the progreſs of the Reformation [40].

1508—1574. †Bavaria.

William, duke of Cleves and Juliers, makes a conſpicuous figure, in the hiſtory of the empire, under the reign of Charles the Fifth.

1539—1574. Cleves.

[39] Schmidt, vol. viii. p. 2—4.

[40] L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 496. Schmidt, ibid.

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Incenſed at the emperor's refuſal to deſiſt from his pretenſions to the duchy of Guelderland, William entered into the cloſeſt bonds of friendſhip with Francis the Firſt; and having joined his own forces to thoſe of the French monarch, he attacked and routed the Imperial troops. But, his proſperity was of ſhort duration. Compelled to demand forgiveneſs, at the feet of Charles, and to cede the province of Guelderland, which he had diſputed; his pardon was finally ſealed by the renunciation of Jane d'Albret, daughter of Henry, king of Navarre, to whom he had been betrothed, and by his marriage with Mary, daughter of Ferdinand, king of the Romans. The remainder of his reign was paſſed in cultivating the arts of peace; and his adherence to the catholic religion, untinctured with zeal or bigotry, left a free entrance among his ſubjects, to the new opinions, which were favoured by the vicinity of Holland and the Palatinate [41].

1514—1574. Brunſwic.

Reign of Henry.

The dominions of the family of Brunſwic, had been divided early in the fifteenth century, and formed two independant ſtates; of Wolfenbuttel, and of Lunenburg. Erneſt the Firſt, head of the younger branch, imbibed the precepts of Luther at the univerſity of Wittemberg, while proſecuting his ſtudies; and was one of the moſt zealous proſelytes of the new doctrines, which ſpread rapidly among his ſubjects. But, in the duchy of Brunſwic Wolfenbuttel, the catholic faith, ſupported by Henry, ſovereign of the country, made a long and vigorous reſiſtance. He was a turbulent and martial prince, equally an enemy to his own repoſe, and to the tranquillity of Germany. His attempts to reduce by force of arms, and to puniſh the cities of Brunſwic, and Goſlar, which enjoyed very extenſive immunities, approaching to political independance, drew upon him the reſentment of "the League of Smalcald." He was driven out of his dominions, by that powerful confederacy; and on his return with a body of French troops, he was routed, taken priſoner, and confined by the Landgrave of Heſſe, in the fortreſs of Ziegenhain.

[41] L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 186, 187. Schmidt, ibid. p. 3.

After

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After the victory of Muhlberg, and the humiliation of the proteſtant party, the duke was releaſed, and reinſtated by Charles the Fifth. At the memorable battle of Sieverſhauſen, gained by Maurice, elector of Saxony, over Albert of Brandenburg, and in which Maurice periſhed; Henry was preſent, and loſt his two eldeſt ſons in the action. This was his laſt exertion of military proweſs; and before his deceaſe, he renounced the catholic religion, of which, during fifty years, he had been the ardent defender. His ſon, and ſucceſſor, Julius, who had embraced Lutheraniſm before his father, confirmed its progreſs, and withdrew his people from any ſubjection to the church of Rome [42].

Mecklenburg.

The extenſive country of Mecklenburg, extending from the frontiers of Holſtein, to the borders of Pomerania, along the ſouthern ſhore of the Baltic, like Brunſwic, was divided in the ſixteenth century, between two princes of the ſame houſe, in nearly equal portions; denominated from their reſpective capitals, Schwerin, and Guſtrow. Similar, too, in another point of view, the proteſtant doctrines, which were received and adopted by the duke of Schwerin, as early as 1530, did not become the predominant religion of Guſtrow, till after the year 1547 [43].

1509—1574. Heſſe.

Reign of Philip.

There is no character more diſtinguiſhed, on the theatre of Germany, from the acceſſion to the abdication of the emperor, Charles the Fifth, than that of Philip, Landgrave of Heſſe. His hiſtory is neceſſarily interwoven with all the important tranſactions of the period; in the greater part of which he bore an eminent ſhare. An early convert to Lutheraniſm, his arms and counſels were ſteadily employed in maintaining the faith which he had eſpouſed: but, he found it impoſſible to reconcile Luther himſelf with Zuinglius, on the article of the Euchariſt; and after three days, paſſed in fruitleſs conferences at Marburg, the two reformers ſeparated, without coming to an agree-

[42] L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 431, 432. Schmidt. vol. vii. p. 136—139, and 205—207. Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 166.

[43] L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 491, 492.

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ment upon any point. Philip adhered invariably to the "Confeſſion "of Augſburg," and joined his forces to thoſe of John Frederic, the unfortunate elector of Saxony, when they ventured to oppoſe the emperor, in 1546. Terrified with the fate of his aſſociate and ally, he haſtened to implore the pardon of his temerity; but, Charles, though he did not uſe equal rigour towards the Landgrave, detained him a priſoner. He was indebted for his freedom, to the ſucceſsful and vigorous attack made by Maurice, the new elector of Saxony; and after five years of ſevere captivity, he reviſited his dominions. We ſearch in vain, during the remainder of his life, for the vigor and deciſion, which had characteriſed him previous to the war of Smalcald. Rendered cautious even to timidity, by his misfortunes, Philip renounced any active interference in the quarrels of religion, as far as they related to Germany; though he ventured to ſend aſſiſtance to the Hugonots, at the commencement of the civil wars in France. His ſon, William the Fourth, inherited the talents, as well as the adherence to Lutheraniſm, which diſtinguiſhed Philip; and no part of the empire was more wiſely governed, or enjoyed more profound tranquillity, than the landgraviate of Heſſe, under his pacific adminiſtration [44].

1509—1574. His detention by Charles the Fifth.

1498—1519. Wirtemberg.

The dukes of Wirtemberg might be conſidered as the laſt of the great German princes, of the ſecond order. Their territories, ſituated in the circle of Suabia, were not only extenſive and populous; but inferior to none, in fertility, and variety of productions. Ulric the Sixth, after having been expelled from his dominions, for an infraction of the public peace of the empire, which he had imprudently and raſhly committed, by attempting to avenge his private quarrels with an armed force; ſaw his duchy ravaged, and ſold by the conquerors, to the emperor, Charles the Fifth. That monarch beſtowed it on Ferdinand, his own brother; while Ulric, an exile and a fugitive, wandered for fourteen years, without aſylum, or protection.

Reign of Ulric the Sixth. 1520.

1534.

[44] Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 170, and p. 177. L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 373—375. Heiſs, vol. ii. p. 316.

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The generous and active friendſhip of Philip, Landgrave of Heſſe, aided by the pecuniary aſſiſtance of Francis the Firſt, re-eſtabliſhed him; and in the following year, he introduced the Reformation into Wirtemberg [45]. 1534.

Involved in the calamities, under which the "League of Smalcald" was oppreſſed, he was reduced to ſubmit to the conditions impoſed by Charles; and his death, which took place ſoon afterwards, ſcarcely prevented the forfeiture of his duchy, reclaimed by Ferdinand, king of the Romans, as reverting to him by the crime of rebellion. It required the wiſdom and moderation of his ſucceſſor, Chriſtopher, to obliterate the misfortunes which the imprudence of Ulric had produced. He was the parent and protector of his ſubjects; and his reign of eighteen years, formed an æra of repoſe and felicity, unknown in Wirtemberg. With the approbation of the States, the duke compoſed and publiſhed a code of laws, framed on a baſis of equity; and calculated to extinguiſh the feuds ariſing neceſſarily from the barbarous and contradictory juriſprudence, previouſly in uſe. Every beneficial inſtitution, for introducing police, regulating commercial tranſactions, and diffuſing civilization, were adopted by Chriſtopher. His adherence to Lutheraniſm was not embittered by the ſpirit of intolerance; and his active benevolence rendered him equally reſpected by the catholics, as by thoſe of his own perſuaſion. Under his adminiſtration, the duchy, which had been ravaged and deſolated, became the moſt opulent and proſperous part of Germany. He was ſucceeded by Louis the Third, his ſon [46].

1535—1550.

1550—1574. Chriſtopher.

Felicity of his reign.

The free imperial cities formed a very important part of the Germanic empire and conſtitution. They appear to have been firſt admitted to the Diets, towards the concluſion of the thirteenth century [47]. Under Maximilian the Second, they exceeded ſeventy in number; moſt of which, with the ſingle exception of Lubeck, were

1574. State, commerce, and wealth of the Imperial cities at this period.

[45] Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 122, and p. 152, 153. L'Art de Verifier, vol. iii. p. 390, 391. Heiſs, vol. ii. p. 332.

[46] L'Art de Verif. ibid. p. 391, 392.

[47] Schmidt, vol. vi. p. 31, 32.

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ſituated in the circle of Suabia, or on the Rhine [48]. In commerce and riches, they were ſuperior to the cities, ſubject to the ſovereigns by whom they were ſurrounded; and they exerciſed every act of independance and juriſdiction within themſelves. In all the general contributions, enacted by the Diets, they were loaded with an unjuſt proportion; but the emperors, who derived from their aſſiſtance the greateſt ſupport, protected them againſt every attempt of the electors, or princes, to reduce them to ſubjection [49]. Among the great, Imperial cities of the firſt order, Cologne was the only one, in which the catholic religion maintained its antient aſcendancy. Lubeck, which enjoyed a vaſt proportion of the Baltic trade, as well as Nuremberg, and Straſburg, were zealous Lutherans. The others, divided between the Romiſh and Proteſtant church, admitted the free exerciſe of both modes of worſhip, and compoſed the magiſtracy or municipal officers, indifferently from perſons of the two oppoſite perſuaſions.

1574. Fermentation of the human mind in the ſixteenth century.

It was not till towards the concluſion of the fifteenth, and commencement of the ſixteenth century, that Germany began to emerge from its political obſcurity, and to aſſume a ſhare in the wars, negotiations, and concerns of Europe. Every thing, at that period, combined to awaken the human mind, to ſtimulate its exertions, and to inflame its ardor. The invention of the art of printing; the introduction of artillery, and gunpowder, into all military operations; the formation of ſtanding armies; the innovations in religion; and the ſtill more ſurprizing revolutions in commerce, in conſequence of the diſcoveries of Columbus and Gama, which transferred the trade of the Eaſt, from Egypt and Italy, to Portugal: theſe cauſes, united, and acting with force upon a people, unacquainted, in a great degree, with the arts; produced a fermentation, of which, at this diſtance of time, we

[48] Heiſs, vol. ii. p. 90, 91.

[49] Ibid. p. 88, 89. Schmidt, vol. vi. p. 74—77.

can,

can, with difficulty, form any adequate idea. Civil liberty, learning, polite letters, and all the refinements of poliſhed ſociety, began to be underſtood, and to be cultivated. The impediments, conſtructed by tyranny, or produced by anarchy, which had hitherto prevented the free intercourſe of one nation with another, were gradually removed. The rude and martial exerciſes of chivalry, gave place to more gentle recreations. Lances, and coats of mail, became almoſt uſeleſs, after the practice of fire-arms was eſtabliſhed; and the ſubſtitution of infantry, in the place of cavalry, deprived the nobles of one of their moſt diſtinguiſhed advantages, when engaged in war [50].

Slow progreſs of civilization in Germany.

The effect, produced by theſe changes, on the national manners and character, however great, was, notwithſtanding, neceſſarily ſlow: it was continually retarded by prejudice, and impeded by long eſtabliſhed habits, relinquiſhed with difficulty. Even, after the middle of the ſixteenth century, much of the rude originality of the German nation, and of their characteriſtic virtues and defects, ſurvived, and ſtrongly diſcriminated them from every other people. Their probity, frankneſs, and loyalty, were not more univerſally acknowledged, than were their general ruſticity, credulity, and drunkenneſs; but the former ſeem to have been the indelible and genuine qualities of the people, while the latter reſulted, in a great meaſure, from the ſtate of ſociety, and the want of cultivation [51]. The beautiful reply of Stephen, duke of Bavaria, to Galeazzo Viſconti, his brother-in-law, duke of Milan, ſtrikingly depictures the fidelity and honeſty, for which the Germans were renowned. The Italian prince having made an oſtentatious diſplay of his wealth and magnificence; Stephen obſerved, that "he could not boaſt of equal riches; but, that he had not a "ſubject in his dominions, on whoſe breaſt he could not ſleep in "ſafety [52]." Charles the Fifth, in his public manifeſtos, as well as in his private letters, did not heſitate to aſſign as an unanſwerable reaſon

Characteriſtic virtues and vices.

Probity of the Germans.

[50] Schmidt, vol. v. p. 508, and p. 520. [51] Ibid. p. 493—495. [52] Idem, ibid.

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againſt the ſuppoſed machinations of Maurice, elector of Saxony, and the margrave of Brandenburg, in 1552; that "ſuch was the unimpeached probity and veracity of the German nation, and ſo incapable were they of inſincerity or duplicity; that he could not believe it poſſible for two princes of their origin and extraction, to engage in a ſyſtematical plan of perfidy[53]." Notwithſtanding the almoſt unintermitted diſſenſions, wars, and private animoſities, which deſolated the empire, from the death of Frederic the Second, in 1250, to the abdication of Charles the Fifth, in 1556, we find, in the lapſe of more than three centuries, no inſtance of a conſpiracy among the Germans; and only one of an aſſaſſination; that, committed in the perſon of the emperor, Albert the Firſt, by his nephew[54].

Drunkenneſs.

If theſe eminent virtues were univerſally confeſſed, the intoxication, to which every claſs of men, throughout the empire, were addicted, merited not leſs reprobation. Princes and nobles gratified ſo degrading a propenſity, in an equal degree with the loweſt of their ſubjects. Maximilian the Firſt, who, from having lived among foreigners, during the life, as well as after the deceaſe of Mary of Burgundy, his wife, had embraced their manners, was an exception to the national character; and he repeatedly attempted to reform his countrymen, not only by an example of ſobriety, but, by poſitive laws and prohibitions. At the diet of Worms, in 1495, it was enjoined, that the electors and princes ſhould ſeverely repreſs and puniſh ſuch irregularities[55]. But, an evil, which held ſo forcibly to general manners, was not to be ſubdued by legal injunctions, nor penalties; and, in 1572, we find new edicts equally ſtrong, and equally ineffectual, for the diſcouragement and ſuppreſſion of this vice, iſſued by the diet of Cologne[56]. In other European countries, the effects of drunkenneſs, rather than the practice itſelf, have been the object of penal ſeverity.

Meaſures for its repreſſion.

[53] Schmidt, vol. vii. p. 377, 378, and p. 381—383.
[54] Ibid. vol. v. p. 494.
[55] Ibid. p. 495.
[56] Ibid. p. 496—499.

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German ſoldiery.

The German ſoldiery in the ſixteenth century began to be eſteemed equal to any European troops, in bravery and ſteady courage. At the battle of Pavia, they acquired a high reputation, by engaging and breaking the flower of the French army. The characteriſtic virtues and vices of their country, were ſtill to be traced in the camp. They were not ſanguinary, nor cruel; they eaſily granted quarter, and rarely ſhed unneceſſary blood: but, on the other hand, they were eager for plunder, ſevere in their exaction of contributions, and too prone to ſet fire to the towns or villages which they captured [57]. It is an indiſputable fact, that during the famous ſack of Rome, in 1527, the Germans evinced far more moderation towards the inhabitants of that unfortunate city, than the Spaniards, or even the Italians, their own countrymen. It ought, not, likewiſe, to be forgotten, that a great proportion of the Germans were imbued with the tenets of Luther, while the two other nations were compoſed entirely of zealous catholics. In the campaigns againſt the Turks, the Germans rarely appear to have acquired any renown; but, the cauſes of their ill ſucceſs are obvious. The armies were compoſed of troops, drawn from all the different circles, animated by no common ſentiment of patriotiſm, diſcordant in religion, and hardly united under their reſpective princes, or commanders. The Ottoman ſoldiery were enthuſiaſtically attached to their faith, and to their ſovereigns; who uſually, 'till the death of Solyman, in 1566, conducted them in perſon, and ſhared their dangers. Circumſtances ſo oppoſite, muſt, neceſſarily, have operated powerfully on the character of the two nations [58].

Characteriſtic qualities.

After the acceſſion of Maximilian the Firſt, the troops, ſo celebrated in hiſtory under the name of "Landſquenets," began to be known in Europe. They were Germans, and ſoon roſe to a high degree of military eſtimation. That emperor, who had ſtudied the art of war,

Inſtitution of Landſquenets.

[57] Schmidt, vol. vii. p. 543. [58] Ibid. p. 541—544.

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and who conducted it on principles of Tactics, armed them with long lances; divided them into regiments, compoſed of enſigns and ſquads; compelled them to ſubmit to a rigorous diſcipline; and retained them under their ſtandards, after the concluſion of the wars in which he was engaged. They formed an excellent body of infantry, and did ſignal execution [59]. But, beſides thoſe in the employ of Maximilian, vaſt numbers entered into foreign ſervice, particularly that of France. At the battle of Marignan, in 1515, they even encountered and repulſed the Switzers, who had been deemed invincible. On their return to their native country, they became intolerable, from their licentiouſneſs and inſolence. Accuſtomed to ſubſiſt by plunder, unuſed to labour, deſtitute of clothing, pay, or leaders; they committed every ſort of outrage on the peaſants, and were regarded as a ſcourge, by the Germans of that age [60]. Pikes were ſubſtituted in the place of their long lances, under Charles the Fifth; and the facility with which the Landſquenets performed their evolutions, gave riſe to the formation of a body of cavalry, compoſed of the ſame ſoldiers, and denominated "Reiters." They ſoon attained to an equal celebrity with the infantry, and were generally found in the French armies, on both ſides, during the civil wars. Mortars, culverines, and other engines of artillery were invented by Maximilian the Firſt, and a new military ſyſtem was introduced into the empire [61].

Celebrity of thoſe troops.

Reiters.

Taxes.

The introduction of ſtanding armies, neceſſarily produced the augmentation and multiplication of taxes throughout Germany. Before the beginning of the ſixteenth century, there were ſcarcely any permanent impoſitions upon the ſubject; and princes ſubſiſted, in a great degree, on their domain, or on contributions levied for particular purpoſes, and granted for a ſhort time. Deſpotiſm was unknown. The ſtates, compoſed of the nobility and great vaſſals,

[59] Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 112, 113.
[60] Schmidt, vol. vi. p. 61—64.
[61] Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 113.

were

were assembled, and their consent obtained, before any tax could be imposed. But, the power of sovereigns was gradually augmented, when supported by a body of disciplined troops, and it eventually extinguished the liberties of the people [62]. Chivalry may be said to have expired with the age of Charles the Fifth, though its genius and spirit are still frequently to be traced. It seems difficult to believe, that at the diet of Worms, in 1495, a French knight, named Claude Barre, challenged the whole German nation, at single combat; and it is still more extraordinary, that the emperor Maximilian himself should quit his Imperial functions, to engage a stranger, as the champion of his countrymen. He entered the lists on horseback, fought, and vanquished the Frenchman [63]. Maximilian the Second, in 1566, charmed with the exploits of Tury, a Hungarian, who had distinguished himself against the Turks, armed him a knight, with his own hands; and this is one of the last examples of that practice, which we find in modern history [64].

Decline of chivalry.

There was no appendage of state, at this period, in the palaces of kings, more general and indispensable, than buffoons; and they seem to have carried the practice in Germany, to a greater excess, than in any other European country. Perhaps, the national phlegm demanded the aid of this factitious mirth. The diet of Augsburg, in 1500, did not consider the subject as beneath their legislative attention and regulation [65]. Besides the buffoons, in regular pay and attendance upon all princes, there were numbers of honorary and titular ones, who drew a precarious subsistence from their extravagancies and importunity; nor were they limited to the male sex, as women equally practised the vocation. It was not till long after the period of which we are treating, that they fell into disuse, as refine-

Buffoons.

[62] Schmidt, vol. vi. p. 17, 18, and p. 66, 67.

[63] Ibid. vol. v. p. 486, 487.

[64] Sacy, Hist. d'Hongrie, vol. ii. p. 52.

[65] Schmidt, vol. v. p. 528, 529.

ment

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ment inſenſibly ſubſtituted more rational ſources of hilarity and gaiety [66].

1574. Commerce.

The commerce of Germany was at its higheſt elevation, during the whole of the fifteenth century; but it rapidly declined after the diſcovery of a paſſage to India, by the Portugueze. It was not poſſible to form the ſame connexions, or to draw the ſame advantages, from Liſbon, as from Venice. The letters of Æneas Sylvius, afterwards Pope Pius the Second, who had paſſed a conſiderable time, as legate of the holy ſee, among the Germans, and who viſited almoſt every part of the empire; leave no room to doubt of the trade, and opulence of many of the great cities. He poſitively aſſerts, that "the "kings of Scotland would gladly be lodged, like the common citizens "of Nuremberg in Franconia [67]." That induſtrious city divided with Augſburg, the whole commerce of the ſouthern provinces of Germany, as well as of Bohemia, Hungary, and many parts of Poland. The commodities of Italy and of the Eaſt were tranſmitted by them to the Hanſe-towns, who ſupplied with thoſe articles all the countries ſurrounding the Baltic. The population of the free, imperial cities bore a proportion to their trade and wealth. Nuremberg, Aix la Chapelle, Straſburg, Lubeck, and many others, poſſeſſed prodigious power and reſources [68].

Opulence of the German cities.

Hanſeatic league.

"The Hanſeatic League," ſo renowned in hiſtory, was principally compoſed of cities ſituated in Germany; though it extended to Poland, France, the Netherlands, and almoſt all the ſouthern kingdoms of Europe, at an early period of its exiſtence. We cannot contemplate its progreſs, influence, and exertions, without admiration. Before the thirteenth century, theſe enterprizing merchants had eſtabliſhed warehouſes at London, and at Bruges: in 1274, they fixed ſimilar eſtabliſhments at Novogrod in Muſcovy; and four

Its commerce.

[66] Schmidt, vol. v. p. 528, 529.

[67] Æneas Sylv. de Mor. German. cited by Schmidt, vol. v. p. 510.

[68] Schmidt, vol. v. p. 513.

years

years later, at Bergen, in Norway [69]. The kings of Denmark could not offend, nor inſult them with impunity. Waldemar the Third was driven by their forces, from his capital, in 1368; and in 1428, their fleet, conſiſting of two hundred and fifty veſſels, having on board twelve thouſand ſoldiers, again attacked Copenhagen, and ultimately compelled Eric the Tenth to accept the terms of peace which they dictated. Lubeck was the metropolis or head of the confederacy, to which Cologne, Brunſwic, and Dantzic were aſſociated; each of thoſe places having under them, a number of ſubordinate cities. They held triennial aſſemblies at Lubeck, in which they regulated not only their commercial concerns; but, concluded treaties with the greateſt monarchs and ſtates of Europe [70]. The transfer of trade to Portugal, early in the ſixteenth century, gave the firſt ſhock to the Hanſeatic league; and before the middle of that period, the Engliſh penetrated, not only into the Baltic, but round the North Cape, to Archangel. The Dutch ſucceeded them, and commerce found new channels. Yet, in 1574, the German cities of the Hanſe, ſtill continued to carry on a great, though a diminiſhing trade, and to enjoy high political conſideration.

1574. Power. Decline.

Germany, even before the diſcovery of printing, and the revival of letters, abounded in univerſities; but, learning was confined to monaſtic controverſies, or to the philoſophy of Ariſtotle [71]. In the ſixteenth century, the Reformation produced a ſpirit of enquiry, favourable to the activity and exertions of the human mind: yet, it was long directed almoſt excluſively to polemical ſubjects, which powerfully affected and intereſted all claſſes of people. That the Reformation, introduced by Luther, was eventually beneficial to mankind, and productive of the happieſt change, even among its enemies and opponents, it is impoſſible to deny. But, theſe effects

Learning of the Germans.

Effect of the Reformation.

[69] Heiſs, vol. ii. p. 391—393. Schmidt, vol. v. p. 512, 513.
[70] Heiſs, vol. ii. p. 394—397. Schmidt, ibid. p. 514.
[71] Schmidt, vol. v. p. 322.

were

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were not immediate; and the bold innovations of Luther, who tore the veil from before the Romiſh ſanctuary, encouraged others to trample on all eccleſiaſtical authority, or to ſubſtitute viſionary forms of theocracy, in the place of ſubordination to their rulers. Though that celebrated reformer conſtantly exhorted to obedience and ſubmiſſion to civil magiſtrates, princes, and ſovereigns; yet, Muncer, in 1525, and ſome years later, John of Leyden, at the head of the Anabaptiſts, exhibited the moſt awful ſcenes of ſavage fanaticiſm, which have been ever acted on the theatre of the world [72].

Inſurrections of the peaſants.

The recital of the inſurrection of the German peaſants, under Muncer, and their other leaders, excites horror, when we reflect on the multitudes who periſhed, victims to their miſguided enthuſiaſm. In many places, the ſoldiers refuſed to give quarter, even to thoſe who laid down their arms; and all were put, indiſcriminately, to the ſword. The biſhop of Wurtzburg, after reſiſtance had totally ceaſed, rode through his territories, accompanied by executioners, and beheaded ſeveral hundred peaſants. The archbiſhop of Treves killed many of them with his own hand, and encouraged his ſoldiers to do the ſame, though the inſurgents implored mercy [73]. The emperor Ferdinand the Firſt, in a paper, drawn up by himſelf, and annexed to his laſt will, on the 10th of Auguſt, 1555, expreſsly aſſerts, that "in "the inſurrection of Muncer, there periſhed one hundred and twelve "thouſand peaſants, in the ſingle province of the empire, where his "troops were employed." Even, from ſo high and inconteſtable an authority, we can ſcarcely credit the fact [74]. The atrocities, committed at Munſter, in 1534, and 1535, by John of Leyden, and Knipperdolling, are well known. All theſe fanatics, while they decried Luther, yet availed themſelves of his maxims; which they perverted, to juſtify their acts of violence againſt the catholic church,

Extermination of them.

[72] Schmidt, vol. vii. p. 491—510, and p. 276—278. Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 133. Annales de l'Empire, p. 404, 405.

[73] Schmidt, vol. vi. p. 369, 370.

[74] Schmidt, vol. viii. p. 267, 268.

and

and its miniſters [75]. In ſuch a ſtate of ſociety and of the human mind, learning, the fine arts, and ſound philoſophy, could not be expected to ſtrike deep root, or to extend widely their influence. Religious antipathy alienated men from each other, and long impeded the progreſs of true ſcience, throughout the empire. The German language itſelf, harſh and uncultivated, was little favourable to productions of genius. Neither hiſtory nor poetry had advanced beyond mediocrity; but, Albert Durer, and Holbein, carried the art of painting to great perfection.

Art of printing.

The invention of printing, which has ſo widely diffuſed knowledge, originated in Germany; but the taſte and ſelection to guide its uſe, were long wanting. The firſt work, printed by the Germans, in 1457, was an edition of the Pſalms; and for many years, ſubſequent to that period, no books, except bibles, and treatiſes on civil law, or theology, were publiſhed in the empire. The Italians acted in a different manner. That elegant people, charmed with the great models of antiquity, began inſtantly to print the claſſics; and Cicero's letters were the firſt work given to the world. Nothing can more forcibly characterize the genius of the two nations, than this difference of conduct [76]. Venice furniſhed all the northern kingdoms of Europe with paper, till towards the end of the fifteenth century. It was not till the year 1470, that two Spaniards, from the province of Gallicia, firſt conſtructed paper mills, in Germany; but, they ſoon became more numerous [77].

Juriſprudence.

The barbarous juriſprudence of the feudal times, the appeals to the interpoſition of Heaven, and judicial combats for the deciſion of cauſes; all theſe inſtitutions had diſappeared before the middle of the ſixteenth century.

Study of the law, becomes honorable.

The ſtudy of the civil and canon law, indiſpenſable in a conſtitution ſo intricate and complicated as the Germanic body, began to conduct its followers to power, wealth, and

[75] Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 151—153. Annales de l'Empire, p. 422.

[76] Schmidt, vol. v. p. 521.

[77] Ibid. p. 522.

 conſider-

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conſideration. As early as 1450, we find the great lawyers aſpiring to equality with the nobles, receiving knighthood, and poſſeſſing conſiderable landed property in the empire. Gaſpard Schlick, ſon of a citizen of Egra in Bohemia, and chancellor to Frederic the Third, in 1440, was raiſed to eminent civil dignities, and is one of the firſt inſtances recorded of that nature [78].

Concluſion.

Such was the ſtate and ſituation of Germany, about the year 1574; a country, which ſoon afterwards began to aſſume a principal rank in the great ſyſtem of Europe; and which, early in the following century, was the theatre of the longeſt, moſt obſtinate, and general war, that has taken place in modern times; that, commonly denominated the war of thirty years, terminated by the treaties of Weſtphalia, in 1648.

[78] Schmidt, vol. vi. p. 48—50.

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DENMARK.

Review of the Daniſh hiſtory, from the reign of Margaret of Waldemar, to the acceſſion of Chriſtian the Second.—State of the three northern kingdoms, at the beginning of the ſixteenth century.—Limited authority of the ſovereign.—Revenues.—Forces.—Character, and enterprizes of Chriſtian the Second.—Conqueſt of Sweden.—Maſſacre of Stockholm.—Revolt of Guſtavus Vaſa.—Depoſition of Chriſtian.—Reign of Frederic the Firſt.—Invaſion, and impriſonment of Chriſtian the Second.—Interregnum.—Election of Chriſtian the Third.—Eſtabliſhment of the reformed religion.—Reign of Chriſtian the Third.—Acceſſion of Frederic the Second.—War with Sweden.—State of Denmark in 1574.—Territories.—Commerce of the Hanſeatic league.—Reception of the reformed religion.—Colonization of Greenland.—Naval, and military forces.—Introduction, and progreſs of letters.—Tycho Brahé.

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1397.

THE early ages of the Daniſh hiſtory are equally deficient in materials, and deſtitute of information. The Runic and Scandinavian annals, whatever amuſement their reſearches may afford the antiquary, contain little matter deſerving the attention of the enlightened hiſtorian, or philoſopher. During the middle ages, the three kingdoms of the North were governed by their ſeparate and reſpective ſovereigns; but, towards the end of the fourteenth century, the celebrated Margaret of Waldemar united in her own perſon the crowns of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. By the famous act, denominated "the Union "of

Margaret of Waldermar. Union of the crowns of the North.

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"of Calmar," ſhe even ſucceeded in rendering them hereditary; and after a reign, diſtinguiſhed by vigour and ſucceſs, ſhe devolved her vaſt dominions on her nephew, Eric the Seventh. That able princeſs, whoſe maſculine talents, and capacity for government, acquired her the title of "the Northern Semiramis," reigned over the Polar regions, from the lake Ladoga and the confines of Muſcovy, to the Orkneys incluſively; and from Greenland, then colonized by the Norwegians, to the frontiers of Germany [1]. It is even highly probable, that the union, which ſhe effected and cemented by her policy, might have remained indiſſoluble, if the incapacity and violence of her immediate ſucceſſor had not ſhaken its foundations. Eric, incapable of purſuing the track which had been pointed out to him, incurred the hatred and contempt of his ſubjects. Expelled from the throne, he retired to the Iſle of Gothland in the Baltic, where he long exerciſed the profeſſion of a pirate; and when at length he was compelled to quit his retreat, he tamely withdrew to Rugenwalde in Pomerania, and terminated his life in obſcurity and indigence [2].

1397. Eric the Seventh.

His expulſion.

1439—1448. Notwithſtanding ſo rude a ſhock to the recent union between the northern kingdoms, Chriſtopher of Bavaria, the ſucceſſor of Eric, after ſome delays, was declared ſovereign of the three countries; but his reign was ſhort, and leaving no iſſue, the Swedes proceeded to the election of a king. The national choice fell on Charles Canutſon, a native, and already inveſted with the dignity of marſhal of Sweden. The Danes, on the contrary, more attached to hereditary right, made a voluntary offer of their crown to Adolphus, duke of Sleſwic and Holſtein, who was ſprung from the blood of their antient monarchs. By an inſtance of moderation, or of apathy, rare in the hiſtory of mankind, Adolphus declined ſo flattering a propoſal; but he recommended to the Daniſh Senate his nephew,

Elevation of the family of Oldemburg, to the throne of Denmark.

[1] Mallet, Hiſtoire de Dannemarc, vol. iv. p. 291—318. L'Art de Verif. vol. ii. p. 93. Vertot, Hiſt. des Revolutions de Suede, p. 31—33.

[2] Mallet, vol. iv. p. 318—322, and p. 416—426.

Chriſtian,

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Chriſtian, count of Oldemburg, as worthy of the ſceptre which he himſelf had refuſed. That prince was, in conſequence, adopted by the States of Denmark, and their example was ſpeedily followed by thoſe of Norway: but the Swedes, tenacious of their choice, and alienated by the violence or partiality of the two preceding kings, adhered to their determination; and refuſed any longer to ſubmit to the regulations enacted at Calmar, which had ſolemnly declared the indiſſoluble union of the three crowns [3].

1439—1448.

1448—1513. Chriſtian the Firſt.

It is at this period, with the acceſſion of Chriſtian, that we may date the final ſeparation of Sweden from the two other kingdoms; every ſubſequent effort on the part of the latter, to reunite them, having been only attended with temporary and incomplete ſucceſs. It is likewiſe memorable, as the æra, from which Denmark begins to aſſume a ſhare in the wars, negotiations, and affairs of Europe [4]. Chriſtian the Firſt was a virtuous and able prince, founder of the preſent reigning houſe of Oldemburg: he was ſucceeded by his ſon, John the Second; and their united reigns include a ſpace of more than ſixty years. But, the attention of poſterity has been almoſt entirely occupied by that of Chriſtian the Second, whoſe character, crimes, and misfortunes, have powerfully attracted conſideration. Inſtead of recording the events, or commemorating the tranſactions of two ſovereigns, whoſe political conduct, or military expeditions, can excite, at this diſtance of time, only a feeble intereſt; it may be more curious, as well as more informing, to endeavour to convey even an inadequate idea of the ſtate of the northern kingdoms, previous to the acceſſion of Chriſtian the Second.

State of the northern kingdoms, at this period.

Limited monarchy.

The form of government, immemorially received and adopted by the Scandinavian nations, was monarchy; but, by this term, we muſt underſtand the conſtitution in its moſt contracted ſenſe. Not only their kings were controuled by the Senate, or the States, in every

[3] Puffendorf's Hiſt. of Sweden, p. 108—112. Vertot, p. 32—40.

[4] Mallet, vol. v. p. 77—80.

act

CHAP. XV. 1448—1513.

act of power: they were likewiſe elective; though the choice was always confined to the reigning family, and followed the right of blood. Even the prerogatives, uſually exerciſed by the moſt limited ſovereigns, were denied to the Daniſh princes: far from having the right to impoſe a tax, however ſmall, without the conſent and approbation of the States; they could not declare war, form any important enterprize, or confer the government of a fortreſs, unleſs the national delegates had been previouſly conſulted [5]. If the royal authority was thus rigorouſly fettered, the power of the nobility was proportionably relaxed and indefinite. They poſſeſſed privileges the moſt incompatible with order, general freedom, and a due ſubmiſſion to the laws; while the inferior claſſes of the people, deſtitute of protection, were expoſed to every violence and outrage. In the capitulation, or grant of franchiſes, tendered to Chriſtian the Firſt, by the Danes, on his election, in 1448, every poſſible limit was impoſed, which diſtruſt, or jealouſy, could dictate; and ſtill ſeverer reſtraints were affixed by the Norwegians, when they raiſed him to the throne, ſoon afterwards [6]. John the Second, in 1483, granted to the Swediſh nobles the right of life and death over their vaſſals, and rendered them virtually ſovereigns on their own eſtates [7]. The degree of anarchy, as well as oppreſſion, which immunities ſo extenſive and uncontrouled, muſt of neceſſity produce, may be eaſily imagined.

Great power and privileges of the nobles.

Revenues.

The revenues of the Daniſh crown were not leſs ſcanty, than its authority was limited. In 1453, Chriſtian the Firſt informed the Senate, that the royal domains had been almoſt entirely alienated by the profuſion of his predeceſſors; and that the remaining receipts were inadequate to the neceſſary expences of government [8]. Towards the concluſion of the ſame century, John the Second, during the ſhort period of time, in which he occupied the throne of Sweden, found the revenues ſo diminiſhed by the rapacity of the nobles and

[5] Mallet, vol. v. p. 18—20.
[6] Ibid. p. 21—31, and p. 95—103.
[7] Mallet, vol. v. p. 196—201.
[8] Ibid. p. 61, 62.

clergy,

clergy, as to be unequal to the payments with which they were loaded. He attempted to remedy the evil, by reſuming ſome of the grants previouſly made, or extorted; but, it may be naturally conceived, that ſuch a meaſure muſt have been highly unpopular and dangerous. The event ſpeedily manifeſted its tendency to be ſuch; and it was the immediate cauſe of his expulſion from Sweden [9]. CHAP. XV. 1448—1513.

Scarcity of current ſpecie.

The ſcarcity of ſpecie in all the northern countries, the inevitable reſult of the poverty of the people, tended to weaken the royal power, and to incapacitate the ſovereign for exertions of magnitude. In order to obtain money, ſcarcely any expedients ſeem to have been regarded as too degrading, or as unbecoming the majeſty of the throne. The crown lands; the dominions, provinces, and iſlands; the ſpiritual welfare of the people; all theſe were expoſed to ſale, or mortgaged, in order to obtain a precarious, and immediate pecuniary ſupply. When Fregeno, the papal legate, entered the territories of Denmark, in 1461, in order to tax the credulity and ſuperſtition of the inhabitants, by diſpenſing indulgences; Chriſtian the Firſt did not ſcruple to exact from him eight thouſand marks, previous to the exerciſe of his functions; and to ſtipulate for a conſiderable portion of the plunder, to be collected from the people [10]. Gold and ſilver were ſo rare, that even in the greateſt commercial tranſactions, they were little uſed, or known [11]. The Hanſe towns, and particularly the city of Lubeck, engroſſed the whole trade of the Baltic, Norway, and Iceland; to which countries they carried ſalt, wine, and cloth. In return, they received fiſh, furs, and timber; but money was almoſt excluded from this intercourſe [12].

Trade.

Poverty of the crown.

The moſt curious and extraordinary proof of the poverty of the Daniſh kings, occurs under Chriſtian the Firſt. That prince having ſtipulated to pay the ſum of ſixty thouſand florins [13] to James the Third, king of

[9] Mallet, vol. v. p. 259, 260.
[10] Ibid. p. 108, 109.
[11] Ibid. p. 198.
[12] Mallet, vol. v. p. 186, 187, and p. 330.
[13] About five thouſand pounds ſterling.

Scotland,

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1448—1513.

Scotland, as a portion with his daughter, Margaret, in marriage; was neceſſitated to mortgage the Orkney iſlands to his ſon-in-law, as a ſecurity for the money, which was not to be found in the royal coffers. But, it having been likewiſe agreed, that ten thouſand florins were to be depoſited, previous to the departure of the new queen from Copenhagen, the Scottiſh commiſſioners inſiſted on the immediate execution of the article. It was diſcovered to be impoſſible to raiſe more than a fifth part of ſo inconſiderable a ſum; and Chriſtian was again reduced to the humiliating alternative of mortgaging the Shetland iſlands to James the Third, till he ſhould diſcharge the remaining eight thouſand florins. The tranſaction took place in 1468; and it is no leſs true than incredible, that neither the Orkneys nor Shetland, though frequently reclaimed, were ever redeemed. They have remained unalterably annexed to the Scottiſh crown [13].

Military forces.

With revenues and reſources ſo inadequate, it may be naturally inferred, that the Daniſh kings were unable to maintain any conſiderable naval or military force. Yet, in this reſpect, they appear to have made greater exertions, than might have been expected. John the Second, when he marched into Sweden, in order to obtain the crown of that kingdom, in 1497, beſides his native troops, had formed a body of ſix thouſand German mercenaries, who were denominated "the Saxon Guard." They were commanded by a gentleman of Cologne; and their appointments amounted to no leſs a

Navy.

ſum than fifteen thouſand florins a month [14]. The ſame prince, towards the concluſion of his reign, in 1510, equipped a ſquadron of thirty veſſels, with which he blocked up for ſome time, the entrance of the river of Lubeck [15]. But, it muſt be remembered, that theſe efforts were rare, ſhort, and ruinous. The maintenance of a diſciplined and regular army, however ſmall, would ſoon have exhauſted the royal revenue; and no ſuch eſtabliſhment was ever attempted.

[13] Mallet, vol. v. p. 133—138.

[14] About fourteen hundred pounds ſterling. Mallet, vol. v. p. 240.

[15] Ibid. p. 331, 332.

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Such were the limits impoſed on the power of the crown, and ſuch the forms of the conſtitution, at the acceſſion of Chriſtian the Second. He had already nearly attained his thirty-third year, when the death of his father, John the Second, gave a free ſcope to the exerciſe of his talents, and to the influence of his vices. In capacity and vigor of mind, he was unqueſtionably not deficient; and the attention which he manifeſted towards augmenting the commerce of his people, however intereſted the motives from which it might ariſe, was highly laudable and beneficial. His jealouſy of the vaſt immunities enjoyed by the nobility, and his determination to reduce them within more narrow bounds, cannot excite either wonder, or diſapprobation. He had evinced his perſonal courage and ability in the field, before his father's deceaſe; by whom, at an early period of his life, he had been ſucceſsfully employed to quell an inſurrection in Norway. But, theſe qualities and endowments, which, under the guidance of moderation and virtue, might have conduced to place him in the moſt elevated rank of Daniſh kings, were obſcured by far greater defects. His deſpotic and tyrannical temper ſcorned the reſtraints of law, and impelled him continually to acts of ferocity, or cruelty. Perfidious, and deſtitute of regard to the moſt ſacred engagements, he violated them without ſcruple, whenever his reſentment, or his intereſts appeared to dictate ſuch a conduct. Incapable of employing generous or gentle means to attain his ends, he ſubſtituted terror in their place; and his approach was always preceded by executioners and inſtruments of death. Debaſed in his pleaſures, his ſociety, and his gratifications, he choſe the companions of his bed, and of his table, from the loweſt ranks of life. Similar to Louis the Eleventh of France, in many of the leading features of his character, he ſeems to have been his inferior in capacity, diſſimulation, and the arts of reigning [16].

1513. Acceſſion of Chriſtian the Second.

His character.

Ferocity, and vices of Chriſtian.

[16] Lagerbring. Hiſt. de Suede, p. 44, 45. Vertot, p. 53, 54. Mallet, vol. v. p. 354—359.

The

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1513—1517. Deſpotiſm, and cruelty of his adminiſtration.

The commencement of his reign was marked by infractions of the conſtitution, of the moſt alarming nature. Not content with having obtained from the States, their conſent to the impoſition of a duty on all commodities imported into the kingdom, during two years; he ſpeedily betrayed his reſolution, at once to annihilate the privileges of the nobility, to deſpoil the church, and to trample on the laws. Arbitrary taxes were impoſed by his ſole mandate, in violation of his oath, and contrary to the uſages immemorially obſerved in Denmark. Gibbets were erected in the principal towns, to exact ſubmiſſion and obedience. The eccleſiaſtical lands and eſtabliſhments were confiſcated, almoſt without a pretext; and a regular ſyſtem was adopted for the humiliation of the Senate, and depreſſion of the nobles, by their removal from all offices of truſt, or dignity. Notwithſtanding his marriage with Iſabella of Auſtria, ſiſter to the emperor, Charles the Fifth, a princeſs equally diſtinguiſhed by her perſonal beauty, and intellectual merit, he abandoned himſelf to his paſſion for Dyveck, his miſtreſs; who, as well as her mother, aſſiſted at his councils, and enjoyed an unlimited influence. Theſe acts of violence and indecorum, were followed by examples of ſeverity and cruelty. Senators, gentlemen, and prelates, were impriſoned, and put to death, either without cauſe, or without trial; and the liberties of the Daniſh and Norwegian nobility, ſo highly reſpected under the preceding reigns, impoſed no obſtacle to the tyranny of Chriſtian [17].

1517, 1518. He invades Sweden.

Encouraged by the ſubmiſſion which he had hitherto found in Denmark, and animated with the ſame deſire to accompliſh the reduction of Sweden, which had impelled his two immediate predeceſſors, he prepared to aſſert his title to that kingdom by force of arms. Embarking on board a fleet of near one hundred and twenty ſail, he appeared off Stockholm; but, his troops were repulſed under the walls of the capital, and he himſelf was obliged to retreat to his

[17] Puffendorf, p. 158—160. Mallet, vol. v. p. 365—372, and p. 377—384.

ſhips.

ſhips. In this ſituation, he demanded a conference with the Swediſh commander, and even offered to repair in perſon to Stockholm for the purpoſe, if hoſtages were given for his ſafety. But, no ſooner had he obtained ſix of the principal nobility, than, forgetful of his honor and his recent engagements, he immediately ſet ſail for Copenhagen, with the captives; who were diſtributed in various caſtles, and guarded with extreme precaution. Among the number, was the celebrated Guſtavus Vaſa, then in early youth, and deſtined to avenge his own wrongs, and the misfortunes of his country, at a future period. He was committed to the cuſtody of Eric Banner, a Daniſh nobleman, who detained him in honorable confinement, at Calloe, in Jutland [18].

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1517, 1518.

Returns to Copenhagen.

Exaſperated, rather than humbled, by the ill ſucceſs of his firſt attempt, Chriſtian made the greateſt exertions to repair his misfortune. Having aſſembled an army and a fleet, he ſent the former, to penetrate through the interior provinces, to Stockholm, while he waited the return of ſummer, to follow in perſon, with a naval force. On this occaſion, Francis the Firſt, in compliance with the treaty which bound him to the Daniſh king, detached to his aſſiſtance, a body of two thouſand infantry; and the French, for the firſt time, appeared as auxiliaries in the quarrels of the north [19]. The arms of Chriſtian were attended with complete ſucceſs: the adminiſtrator of Sweden, mortally wounded, left the kingdom defenceleſs, while the enemy advanced rapidly to the capital; and though the valor of Chriſtina, his widow, protracted the deſtiny of Stockholm, and long maintained it againſt the utmoſt diſparity of numbers and ſtrength, ſhe was, at length, reluctantly compelled by the inhabitants to capitulate. Yet, in this extremity, they exacted from the Daniſh prince the ſolemn confirmation of all their privileges; and Chriſtian, anxious, at any price, to atchieve the object of his expedition, not only promiſed a complete amneſty and oblivion of every paſt offence; but, conſented

1519, 1520. Second invaſion of Sweden.

Surrender of Stockholm.

[18] Vertot, p. 76—80. Mallet, vol. v. p. 393—402. Puffendorf, p. 160—163.
[19] Mallet, vol. v. p. 405—410. Vertot, p. 98.

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1519, 1520.

to receive the Swediſh crown with the ſame ſevere limitations and reſtraints on the exerciſe of its functions, which had always been annexed to it, under his predeceſſors. On theſe conditions, he was admitted into the city, acknowledged as the legitimate ſovereign, and received the ſubmiſſions of his new ſubjects [20].

1520. Violence of Chriſtian's meaſures.

But, the Swedes were not long in diſcovering, that no engagements, however ſacred, can influence, or reſtrain, where virtue and humanity are extinct. Scarcely had Chriſtian taken poſſeſſion of the capital, than he violated his recent oaths; demanded the crown, not as conferred by the free election of the States, but as his hereditary and inconteſtible right; and adding inſult to injury, he declared, at his coronation, that he owed to his own arms, and not to the choice or inclination of the people, the kingdom which he had acquired. Conſcious, at the ſame time, of the difficulty of retaining in ſubjection a martial and high-ſpirited nobility; apprehenſive that his departure from Stockholm would be the ſignal of a general revolt; and impelled by the ferocity of his diſpoſition, which delighted in blood; he conceived the atrocious deſign of putting indiſcriminately to death all ſuch among the higher ranks, as either had oppoſed, or might in future impede his arbitrary meaſures. He was confirmed in this reſolution, by the members of his council; men ſelected from the vileſt claſſes of ſociety; and Trolle, archbiſhop of Upſal, either gained by the king's promiſes, or terrified by his menaces, conſented to act a diſtinguiſhed part in the maſſacre of his own countrymen. Under pretences too abſurd or ſenſeleſs, to impoſe even on the credulity of the moſt ignorant and prejudiced, Chriſtian, after having cauſed the gates of the city to be ſhut, ſeized, and immediately delivered to the executioners, the leading members of the Senate. Two biſhops, the principal nobles, and the magiſtrates of Stockholm, habited in the robes of their office, were conducted, under a guard, from the citadel, and immediately beheaded. By a refinement in barbarity, ſuited to his ſavage temper, all ſpiritual

Maſſacre of Stockholm.

[20] Puffendorf, p. 162—166. Vertot, p. 89—106.

aid

aid or conſolation was denied them; and even ſome of the ſpectators, who had ventured to expreſs their horror and indignation, were involved in the carnage. Ninety-four perſons, of whom the far greater number were of the moſt elevated rank, fell victims to the inhuman orders of Chriſtian; and Eric Vaſa, father to Guſtavus, who ſoon afterwards aſcended the throne, was included in the liſt. Their bodies, denied even the rites of ſepulture, were long expoſed to the view of the inhabitants of Stockholm; but, the apprehenſion that ſuch a ſpectacle, whatever terror or conſternation it had at firſt impreſſed, might irritate the people, and produce ſome act of deſperation, induced the king to order them to be reduced to aſhes. The reigns of Nero, or Caracalla, may furniſh inſtances of equal enormity; but, few ſimilar ſcenes of deliberate cruelty have been exhibited in the modern hiſtory of Europe; and the abhorrence, excited in the preſent inſtance, is not diminiſhed by any circumſtance, which can palliate its atrocity. The guilt of rebellion could not be aſcribed to the Swedes, who had voluntarily elevated Chriſtian to the throne, and who had an equal claim to protection with his other ſubjects; and, ſteeled as that prince appears to have been, throughout his whole reign, to the emotions of penitence or remorſe, he was ſo ſenſible of the flagitious nature of the maſſacre, that he endeavoured to throw the odium on his counſellors and adviſers. Not ſatisfied with the blood which he had ſhed in the capital, his return to Denmark, through the provinces, was marked by new proofs of implacable cruelty; and above ſix hundred perſons, of every rank and order, periſhed by his immediate command [21].

1520.

Circumſtances attending it.

Return of Chriſtian to Denmark.

Happily for mankind, crimes ſo vaſt and multiplied did not long remain unpuniſhed. Previous to the reception of Chriſtian into Stockholm, Guſtavus Vaſa had eſcaped from his confinement in Jutland; and having been admitted into Lubeck, the inhabitants of that city, irritated at the reſtraints which the king of Denmark had impoſed on

1521.

[21] Vertot, p. 124—133. Puffendorf, p. 166—170. Mallet, vol. v. p. 433—457. Lagerbring, p. 45—47. Champigny, Hiſt. Abregé de Suede, p. 1—4.

their

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their commerce, not only protected, but facilitated the return of Guſtavus to his native country. Nature had endowed him with all the qualities, eminently calculated for ſtruggling with adverſity, and ſurmounting difficulties. Eloquent, affable, intrepid, liberal, he obtained an almoſt unbounded aſcendant over his followers; and he employed it to emancipate them from deſpotiſm. Purſued by the hatred and vengeance of Chriſtian, who dreaded his courage and ability, he was repeatedly on the point of being ſeized and put to death; nor did he elude the ſearch made for him, except by retiring to the ſequeſtered province of Dalecarlia, aſſuming the diſguiſe of a peaſant, and concealing himſelf in the mines. The oppreſſion of his country, aggravated by the execution of his father, and the proſcription of his family, ſtimulated him to reſiſtance, while it animated his exertions. He ſucceeded in gaining adherents; and after vanquiſhing obſtacles, inſuperable to ordinary men, he ventured openly to raiſe the ſtandard of revolt, and to attack the Daniſh governors. Repeatedly worſted, he roſe ſuperior to defeat, found reſources in his own courage, and ultimately attained the higheſt object of human ambition; that of not only liberating Sweden from oppreſſion, but, of receiving from the gratitude of his countrymen, the crown of which he had deprived a tyrant [22].

1521. Appearance of Guſtavus Vaſa.

His revolt.

1522. Inſurrection of the Danes.

While Guſtavus was occupied in effecting ſo glorious and ſalutary a revolution, Chriſtian completed the meaſure of his crimes and vices. Conducting himſelf by the ſame ſanguinary maxims, with which he had commenced his reign, he proceeded to annihilate the functions of the Daniſh Senate, and to invade the moſt important privileges of the nobility. Deſtitute of attachment either to the catholic or proteſtant faith, his rapacity and continual neceſſities prompted him to ſeize on the revenues of the clergy, who might, otherwiſe, have ſuſtained him againſt the other orders of the State. Selecting his miniſters from the meaneſt ranks,

[22] Vertot, p. 106—114. Puffendorf, p. 170—173. Mallet, vol. v. p. 471—496.

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and veſting them with unlimited power; he abandoned them, without ſcruple or regret, to the moſt ignominious puniſhments, whenever his policy, or his intereſts, demanded ſuch a ſacrifice. The firſt ſymptoms of rebellion and defection manifeſted themſelves in Jutland; where the nobility and biſhops having aſſembled, framed a manifeſto, in which they declared Chriſtian to have forfeited his right to their obedience, and explained their reaſons for proceeding to his depoſition. They, at the ſame time, offered the crown to his uncle, Frederic, duke of Holſtein, and ſent a deputation to acquaint him with their choice [23].

1522. Depoſition of Chriſtian.

Whatever deteſtation the conduct of Chriſtian the Second juſtly excites, and however unpitied was his fate, the truth of hiſtory demands that he ſhould not be calumniated, or oppreſſed by unmerited cenſure. It is not one of the leaſt ſingular inſtances of the caprice, or fatality which frequently ſeems to regulate the deſtiny of men, that this prince, who with impunity had violated every principle of humanity in his treatment of the Swedes, was deprived of his crown in Denmark, for an act, which, however it might infringe on the rights of the nobility, was not only juſtifiable, but even highly meritorious. Throughout his whole reign, he had ſyſtematically endeavoured to emancipate the inferior claſſes of the people, and more eſpecially the peaſants, from the feudal tyranny of the lords; and he had even iſſued an edict, prohibiting the ſale of vaſſals, as equally ſubverſive of the principles of morality, juſtice, and religion [24]. Regulations, of ſuch a nature, which ſtruck at the root of the ariſtocratic influence and authority, were, in themſelves, unpopular; but, the immediate cauſe of the revolt, which precipitated him from the throne, was a meaſure that, abſtractedly conſidered, ought to have ſecured him univerſal eſteem, and conciliated the ſuffrages of all mankind.

1523. Reflexions on that event.

Cauſes of it.

The peninſula of Jutland, the "Cherſoneſus Cimbrica" of antiquity, which forms a part of the Daniſh dominions, is ſituated

Feudal tyranny, and abuſes of the age.

[23] Mallet, vol. v. p. 496—528. Vertot, tome ii. p. 16, 17.

[24] Mallet, vol. v. p. 514.

between

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between the Baltic, and the German Ocean, almoſt ſurrounded by thoſe two ſeas. In conſequence of a practice, ſanctioned by preſcription, and which, to the diſhonor of human nature, has not been confined to any one European country; the biſhops and nobility of Jutland, were accuſtomed to derive a conſiderable annual revenue from the ſhipwrecks, frequent on the coaſt. It can hardly be credited, that this barbarous uſage was carried to ſuch a pitch of indecency and inhumanity, that, biſhops, unreſtrained by the ſanctity of their ſacerdotal office, ſent armed bodies of men, frequently to the number of three hundred, who plundered the veſſels driven on ſhore; and deterred, by menaces or violence, the miſerable ſurvivors, from ſaving any part of their property [25]. Againſt ſo deteſtable a privilege, if ſuch it could be juſtly termed, Chriſtian publiſhed a ſevere prohibition; the tenor and nature of which might have done honor to the moſt humane and enlightened ſovereign. But, the inſurrection which neither his tyranny, nor cruelty, had excited, was inſtantly produced by his attempt to check a cuſtom, from which a powerful and numerous claſs of his ſubjects derived advantage; and though he endeavoured to conciliate their affections, and promiſed every reparation for the injuries which they might have received, theſe conceſſions were made too late. The inſurgents perſiſted in their reſolution, and prepared to maintain it by arms. Frederic, duke of Holſtein, whom they had invited to accept the crown of Denmark, did not heſitate to ſignify his gratitude, and his readineſs to meet their wiſhes; while Chriſtian, doubtful of the fidelity of thoſe who were ſtill apparently attached to him, retreated to Copenhagen. In that capital, he might ſtill have made a long reſiſtance. The fertile province of Scania was devoted to him; and Norway remained unſhaken in its adherence. But, equally deſtitute of fortitude in adverſity, as he had been devoid of moderation and juſtice in the career of his fortune; purſued by the conſciouſneſs of his paſt enormities, and diſtruſtful of his own

The inſurgents invite Frederic, duke of Holſtein.

[25] Mallet, vol. v. p. 518—523.

ſubjects;

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ſubjects; he did not venture to abide the deciſion of war, or to riſk his perſonal ſafety by a longer ſtay in Denmark. Having haſtily equipped a ſquadron of ſhips, and embarked on board of them his family, the regalia of the crown, and his moſt precious effects, he ſet ſail. Previous to his departure, he committed the city and citadel of Copenhagen to the care of two officers, in whoſe devotion he confided; and promiſed them to return in a ſhort time, with ample ſuccours of every kind. Theſe aſſurances could not, however, prevent the univerſal defection which followed his flight; and he himſelf, aſſailed by ſtorms, ſcarcely eſcaped ſhipwreck, on the coaſt of Norway. Landing, at length, in Holland, he haſtened to Antwerp, there to implore the protection and aſſiſtance of his brother-in-law, Charles the Fifth: but, he found that prince ſlow in avenging his cauſe; and it was long before Chriſtian could aſſemble a force equal to attempting the reduction of his dominions [26].

1523. Flight of Chriſtian.

He was the laſt ſovereign who united in his perſon the three kingdoms of the North. Guſtavus Vaſa, animated with new courage by the intelligence of his flight from Denmark, aided by the fleet of Lubeck, and impelled by the proſpect of a crown as the juſt reward of his ſervices; ſucceeded in expelling the Daniſh garriſons. Calmar fell into his hands, and the ſurrender of Stockholm completed his reduction of Sweden. Not leſs vigilant in peace, than he had evinced himſelf intrepid in the field; his active and penetrating genius enabled him to foreſee, and to provide againſt thoſe internal machinations, or external attacks, to which every new eſtabliſhment is peculiarly expoſed. Conſcious that Chriſtian the Second, if he ever ſhould reaſcend the throne of Denmark, would not limit his pretenſions to the poſſeſſion of that crown alone; Guſtavus united himſelf with Frederic againſt their common enemy, and redoubled his precautions to impede

Final ſeparation of the northern crowns.

Frederic the Firſt.

[26] Vertot, tome ii. p. 17, 18. Mallet, vol. v. p. 523—551. L'Art de Verif. vol. ii. p. 96, 97.

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pede the entrance of the exiled king into any of the provinces, which had conſtituted his antient dominions [27].

1524—1530. Reign of that prince.

While Guſtavus thus confirmed himſelf in Sweden, Frederic the Firſt, not without difficulty, rendered himſelf maſter of Zealand. Copenhagen, the capital of that iſland, and of the kingdom, ventured even to ſuſtain a ſiege; and did not capitulate, until all hopes of ſupport or aſſiſtance from Chriſtian, were extinct. The Norwegians, too feeble to aſſert their right of electing a ſovereign independant of Denmark, and accuſtomed to receive implicitly the prince, whom their more wealthy, or more powerful neighbours raiſed to the throne, acquieſced in the choice of the duke of Holſtein; and notwithſtanding ſome efforts in favour of the depoſed monarch, which took place in the province of Scania, univerſal tranquillity was ſpeedily reſtored [28]. Frederic, in ſucceeding to the dignity and title of his predeceſſor, by no means enjoyed the ſame extenſive authority. The clergy and nobility, by whom Chriſtian the Second was expelled, conferred the ſceptre on his ſucceſſor, under very ſevere limitations; and previouſly exacted the entire reſtoration of all thoſe dangerous privileges, which the vigor, or deſpotiſm of the late reign, had extinguiſhed. A prince of more courage, would, perhaps, have reſiſted, or reſumed a conceſſion, equally injurious to the royal prerogatives, and to the freedom of the people: but Frederic, already declining in years, pacific in his temper, and ſatisfied with the poſſeſſion of a crown, to which his birth had given him no pretenſion; yielded with facility to the demands of the Daniſh nobles [29]. Continually alarmed with the apprehenſion of an invaſion on the part of his nephew, who ceaſed not to ſolicit the aid of the houſe of Auſtria, for his re-eſtabliſhment; holding his Daniſh and Norwegian kingdoms by the right of election only; and unable to obtain from his new ſubjects, the acknowledgment of his eldeſt ſon as his ſucceſſor; he ſcarcely ſeemed to regard himſelf as more

His pacific character, and government.

[27] Lagerbring, p. 48—50. Puffendorf, p. 173—178. Mallet, vol. vi. p. 27—38.

[28] Mallet, vol. vi. p. 14—21.

[29] Ibid. p. 8—14.

than

than a nominal ſovereign, and uſually held his court and reſidence in his patrimonial provinces of Holſtein [30].

1531. Invaſion of Norway, by Chriſtian the Second.

The ſtorm, which he had ſo long dreaded, prepared, at length, to burſt: Chriſtian, after near nine years of exile and diſgrace, having ſucceeded in raiſing a military force, embarked from the ports of Holland; favoured by Mary, queen of Hungary, his ſiſter-in-law, governeſs of the Low Countries. His veſſels were ſcattered by a tempeſt, before he entered the Baltic; but, having gained the coaſt of Norway, he landed at Opſlo, and inſtantly ſummoned the clergy, as well as the nobility and principal magiſtrates, to return to their allegiance. That kingdom, which had rather followed, than participated in the revolt of Denmark, obeyed with alacrity; and the ſouthern provinces were reduced to the obedience of their antient maſter, without an effort. If Chriſtian had profited of his advantages, and availed himſelf of the advanced ſeaſon of the year, which rendered it almoſt impracticable to ſend ſupplies of any kind by ſea, from Copenhagen; he might have unqueſtionably maintained himſelf againſt all the forces of Frederic, and perhaps opened a way to his eventual reſtoration. But, an ill-timed and injudicious relaxation in his operations, proved deſtructive to his hopes of ſucceſs. Over-reached and deceived by the governor of Aggerhus; ſurrounded by the combined forces of Guſtavus Vaſa, and of his rival; abandoned by the Norwegians; he had no other alternative remaining, than to ſurrender himſelf to the Daniſh commiſſioners, on the faith of an equivocal and doubtful treaty, diſowned by Frederic. That prince did not even deign to admit the fallen monarch to his preſence, or to liſten to his remonſtrances. Chriſtian was conducted to the caſtle of Sonderburg, in the iſland of Alſen, on the coaſt of Sleſwic; confined in a chamber, the door of which was cloſed up; and allowed no companion except a dwarf, to alleviate the horrors of ſolitude and captivity [31]. His reign and misfortunes offer an ample field for reflexion; nor can we help admiring

Impriſonment of Chriſtian.

[30] Mallet, vol. vi. p. 67—69, and p. 124.

[31] Puffendorf, p. 199, 200. Vertot, vol. ii. p. 111—120. Mallet, vol. vi. p. 78—122.

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the ſingularity of his deſtiny, while we behold him with impunity ſacrificing the Swediſh nobility to his revenge; and ejected ſhortly afterwards from his native dominions, for attempting a reform the moſt humane and meritorious.

1533, 1534. Death of Frederic the Firſt.

Interregnum.

Frederic did not long ſurvive the defeat and impriſonment of his nephew. His death was the ſignal and commencement of a long period of anarchy, interregnum, and civil war. The catholic faction, ſupported by the biſhops, availed themſelves of the vacancy of the throne, to recover their influence; which, without being altogether extinguiſhed, had been diminiſhed during the late reign, from the rapid progreſs of the Lutheran doctrines. They were ſufficiently powerful to impede the election of Chriſtian, eldeſt ſon of Frederic; a prince who had already attained to manhood, and who gave the faireſt promiſes of virtue and ability. His attachment to the reformed religion ſerved as a pretext, for at leaſt delaying the choice of a ſovereign, till the Norwegian deputies ſhould arrive. But, the numerous and augmenting calamities of the State did not permit meaſures of procraſtination to be purſued, without riſking the very exiſtence of the State itſelf. The city of Lubeck, whoſe power and reſources were, in that age, almoſt inexhauſtible, undertook to reſtore the impriſoned king, Chriſtian the Second; and their fleet, miſtreſs of the Baltic, occupied the paſſage of the Sound, while a powerful army entered Copenhagen, the inhabitants of which city opened their gates to the invaders. The iſland of Zealand, as well as the province of Scania, were already loſt; and the few remaining dependancies of the Daniſh monarchy muſt have been ſpeedily reduced by the rebels. In this deſperate ſituation, the principal nobility and prelates met at a town in Jutland; and notwithſtanding the reluctance of the eccleſiaſtical order to elect a ſovereign, whoſe religious tenets were known to be adverſe to their own, the menaces of the people, who ſurrounded the aſſembly, and loudly demanded the nomination of Chriſtian, ſon to their late king, overcame all further oppo-

Civil war.

Election of Chriſtian the Third.

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oppoſition or delay. The young prince was choſen by general acclamation, and inſtantly proclaimed [32].

It was not poſſible to receive a crown, under more adverſe circumſtances, or which demanded more ability, valor, and fortune to ſecure. The inſurgents already prepared to carry the war into the iſland of Funen, which, together with Jutland, had hitherto retained their allegiance; though they could not long reſiſt ſo ſuperior a force. But, Chriſtian the Third was deſtined to reſtore the expiring monarchy, and he poſſeſſed the qualities neceſſary for ſo great and difficult an atchievement. In the peruſal of this period of the Daniſh annals, it is impoſſible not to be forcibly reminded of the hiſtory of France, at the acceſſion of Henry the Fourth. Like him, Chriſtian found the State in the laſt ſtage of political diſtreſs, overrun by foreign enemies, and on the verge of deſtruction: like the king of Navarre, he was reduced to beſiege his capital, and to reconquer his dominions. Similar, likewiſe, in the proſperous termination of all his difficulties, Chriſtian emulated the valor, clemency, and other virtues of Henry; reſtored tranquillity to his people; and evinced himſelf their parent and legiſlator. Copenhagen, during the continuance of the ſiege, endured extremities, not exceeded by thoſe, which the metropolis of France ſuſtained under the duke of Mayenne; and it was protracted to a ſtill longer period than that of Paris. Its ſurrender was immediately followed by the ſubmiſſion of the whole kingdom; and Norway, after a ſhort irreſolution, proclaimed the new monarch [33].

Similarity between him, and Henry the Fourth, of France.

1534—1536. Siege of Copenhagen.

The complete abolition of the catholic faith and worſhip was the firſt meaſure, embraced and executed by Chriſtian. It was conducted with equal ſecrecy, vigour, and ſucceſs. The biſhops were all arreſted, and detained in confinement, till the States, convoked to determine on their fate, and on the choice of religion, ſhould finally regulate ſo important a concern. In this aſſembly, one of the moſt

Chriſtian introduces the Reformation into Denmark.

[32] Mallet, vol. vi. p. 147—216. L'Art de Verif. vol. ii. p. 98.

[33] Mallet, vol. vi. p. 217—302. paſſim, and p. 324—333. Puffendorf, p. 202.

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memorable in the annals of Denmark, the nobility, and the deputies of the third eſtate, unanimouſly decreed the confiſcation of all the eccleſiaſtical property; and they appropriated it to the liquidation of the public debts, the endowment of ſeminaries for education, and other beneficial or national uſes. The Reformation, as promulgated by Luther, was rendered the predominant religion; and ſo univerſally had thoſe doctrines already obtained among all claſſes of men, that not even a ſtruggle was made, or any oppoſition experienced, to the change of worſhip. A conſiderable augmentation of revenue accrued to the crown, in conſequence of the ſuppreſſion of the monaſtic orders; but, a ſtill greater alteration, not foreſeen even by its authors, was the encreaſe of the ariſtocratic power and influence. That claſs of men, no longer counterbalanced by the clergy, ſwallowed up the others, and equally oppreſſed the royal prerogative, and the franchiſes of the people. It was not till the middle of the ſeventeenth century, that the Daniſh kings emancipated themſelves from the fetters, in which they were retained by the nobility [34].

Political conſequences of that change.

1537—1559. Reign of Chriſtian.

The kingdom, which Chriſtian had reſcued from anarchy and rebellion, he long continued to govern with wiſdom and moderation. Naturally diſpoſed by his character to cultivate peace, he aſſiduouſly exerted himſelf to anticipate, and to remove, every occaſion, which might involve his ſubjects in hoſtilities. Towards Sweden, as the quarter from whence he regarded that danger as moſt probable or imminent, he directed his vigilant and unremitted attention. Guſtavus Vaſa, whoſe military ſkill, and various talents, had raiſed him to the throne, was not deſtitute of ambition to extend the limits of his dominions; and the contiguity of the frontier provinces of the two monarchies afforded the utmoſt facility, as well as continual occaſions of diſpute. The king of Sweden had even indicated a diſpoſition to renew the antient quarrels, which time had rather ſuſpended, than extinguiſhed; but the candor and ſincerity of Chriſtian diſarmed, or

His policy towards Sweden.

[34] Mallet, vol. vi. p. 305—323.

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restrained him; and while he continued to reign, no rupture ever took place [25]. The accession of Frederic the Second, eldest son of Christian, to the throne of Denmark; and that of Eric the Fourteenth, who, nearly at the same period, succeeded to Gustavus, opened a new scene in the north of Europe. Hostilities, originating from causes the most frivolous, long involved the two countries in calamities, which were heightened by the antipathy of their respective kings. All the barbarous excesses, ever committed by Attila, or Genseric, were renewed in the frozen regions that surround the Pole; and the two nations seemed to vie in acts of cruelty and ferocity. The Baltic was covered with fleets, which alternately vanquished, and insulted each others coasts. Norway, and Scania, were ravaged by the Swedes; while the Danes repeatedly penetrated into the interior provinces of the enemy, approached within sixty miles of Stockholm, and more than once seemed to have nearly atchieved the conquest of the kingdom itself. Even the deposition and imprisonment of Eric, whose frantic excesses had become insupportable to his own subjects, could not extinguish, though it suspended for a few months, the rage of hostilities. John the Third, his brother, was no sooner confirmed in his new dignity, than he instantly prepared to make fresh exertions, notwithstanding the exhausted state of his finances, and the depopulation of his dominions. But, the interposition of the emperor, Maximilian the Second, and of the court of France, at length compelled the two princes to desist; and tranquillity was restored by the peace of Stettin. After near eight years of a war, which had thinned the human species, and reduced many parts of Sweden and Norway to a desert, scarcely a castle or a village had been gained by either side; and even these were mutually restored. Frederic availed himself of the repose which succeeded, to obliterate the past misfortunes; and Denmark, during a considerable period, was

1559—1574. Reign of Frederic the Second.

War with Sweden.

Mutual ravages.

Peace of Stettin.

[25] L'Art de Verif. vol. ii. p. 98, 99. Mallet, vol. vi. p. 410—415.

undi-

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undiſturbed by any internal commotion, or external calamity. Such was its ſtate, in 1574[36].

1574.

State of Denmark.

In order to form an accurate or juſt idea of the political weight and importance of the Daniſh crown and nation, about the middle of the ſixteenth century, it is indiſpenſable to trace the limits of the monarchy, as it then exiſted. Frederic the Second reigned over

Territories.

ſeveral provinces, which are no longer enjoyed by his deſcendants in the preſent age, and occupied a much higher place in the ſyſtem of the North; more eſpecially, when we conſider that the Muſcovites had not yet penetrated to the ſhores of the Baltic, nor eſtabliſhed themſelves in Livonia, Ingria, and Finland. The three ſouthern and moſt fertile provinces of Sweden; Scania, Halland, and Bleking, which nearly circumſcribe the whole extent of coaſt between the cities of Gottemburg and Calmar, belonged to Denmark; and conſequently rendered her completely miſtreſs of the important paſſage of the Sound, through which the whole trade of the Polar countries muſt neceſſarily paſs. To theſe poſſeſſions, was added the iſland of Gothland, valuable in itſelf; but, far more ſo, from its ſituation, near the eaſtern coaſt of Sweden, and in the direct track of navigation between Copenhagen and Stockholm. The ſuperiority, which it conferred in time of war between the two nations, was even greater than during peace; as it enabled the Danes to impede, or to intercept the whole commerce of their enemy, while it afforded an aſylum for their own fleets, in caſe of defeat.

Holſtein and Sleſwic.

The moſt fertile and productive part of Frederic's dominions, and which provinces peculiarly connected him with Germany and the ſouthern kingdoms or ſtates of Europe, were thoſe of Sleſwic and Holſtein; the antient patrimony of his houſe. They were not incorporated with the crown of Denmark, which latter might be ſtill conſidered as elective; whereas the two duchies deſcended to him by hereditary right. But, on the other hand, as the laws of primogeniture

[36] Mallet, vol. vii. p. 1—129. paſſim. L'Art de Verif. vol. ii. p. 99.

were

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were not then eſtabliſhed, every head of the family was compelled to divide with the younger branches, the territories which they inherited in common. Chriſtian the Third left two ſons, beſides his ſucceſſor; and to them were allotted ſome of the richeſt diſtricts of Holſtein. The diminution of power and revenue were neither the only, nor the ſmalleſt evils reſulting from theſe partitions. Diſputes, jealouſy, and even civil war, frequently enſued, and were almoſt unavoidably generated by the very nature and circumſtances of the tranſaction itſelf [37].

1574. Partition of thoſe duchies.

Denmark enjoyed only a ſmall part of the vaſt commerce of the Baltic, at this period of its hiſtory. The Hanſe towns, ſituate in Mecklenburg and Pomerania, at the head of which was Lubeck, engroſſed it in all its branches, and exerted the moſt indefatigable vigilance in its preſervation. They retained the kingdoms of the North in a degree of ſubjection, approaching to ſlavery; and reſented the ſlighteſt effort on the part of the Daniſh monarchs, to effect their emancipation. Chriſtian the Second, who, notwithſtanding his crimes, was ever attentive to the intereſts of the crown and of the inferior claſſes of his ſubjects; attempted to infringe the privileges granted to Lubeck, by his predeceſſors, and to open channels of trade to his own people, at their expence. Soon after his acceſſion, in 1515, he concluded a treaty with Ivan Baſilowitz, Czar of Muſcovy, by which it was ſtipulated, that a Daniſh company ſhould be eſtabliſhed at Novogrod, for the purpoſes of traffic; but, that powerful confederacy cruſhed the plans of Chriſtian, and was highly inſtrumental in fomenting the revolt, which deprived him of the crown [38]. His ſucceſſors were either too weak, or too exhauſted by their foreign quarrels, to break the fetters impoſed on them. Towards the year 1540, the prodigious commerce of Lubeck, as well as that of Wiſmar, Roſtock, and Stralſund, began ſenſibly to decline. Various

Commerce.

Power of the Hanſeatic league.

Its decline.

[37] Mallet, vol. vi. p. 397—402; vol. vii. p. 25, 26.
[38] Ibid. vol. v. p. 369, 370, and p. 499—505.

cauſes

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causes contributed to produce this revolution; and above all others, the augmenting industry, activity, and spirit of the Dutch and English, who navigated the Baltic, and no longer carried on their transactions through the medium of the Hanseatic league [39]. How lucrative the traffic of the northern kingdoms must have been, we may judge, by only observing, that they exclusively supplied all Europe with every production found in those climates or regions; and that among the number, were masts, naval stores, hemp, pitch, copper, iron, wax, furs, tallow, and grain of every kind. To the list, may be added another very essential article; the herring fishery, uncommonly abundant in the Baltic; and the consumption of which exceeded calculation, in an age when all Europe was catholic. Under Frederic the Second, Denmark began slowly and gradually to participate in so extensive a trade, and to derive a part of the profits from which she had been previously excluded [40].

Articles of trade.

In no part of Europe was the Reformation introduced, and the catholic religion suppressed, with more facility, than in the Danish dominions. Norway followed the example; and in neither of those kingdoms was so great a change accompanied by any convulsion, or the effusion of blood [41]. But, the case was widely different in Iceland. That remote, and barbarous province combated for the antient faith, with a violence and pertinacity, proportioned to its state of ignorance. During twelve years, from 1539, to 1551, the inhabitants were involved in civil war, and all its attendant evils. Christian the Third was compelled to send two ships, and five hundred soldiers, to re-establish tranquillity in the island [42]. Greenland was included in the dependancies of the Norwegian monarchy, and colonized from thence as early as the eleventh century [43]. The trade to those frozen and desolate regions, was even superintended with extraordinary

State of Iceland.

Greenland.

[39] Mallet, vol. vi. p. 165—168.
[40] Ibid. p. 166.
[41] Ibid. p. 305—323, and p. 324—333.
[42] Mallet, vol. vi. p. 407—410.
[43] Ibid. vol. iv. p. 324.

anxiety,

anxiety, and interdicted to every European nation. Chriſtianity was eſtabliſhed within the Arctic circle, and an epiſcopal dioceſe exiſted among the ſnows in the vicinity of the Pole. In the year 1386, the biſhop of Garde, capital of Greenland, who was a ſuffragan of the archiepiſcopal ſee of Drontheim, aſſiſted at an eccleſiaſtical aſſembly, held at Nyberg, in the iſle of Funen [44]. Under the reign of Margaret of Waldemar, towards the cloſe of the fourteenth century, the colony diſappeared. Its deſtruction was attributed to the effects of the great plague which ravaged Europe about 1350, and to the conſequent want of regular ſupplies of proviſions from Norway [45]. Various, but ineffectual endeavours were exerted to diſcover the remains of this eſtabliſhment, if any ſurvived; and under the reign of Chriſtian the Second, Valkendorf, archbiſhop of Drontheim, a prelate of literature and merit, ſent repeated expeditions thither, for the ſame purpoſe; but without ſucceſs. The ſettlers had all periſhed [46]. It is remarkable, that the ſame fate has hitherto attended the Spaniſh colonies near the ſouthern pole; all the garriſons, or eſtabliſhments, left in Terra del Fuogo, and on the coaſt of Patagonia, having been deſtroyed by the inclemency of thoſe inhoſpitable latitudes. It would be an object of curious philoſophical, and even political experiment, to aſcertain how near to the poles man could exiſt in a ſtate of ſociety; and the advanced progreſs of navigation in the preſent age, could leave little apprehenſion of the ability to ſupply ſuch a colony, with regular quantities of proviſions and neceſſaries of every kind.

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Colonization of that country.

Deſtruction of the colony.

The prodigious armaments, military and naval, made and ſuſtained for more than ſeven years, by Frederic the Second, during the war carried on againſt Eric the Fourteenth, excite aſtoniſhment, when we conſider how ſlender were the revenues of the crown, and how impoſſible it was to impoſe any conſiderable taxes, either on the nobility, or on the people. In 1563, the Daniſh fleet conſiſted of

Navy.

[44] Mallet, vol. iv. p. 325. [45] Idem, ibid. [46] Ibid. vol. v. p. 536. Note.

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twenty-seven large ships, and fourteen of an inferior size, carrying four thousand, six hundred men: it was joined by six vessels from Lubeck[47]. The Swedish squadrons were even, generally, superior in numbers. In the same year, Frederic, when he marched into the province of West Gothland, and laid siege to Elfsburg, had under his immediate command, an army of twenty-four thousand infantry, and four thousand cavalry[48]. The difficulty of finding subsistence for so large a body of men, in a country naturally unproductive, and where the peasants usually were obliged, even in peace, to mix the bark of trees with their flour, and frequently to subsist altogether upon salted herrings, may be easily conceived[49]. In fact, these expeditions, though ruinous to both parties in an extreme degree, were, from that very cause, proportionably short in their duration. National antipathy and resentment furnished arms; and the plunder of the miserable peasants supplied the deficiency of regular pay. Even in the more civilized and wealthy monarchies of Europe, during a great part of the sixteenth century, similar irregularities prevailed.

Military forces.

Letters.

The ravages and calamities, inseparable from war, were deeply felt in the suspension, or extinction of the arts, and of science, throughout Denmark. It was not till after the peace of Stettin, in 1570, that they began to exhibit any vigor, and to become objects of cultivation. Christian the First had, indeed, founded the university of Copenhagen, as early as the year 1478; but, under his successor, John the Second, it fell into total decay[50]. After the confiscation of the ecclesiastical property by Christian the Third, and the introduction of the reformed religion, in 1539, that prince appropriated a portion of the church lands, towards the maintenance of professors in various branches of literature, and re-established the university. He, likewise, assigned funds for its use, payable from the duties levied on all ships, passing through the Sound; endowed it with many valuable privileges; and

University of Copenhagen.

[47] Mallet, vol. vii. p. 54.
[48] Ibid. p. 53.
[49] Mallet, vol. v. p. 477.
[50] Ibid. p. 171—175.

ordered

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ordered that the chancellor of the kingdom ſhould always in future bear the title, and exerciſe the office, of protector of the univerſity. From this period, it continued to acquire celebrity, and to become a national benefit[51]. Surnames began to be uſed under the reign of Frederic the Firſt, about 1520. Antecedently, families were diſtinguiſhed only by their armorial bearings; and every perſon was content to add the word "Son," to his chriſtian name[52]. The attention of Chriſtian the Second to procure for his queen, Iſabella of Auſtria, ſome of the delicacies, or productions, to which ſhe had been accuſtomed in the Netherlands, was highly advantageous to Denmark. Immediately after the celebration of the nuptials, and on her arrival at Copenhagen, the king cauſed a colony of Flemings to be tranſported thither, and he ſettled them in the little iſland of Amak, contiguous to the capital. Thoſe induſtrious peaſants firſt introduced into the countries of the North, the uſe of vegetables, ſallads, and other roots; or, at leaſt, augmented and ameliorated their cultivation[53]. Fruit trees were little known before the reign of Frederic the Second, when Oxe, high ſteward of the kingdom, cauſed ſeveral ſpecies of them to be brought into Zealand[54]. 1574.

Of the ſtate of letters in Denmark, it would be requiſite to ſay very little, if the illuſtrious name of Tycho Brahè did not in ſome meaſure, render it neceſſary. He had already diſtinguiſhed himſelf in 1574; but, he did not attain to his greateſt celebrity, till ſome years later. Frederic the Second long extended to him the moſt princely and munificent protection, though he was induced, by the enemies of the philoſopher, ſubſequently to withdraw his bounty. Beſides the iſland of Huen, in the Sound, deſtined for his aſtronomical ſtudies and experiments, the king aſſigned him a penſion of two thouſand crowns; the revenues of an epiſcopal ſee in Norway; and a canonry Tycho Brahè.

[51] Mallet, vol. vi. p. 413, 414.
[52] Ibid. p. 124.
[53] Mallet, vol. v. p. 367, 368.
[54] Ibid. vol. vii. p. 95. Note.

of

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of the cathedral of Roſkeld, in Zealand[55]. It would be difficult to find in the liſt of Louis the Fourteenth's gratifications to men of letters, any equal mark of liberality: in the preſent age, nothing comparable to it is to be met with, even in the magnificent donations of Catherine the Second; the only European ſovereign who has extended any real patronage to genius and ſcience. The late king of Pruſſia, Frederic the Second, knew how to admire and eſtimate, but, he rarely rewarded talents. Thoſe of Tycho Brahè were, unqueſtionably, very eminent; though the barbariſm and ignorance of the century ſullied their luſtre. He was ſtill more addicted to aſtrology, than to aſtronomy; and every object that met his eye, appeared an omen to his imagination. What can we think of a philoſopher, who conſtantly kept a lunatic chained at his feet when he ſat down to table; fed him with his own hand; and liſtened to the ravings of his delirium, as to the prophetic language of inſpiration[56]? But, theſe abſurdities were thoſe of the time in which he lived, and from which he was not exempt. His talents did not leſs excite the admiration of his contemporaries, or leſs entitle him to the reſpect of poſterity.

[55] Biogr. Dictionary, vol. ii. p. 391. Mallet, vol. vii. p. 160.

[56] Biogr. Dictionary, vol. ii. p. 392.

CHAP. XVI.

SWEDEN.

State of Sweden at the time of Guſtavus Vaſa's revolt.—His ſucceſs.—Elevation to the throne.—Poverty of the crown.—Policy of Guſtavus.—Seizure of the eccleſiaſtical property.—Abolition of the catholic faith and worſhip.—Inſurrections.—Domeſtic misfortunes.—Crown declared hereditary.—Cloſe of Guſtavus's reign.—His death, and character.—Acceſſion of Eric the Fourteenth.—Events of his reign.—War with Denmark.—Inſanity, and exceſſes of Eric.—His depoſition and confinement.—Reign and meaſures of John the Third.—Survey of Sweden in 1574.—Revenues of the crown.—Power and riches of the clergy.—Military forces.—Navy.—Commerce.—Internal navigation.—Arts and manufactures.—Ferocity of the northern nations in war.—Triumphal proceſſions and ſhews.—Titles and honors.—Luxuries.

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Connexion between the Swediſh and Daniſh hiſtory.

THE Daniſh and Swediſh hiſtory is ſo intimately connected, previous to the elevation of Guſtavus Vaſa to the throne of the latter kingdom, as to be in fact inſeparable. For above fifty years ſubſequent to "the Union of Calmar" in 1397, the whole Scandinavian monarchy was united under one head; and after that period, though the Swedes ſucceſſively elected to the office of ſupreme magiſtrate, various noblemen, one of whom bore the title of King, yet the final independance and ſeparation of the ſtate from its Daniſh maſters, was by no means effected. Chriſtian the Firſt, and John the Second, had ſubjected Sweden, and had been ſolemnly crowned at Stockholm: Chriſ-

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tian the Second, not ſatisfied with attaining to the ſame elevation, proceeded to exterminate the nobility, and to eſtabliſh a deſpotic government, ſecured by foreign troops. The abhorrence and indignation, excited by ſuch oppreſſion, was extinguiſhed by the ſtill greater terror, which it inſpired; and never did the condition of any country appear to be more deſperate, or irrecoverable [1].

1520—1523. Obſtacles oppoſed to Guſtavus Vaſa.

It was preciſely, in this emergency, that Guſtavus Vaſa, recently eſcaped from his priſon in Jutland, appeared on the Scene. Nothing can more ſtrongly evince the firm poſſeſſion which the Danes had gained of Sweden, than the difficulties and reluctance which Guſtavus experienced, in his efforts to rouſe his countrymen from their ſtate of ſervitude. The nobility, who had ſurvived the late maſſacre, were either humbled into ſubmiſſion, or devoted to their new ſovereign. The clergy had been Chriſtian's principal agents, inſtruments, and miniſters, in the execution of all his projects. Guſtavus Trolle, archbiſhop of Upſal, had acted a part in the tragedy of Stockholm, and had been rewarded by the higheſt confidence, as well as political power. The peaſants, conſcious that they were the victims of every adminiſtration, and hopeleſs of any amelioration in their condition, long rejected the exhortations of Guſtavus to aſſert their liberties, and to expel their tyrants. It muſt, likewiſe, be obſerved, that, notwithſtanding all the enormities juſtly imputed to Chriſtian, their effects were principally, if not excluſively confined, to the higher ranks of his ſubjects. His policy induced him to protect the inferior orders, with a view, by their affections, to ſuſtain himſelf againſt the hatred, or machinations of the nobility. For this purpoſe, at the very period of time when he ſacrificed the Swediſh ſenators to his vengeance, he diſtributed among the people, through many of the provinces, a largeſs, of all others the moſt neceſſary and grateful to the inhabitants of a ſterile country; and which conſiſted

State of the Swediſh peaſants.

[1] Puffendorf, Vertot, Mallet, paſſim. [2] Mallet, vol. v. p. 476, 477.

of

of ſalt and herrings[3]. In fact, Guſtavus, far from being able to excite a revolt in Calmar, was in danger of being delivered up to the Danes; and he was equally unſucceſsful in Eaſt Gothland, and Sudermania. In deſpair, he retired to the province of Dalecarlia, the inhabitants of which, as he had afterwards frequent occaſion to experience, were ever prompt to take up arms on the ſlighteſt pretences. Remote from the capital, and protected by their mountains and foreſts, they felt little indignation at the bloody ſcenes lately performed by Chriſtian; and in order to induce them to renounce their allegiance, it became neceſſary to alarm them by aſſurances, that pecuniary impoſitions, to which they were unuſed, would be ſpeedily exacted[4]. So true is it, that, in all ages, deſpotiſm has found fewer impediments in diſpoſing of the lives, than of the property of the people. Irritated by theſe apprehenſions, they joined the ſtandard of Guſtavus, and marched towards the capital; but, far from finding it either defenceleſs or abandoned, they were defeated near Upſal, and compelled to relinquiſh the ſiege of Stockholm. The fortitude of their leader ſupported him under every reverſe; and the ſuccors ſent him by the city of Lubeck, enabled him to maintain the conteſt, till the diſaffection of Chriſtian's ſubjects in Jutland terminated it in his favor[5].

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1520—1523. Guſtavus retires into Dalecarlia.

His ſucceſsful revolt.

It required, notwithſtanding, the greateſt combination of talents, and the moſt conſummate policy, to attain the ultimate object of his ambition, the crown of Sweden. In the proſecution of that arduous enterprize, we can never ſufficiently admire his addreſs, circumſpection, and ability, in profiting of every circumſtance that could either facilitate, or accelerate, its attainment. Without theſe qualities, the intrepidity, patriotiſm, and even the ſucceſs of Guſtavus over the Danes, would neither have conducted him to, nor maintained him on the throne. He evinced in every part of his conduct, a perfect knowledge of the

Talents, ambition, and addreſs of Guſtavus.

3 Mallet, vol. v. p. 476, 477.

4 Ibid. p. 478, 479. Puffendorf, p. 170. Vertot, tome i. p. 135—137.

5 Puffendorf, p. 172, 173.

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Swedes; and in the moment of victory, or of enthuſiaſm, he never loſt ſight of his own intereſt, nor ſuffered himſelf to be diverted from the purſuit of his reward. Thoſe, who regard him only as the heroic deliverer of his country, can have very imperfectly ſtudied his character, or followed his actions. Without diminiſhing the luſtre of his exploits, or arraigning the purity of the principles, which excited him to attempt the emancipation of Sweden, we may be permitted to regard him as not exempt from human frailties; and to conſider him as the moſt perfect model of a well-regulated and ſucceſsful ambition, which is preſented to us in the hiſtory of mankind.

His meaſures for attaining the crown.

Raiſed by the gratitude of the ſtates general of the kingdom, whom he had aſſembled, to the dignity of adminiſtrator, he ſaw in this promotion, only the facility which it gave, of aſcending yet higher. Always maſter of himſelf, of his courage, and of his troops, he rendered them ſubſervient to his elevation, by either profiting of his advantages over the enemy, or repreſſing the ardor of his ſoldiery, as beſt ſuited his purpoſes. Truſting more to the terrors, than to the gratitude of the people whom he ſerved, he never would conſent to the expulſion of the Danes, till he had received the full reward of his public ſervices, by the donation of the crown. His conduct during the ſiege of Stockholm will beſt exemplify theſe aſſertions. The garriſon, left by Chriſtian the Second, in that city, hopeleſs of ſuccors, and reduced to extremity, demanded to capitulate, without any other conditions, except a promiſe of receiving from Guſtavus the arrears of their pay. A general, who had made the welfare of the Republic the only, or primary object of his conſideration, would have inſtantly accepted propoſals, ſo beneficial to the State, and which ſecured its future independance. But, far from being deſirous to terminate the war, while the throne ſtill continued vacant, Guſtavus embraced a different, and a much wiſer, as well as more intereſted policy. He convoked the States anew; appeared in perſon as a triumphant commander, in the midſt of the Aſſembly; filled up all the vacancies in

He is elected king.

the

the Senate, with perſons devoted to his intereſts; cauſed the recapitulation of his exploits and ſervices to be made by the preſident; and then propoſed to elect a king without delay. The choice could only fall upon himſelf; and the acclamations of every order of citizens ratified the decree, which conferred the ſceptre on their deliverer[6]. They would even have proceeded to his inſtant coronation; but, the new monarch, neither intoxicated, nor blinded by his recent elevation, poſtponed the ceremony to a period of more tranquillity; and having attained the gratification of all his views, reſumed the ſiege of Stockholm. As ready then to grant, as he had been before to refuſe, the terms demanded by the garriſon, he accorded them all the honors of war, and even engaged to tranſport them to Lubeck. To the burghers and inhabitants of the capital, he exerted equal clemency and affability; while his application to affairs, his vigilance, and capacity, rendered the royal authority reſpected throughout the provinces; and Sweden, long accuſtomed either to foreign tyranny, or to the limited and precarious government of adminiſtrators, ſaw a prince eſtabliſhed on the throne, capable of inſpiring veneration, while he conciliated affection[7].

He enters Stockholm, by capitulation.

Great, as the elevation to which Guſtavus had attained, might be juſtly conſidered, it only ſeemed to open new proſpects to his vaſt and aſpiring mind, which gradually matured and unfolded its plans, under the guidance of profound diſcernment, and conſummate prudence. If we conſider the nature of the power entruſted to him, and the ſtate of the revenues, commerce, and reſources of Sweden, at his acceſſion, it cannot excite ſurprize, that he ſhould be deſirous of extending and improving them by every honorable means. Scarcely, indeed, could he be ſaid to poſſeſs more than the honors annexed to royalty, as well as its cares and embarraſſments. The domain of the crown was reduced ſo low, as to be unequal to any exertion, demand-

1523, May. Limited authority, and revenues, of Guſtavus.

[6] Puffendorf, p 173, 174. Vertot, tome i. p. 180—182; and tome ii. p. 18—22.

[7] Vertot, tome ii. p. 22—25. L'Art de Verif. vol. ii. p. 97.

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ing expence; while the clergy poſſeſſed not only a vaſt proportion of the landed property; but, by their caſtles and vaſſals, were able to bid defiance to his authority [8]. It was dangerous to attempt the impoſition of taxes, at the commencement of his reign; and the people, little accuſtomed in that age, to the load of modern pecuniary burdens, were, likewiſe, from their poverty, incapable of ſuſtaining them. Above all, the ſevere conditions which Lubeck had exacted from him, as the price of her aſſiſtance, rendered it indiſpenſable to diſcover ſome mode of liberating the country from its commercial fetters. That intereſted and mercenary city had rated the ſuccors ſent to Guſtavus, at ſixty thouſand marks; and as he was incapable of raiſing ſo large a ſum, he was neceſſitated not only to exempt their veſſels trading to Sweden, from the payment of all duties whatever; but, to concede to them the excluſive and ſole monopoly of the trade itſelf, with its attendant advantages [9].

1524—1526. His able meaſures for their augmentation.

In a ſituation ſo beſet with difficulties, the active mind of Guſtavus beheld only one reſource adequate to the magnitude of the evil; and which, while it enriched and ſtrengthened the throne, promiſed alleviation and redreſs to the people. The introduction of the proteſtant religion in every European ſtate, had been followed by the ſeizure and confiſcation of the eccleſiaſtical property; and this motive may, without impeaching the rectitude of his conduct, be ſuppoſed to have entered into the number of his inducements for attempting ſo great a revolution. His whole life and character evince, beyond any doubt, that neither fanaticiſm, nor religious zeal, dictated his meaſures; which, like thoſe embraced by him on every other occaſion, were planned with deliberate ſagacity, produced with caution, and either delayed, or propelled and accelerated, as the circumſtances appeared to authorize. Conſcious of the dangers with which the enterprize itſelf was beſet, he developed it ſlowly and partially; concealed his own opinions;

[8] Langerbrigg, p. 49. Vertot, tome ii. p. 46.

[9] Mallet, vol. v. p. 502—504. Mod. Univ. Hiſt. vol. xxxiii. p. 125.

and

and waited till the Lutheran doctrines ſhould have made a greater progreſs in Stockholm, as well as in the provinces, before he ventured to extend to them even an indirect protection. Advancing gradually, as he felt himſelf confirmed on the throne, he permitted diſputes to be held on religious ſubjects, and allowed of the tranſlation of the Scriptures; while he at the ſame time demanded from the dignified eccleſiaſtics, a contribution towards the neceſſities of the State. Irritated by their refuſal to aſſiſt him, he ventured on a hazardous experiment; and having preſented himſelf, with a number of armed followers, during the annual fair held at Upſal, he harangued the multitude, declaimed againſt the indolence and avarice of the catholic prieſts, and avowed his intention of converting their uſeleſs revenues to the uſe and extrication of the kingdom. Finding his diſcourſe not ſo grateful to the auditors, as he had flattered himſelf it would have been; far from perſiſting, he relinquiſhed his ſcheme, turned it into raillery, and affected to careſs the primate, in whoſe preſence and dioceſe ſo extraordinary a ſcene had taken place [19].

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1524—1526. He projects to introduce the Reformation.

Obſtacles to his plan.

Guſtavus, neither deterred from the proſecution of the object, by his ill ſucceſs at Upſal, nor intimidated by the appearance of an impoſtor in Dalecarlia, who aſſumed the name of Sture, ſon to the laſt adminiſtrator of Sweden; ſteadily purſued the plan of aboliſhing the antient religion: nor did the indirect encouragement and aſſiſtance, which Frederic the Firſt, king of Denmark, extended to his enemies, retard the completion of his purpoſe. Supported by the attachment of the burghers and magiſtrates of Stockholm, who had almoſt univerſally embraced the Reformation, he again convoked the States of the kingdom; among whom the eccleſiaſtics held a diſtinguiſhed rank. In the aſſembly, after having repreſented the poverty of the crown, the general diſtreſs of the kingdom, and the diſproportionate wealth of the clergy, as well as their

1527. Convocation of the States.

[19] Puffendorf, p. 179—184. Vertot, tome ii. p. 47—70.

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political power, of which they had made ſo pernicious a uſe; he did not heſitate to propoſe the reſumption of their caſtles, the confiſcation of their valuable ornaments or moveables, and the re-union to the royal domain, of all lands which had been given to the church ſince the year 1454[11].

Caution and vigor of Guſtavus.

Even in this deciſive meaſure, which unveiled the whole ſyſtem and intentions of the king, we ſtill trace the ſame conſiſtency of conduct and character; and we behold the ſame judicious caution, in withholding a part of his plan, for which the nation was not fully prepared. The abolition of the catholic faith and worſhip, though evidently the neceſſary conſummation of his work, did not yet appear without diſguiſe; and Guſtavus only propoſed liberty of conſcience, as the baſis and principle of all his future regulations. It is clear, likewiſe, that he was not unprepared for the heſitation and reluctance, manifeſted by the States; and which proceeded to ſo great a heighth, that he roſe from his ſeat, declared his reſolution to renounce the royal dignity, and for ever to abandon his infatuated and ungrateful country. But, he took care to annex to the menace of his abdication, a condition, the difficulty of complying with which he well knew; the previous repayment of all the ſums which he had expended from his private patrimony, in the ſervice of Sweden. Retiring from the aſſembly during four days, he paſſed that time among his officers, in feſtivities and banquets, calculated to retain them in their implicit obedience to his commands; and the States terminated the conteſt, by a prompt and complete ſubmiſſion. The clergy remonſtrated without effect. Their caſtles were inſtantly ſeized, or ſurrendered; and Guſtavus not only appropriated to his own uſe, the immenſe ſequeſtrations in lands and effects; but, refuſed to admit the nobility to any participation in the ſpoils of the church[12].

Confiſcation of the lands of the clergy.

[11] Vertot, tome ii. p. 74—88. Puffendorf, p. 186—190.

[12] Puffendorf, p. 190—193. Lagerbring, p. 50—52. Vertot, tome ii. p. 88—98.

Strengh-

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Strengthened by ſo vaſt an acceſſion of influence and wealth, he proceeded more openly, but, not without precaution, towards the conſummation of his views. The Dalecarlians, terrified at the approach of a body of troops which he had ſent againſt them, expelled their leader, and ſubmitted. Guſtavus pardoned them; but, when they ventured to revolt a ſecond time, he marched into the province in perſon, forced them to deliver up their chiefs, and after having cauſed them to be immediately beheaded, diſmiſſed the inferior rebels [13]. It was not till he had viſited his dominions, aſcertained the revenues of the monaſtic orders by exact perquiſitions, and prepared the minds of his ſubjects for the final religious innovations which he projected, that he proceeded to his coronation. The ceremony was performed at Upſal, and was the ſignal for the entire and total abolition of the antient religion, already ſhaken by repeated attacks. A convocation of the clergy, in which the chancellor preſided, publickly announced their ſeparation from the Romiſh ſee, and the eſtabliſhment of the Lutheran form of worſhip [14]. Able as were the meaſures by which Guſtavus prepared and preceded this laſt act, it produced a fermentation, which, under a prince of inferior vigor, capacity, and popularity, muſt have been fatal to his projects, and probably ſubverſive of his throne. The inſurrections, occaſioned by it, were neither limited to any one province, nor to any particular claſs of people. The nobles, incenſed at having been excluded from a ſhare in the eccleſiaſtical plunder, or bigotted to the faith of their anceſtors, aided the clergy. Not only the Dalecarlians, but the inhabitants in other parts of Sweden, openly renounced their allegiance, and even attempted to elect another ſovereign.

1527. Guſtavus reduces the Dalecarlians.

1528. His coronation.

Introduction and eſtabliſhment of the Reformation.

Inſurrections.

The vaſt aſcendancy of Guſtavus over his ſubjects, and the pre-eminent endowments which combined to form his character, were never more forcibly evinced, nor called into action, than at this criti-

1529, 1530.

[13] Vertot, p. 100—105.

[14] Ibid. p. 106—108. Puffendorf, p. 193—196. Champigny, Hiſt. Abregé de Suede, p. 7—10.

cal

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cal and momentous period of his reign. By a happy and judicious mixture of clemency, with ſeverity; by expoſtulation and argument, as much as by promptitude and deciſion, he reſtored tranquillity to Sweden, and diſperſed the ſtorm. It was not, however, without the effuſion of blood: two ſenators loſt their heads on the ſcaffold, and others only eſcaped, by the payment of heavy pecuniary fines[15].

1529, 1530. quelled.

Vigorous policy and conduct of Guſtavus.

Denmark, which had fomented the diſcontents, afforded an aſylum to the fugitives; and Frederic ſeized the occaſion, to demand the reſtitution of ſome dependencies of the kingdom of Norway, retained by the king of Sweden. But, it was not from a prince of the lofty character of Guſtavus, that he was likely to obtain any public, or national conceſſions; and the Daniſh embaſſador received for anſwer, that "war or peace were alike welcome to the Swediſh monarch, who "knew, and was prepared to reſent the unworthy machinations of "Frederic[16]." No further proceedings took place; and the invaſion made by Chriſtian the Second, their common enemy, compelled the two kings to ſuſpend their perſonal animoſities, while they oppoſed the antient tyrant of the North. Guſtavus, by ſending an army to the Frontiers, which haraſſed the forces of Chriſtian, and impeded his paſſage into Scania, decided the conteſt: he was reduced to the neceſſity of retreating into Norway, and ſoon afterwards of ſurrendering himſelf a priſoner[17].

1531—1534.

This great event, which confirmed the future tranquillity of Guſtavus, only ſerved to evince the vigor of his genius. Not more enervated by proſperity, than he had been diſmayed by adverſity, he embraced the wiſeſt meaſures for augmenting the felicity of his people, while he conſolidated and eſtabliſhed the grandeur of his family. After having married Chriſtina, daughter of the duke of Saxe Lawemburg, he once more quelled the inſolence and inſurrections of the Dalecarlians; to whoſe generous adherence he originally owed his

New revolts of the Dalecarlians.

[15] Puffendorf, p. 196, 197.
[16] Ibid. p. 197. Mallet, vol. vi. p. 69—71.
[17] Vertot, tome ii. p. 111—120. Mallet, vol. vi. p. 78—113.

elevation;

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elevation; and who, during a great part of his reign, laboured inceſſantly to reduce him again to the condition of a ſubject. It cannot aſtoniſh thoſe who know the nature of man, and who reflect on the deſpicable or inſignificant cauſes by which he is impelled; to find, that the rude inhabitants of this remote and uncivilized province, ſtrongly attached not only to their antient faith, but to every inferior appendage of their religion, were induced to revolt, by their reſentment of the orders iſſued to expoſe to ſale the uſeleſs bells in the churches. The king was neceſſitated to proceed to the laſt extremities, in order to enforce a compliance, and to reduce them to obedience [18]. Attentive to enlarge the commerce of his ſubjects, he repaid the ſums due to Lubeck; refuſed that haughty city the continuance of their excluſive, and lucrative monopoly; encouraged the ſhips of other nations to viſit the Swediſh ports; and defied the vengeance of the Senate of Lubeck, who inſolently threatened to pull him down from the throne, to which he had been elevated by their aſſiſtance [19]. With Chriſtian the Third, the ſucceſſor of Frederic the Firſt, king of Denmark, he entered into the cloſeſt connexions of amity and policy; which, at the commencement of that prince's reign, were highly efficacious in confirming his power [20]. Though, from various cauſes, the harmony between them ſuffered afterwards ſome ſhort and caſual interruptions; yet the vigilance of the Swediſh monarch, and the moderate character of Chriſtian, ſuſpended all hoſtilities, and preſerved the two kingdoms in repoſe [21].

1531—1534. Wiſdom of the king's adminiſtration.

1535. Policy towards Denmark.

If the morning of Guſtavus's life had been ſo ſtormy, and its meridian ſo brilliant, its decline was by no means exempt from thoſe clouds and viciſſitudes, to which man is always expoſed; and proportionably more liable from his elevation. The religion, which he had overturned, was not deſtitute of zealous partizans: the nobility had not yet learned the ſubmiſſion, which kingly power exacts, and

1536—1543. Cloſe of Guſtavus's reign.

[18] Puffendorf, p. 198—200.
[19] Ibid. p. 200, 201.
[20] Mallet, vol. vi. p. 259—262. Puffendorf, p. 203.
[21] Ibid. p. 363—370. Puffendorf, p. 202.

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which is always yielded reluctantly to thoſe who have been our equals: the people, ignorant, credulous, and turbulent, were eaſily inflamed by artful and ſeditious ſpirits. Continual conſpiracies, diſcovered and anticipated by his energy or deciſion, yet diſturbed his tranquillity, and obliged him to recur to meaſures of ſeverity for their ſuppreſſion [22]. In his private capacity, he experienced the inſtability of human felicity; and had a melancholy preſage of thoſe domeſtic diſſenſions, which, even before his deceaſe, began to manifeſt themſelves among his ſons, and to ſhake the foundations of the grandeur, to which he had raiſed the houſe of Vaſa. His queen did not poſſeſs the qualities, calculated to excite his eſteem, or retain his affections. That unfortunate princeſs was ſuppoſed to have laboured under temporary alienations of mind; and the ſeverity, if not brutality, of her huſband's treatment, is believed to have accelerated, or produced her death [23]. She left only one ſon, the more unfortunate Eric, whoſe reign, depoſition, and impriſonment, form a tragical portion of the Swediſh hiſtory. Induced by motives of policy, as much as by inclination, Guſtavus eſpouſed the daughter of Abraham Ericſon, a nobleman of the higheſt rank; with a view of ſecuring to his ſons, in caſe that he ſhould have iſſue, the attachment and ſupport of the moſt illuſtrious families in Sweden. Equally attentive to preſerving the national repoſe, he renewed his alliance with the crown of Denmark; concluded a truce for ſixty years with the great duke of Muſcovy; and made a defenſive treaty for the mutual guarantee of their dominions, with Francis the Firſt, king of France [24].

Domeſtic misfortunes.

1544. The crown is rendered hereditary in Guſtavus's family.

All theſe negotiations and meaſures might be regarded as preludes to the laſt act of Guſtavus's political elevation. Covered with perſonal glory; eſtabliſhed on the throne by a triumphant adminiſtration of more than twenty years; revered by his ſubjects as their de-

[22] Puffendorf, p. 202.

[23] Mallet, vol. vi. p. 261, 262. Puffendorf, p. 203.

[24] Puffendorf, p. 203.

liverer

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liverer and legiſlator; the only circumſtance wanting to complete his high deſtiny, was the tranſmiſſion of the ſceptre to his poſterity. The States, who had already given him ſo many teſtimonies of loyalty and devotion, did not refuſe this final proof of national gratitude. The crown was declared to be hereditary in the male line of the family of Vaſa; and Eric, his eldeſt ſon, was inſtantly acknowledged as ſucceſſor to the kingdom of Sweden. In order, at the ſame time, to extinguiſh the remaining adherence to the catholic faith, the reformed religion was ſolemnly confirmed, and every other form of worſhip was aboliſhed throughout the Swediſh territories [25]. Arrived at the ſummit of his ambition by a long and painful gradation, he appeared deſirous to ſecure his acquiſition, rather than to augment, or extend it; and though the incurſions of the Muſcovites into Finland compelled him, reluctantly, to march againſt them in perſon, and to continue his military operations during two campaigns, yet the genius of his government was pacific. Satiated with honors, declining in years, and occupied with internal regulations for the extenſion of commerce, or the encreaſe of his revenue, he courted peace; and in the view of perpetuating it, he even permitted ſome acts of a hoſtile, or, at leaſt, of an equivocal nature, in the court of Denmark, to paſs unnoticed, which, at a more vigorous period of life, he would probably have reſented [26]. All the duties of an enlightened and active prince, attentive to the felicity of his people, he continued to diſcharge; and while he amaſſed treaſures unknown to his predeceſſors, the reſult of a wiſe frugality, he inſenſibly introduced the arts and refinement into Sweden. The navigation of the Baltic, hitherto almoſt confined to the Hanſeatic league, became known to, and was carried on by his ſubjects: trade flowed into the ports of the kingdom; and it may be doubted, whether any European ſtate, in proportion to its means of acquiring

1544.

1545—1558. Pacific meaſures and ſyſtem.

Tranquillity of Sweden.

[25] Vertot, tome ii. p. 121—123. L'Art de Verif. vol. ii. p. 97. Puffendorf, p. 206.
[26] Vertot, tome ii. p. 122.

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wealth and conſideration, enjoyed a greater degree of both, than Sweden, during the cloſe of this illuſtrious reign[27].

1559. Conduct of Eric

The public and political repoſe, for which Guſtavus anxiouſly wiſhed, attended him to the grave; but, his approach to it was darkened and embittered by the diſſenſions which generated between Eric, and his younger ſons; particularly, John, the eldeſt of his children by the ſecond bed. In addition to ſo melancholy a ſource of apprehenſion, the intractable and ill-regulated mind of his ſucceſſor excited alarm, and ſeemed to partake of the hereditary, intellectual malady, derived from his mother. The pertinacity, with which Eric, in oppoſition to the aged monarch's advice and expoſtulations, urged his ſuit to Elizabeth, princeſs, and ſoon afterwards queen of England; and his obſtinate proſecution of the match, not only againſt every reaſonable hope of its completion, but contrary to the inclination of the ſtates and people of Sweden; indicated a defect of judgment, and an impetuoſity, of the moſt irremediable nature.

Diviſion of the dominions of Sweden, among Guſtavus's ſons.

Guſtavus himſelf, by his parental fondneſs for his younger children, and by the ample fiefs with which he endowed them, widened the breach, and rendered them too nearly independant of their future ſovereign. John, whom he had always regarded with peculiar predilection, and to whom, it is aſſerted, that he had entertained intentions of devolving the crown itſelf, if the ſubſtitution could have been effected without danger; received the duchy of Finland. To Magnus, his third ſon, he gave the province of Weſt Gothland; and to Charles, the laſt, thoſe of Sudermania, Nericia, and Wermeland[28]. Injurious as theſe vaſt donations were, in every point of view, to the dignity and greatneſs of the crown, they were juſtified and authorized by the practice of the age; and we ſee them equally taking place in almoſt all the other monarchies of Europe. They ſubſiſted, in ſome parts of the German empire, till the middle of the ſeventeenth century.

[27] Lagerbring, p. 53, 54. Vertot, tome ii. p. 123.

[28] Puffendorf, p. 223—226. Vertot, tome ii. p. 124—128.

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1560. Death of Guſtavus.

Review of his character and actions.

Wearied with the importunities of Eric, his father, after convoking the States of the kingdom, in which he cauſed his teſtamentary diſpoſitions to be read, and appearing for the laſt time among them, ſurrounded by his ſons, conſented to his departure for England. The prince, entirely engroſſed by his romantic paſſion for Elizabeth, quitted Stockholm, and was already conſiderably advanced on his way to the port, from which he was to embark, when he was recalled by the intelligence of Guſtavus's deceaſe. In ſo critical a juncture, he did not venture to proſecute his voyage, and he therefore returned to the capital [29]. It would be uſeleſs to delineate the character of Guſtavus Vaſa, as we do that of ordinary princes. His exploits, his adminiſtration, and the length of his reign, have placed him in ſo conſpicuous a point of light, and have ſo accurately eſtabliſhed his reputation, as to leave little to the hiſtorian. The commencement of his life does not more forcibly arreſt the imagination, than its progreſs charms the judgment; nor is the hero and avenger of his country, more an object of love and veneration, than the monarch, of reſpect and approbation. In every ſituation and condition, whether concealed in the mines of Dalecarlia, or elevated on the throne of Sweden, we follow him with that intereſt, which great actions alone can excite; and we participate in the juſt reward of his atchievements, a crown, conferred by a grateful people. From the infirmities, and, perhaps, the vices, too frequently found even in the moſt exalted characters, and inſeparable from the nature of man, he was not exempt; but, his defects lay hid in the ſhade, while his ſublime qualities appear in their full luſtre. Few perſons, more illuſtrious, have ariſen in the annals of the world; and he is almoſt a ſingular inſtance of a private individual, who has obtained, by the voluntary ſuffrages of a whole nation, a ſceptre, which deſcended to his poſterity [30].

[29] Celſius, Hiſt. d'Eric XIV. p. 34—41. Puffendorf, p. 226.

[30] Vertot, tome ii. p. 129, 130. Lagerbring, p. 60.

The

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1560—1563. Commencement of Eric's reign.

The incapacity and miſconduct of Eric, rather than any depravity of natural diſpoſition, opened a very different ſcene after the death of Guſtavus. The conditions, annexed by the new ſovereign, to the inveſtiture or ſurrender of the fiefs, conferred on his three brothers; however juſt in themſelves, and although indiſpenſable for the purpoſe of retaining them in the rank of ſubjects; were yet warmly reſented, as an infraction of his father's dying injunctions or bequeſts. John, duke of Finland, retiring to Abo, his capital, began to manifeſt thoſe ſymptoms of diſcontent, which afterwards proceeded to revolt; and he entered into the cloſeſt connexions of policy and affinity, with Sigiſmund Auguſtus, king of Poland, whoſe ſiſter he married, in contradiction to the wiſhes, and in diſobedience to the commands of Eric. This conduct was rendered more improper, if not criminal, by the circumſtances with which it was accompanied. The king of Sweden having recently taken under his protection, and ſubjected to his crown, the province of Eſthonia, which conſtitutes a portion of Livonia, claimed by Poland; Sigiſmund Auguſtus had demanded it, and attempted to recover it by force of arms. Hoſtilities commenced between the two kingdoms, and were carried on with alternate ſucceſs. In ſuch a ſituation, the alliance of the duke of Finland with the enemies of Sweden; added to his refuſal to appear at Stockholm, unleſs hoſtages were given for his ſecurity, produced a rupture between the brothers. John, after ſuſtaining a ſiege of three months in the caſtle of Abo, was brought priſoner to Stockholm; his fief was confiſcated; and he himſelf, together with all his adherents, were adjudged to have incurred the penalty of treaſon. The ſentence was executed in all its rigor, upon many perſons of every rank, implicated in the duke's crimes or misfortunes. After a degree of irreſolution on the part of Eric, either his conſciouſneſs of the injuſtice and ſeverity of the proceeding, or the emotions of fraternal affection, induced him to mitigate the fate of John, who was conducted with the princeſs,

Diſſenſion between Eric, and John, duke of Finland.

Impriſonment of John.

his wife, to the caſtle of Gripſholm, and detained in cloſe confinement [31]. CHAP. XVI.

1563—1567. War with Lubeck, Denmark, and Poland.

While theſe internal ſources of future commotion were forming in the court and family of Eric, appearances not leſs alarming began to threaten his repoſe, from foreign ſtates. The city of Lubeck, inſatiable in its thirſt of commercial advantage, and ſtill anxious to retain the monopoly of the Baltic trade, reſented the wiſe and ſpirited reſtrictions, which he had impoſed upon their navigation and intercourſe with Sweden. Incapable of maintaining a conteſt with that crown, in the declining ſtate of their reſources, and incenſed at the depredations committed on their ſhipping, by the ſubjects of Eric; the Senate of Lubeck applied to Frederic the Second, king of Denmark, to aid them in their projects of vengeance. A war, in which Sweden was compelled to oppoſe the united forces of Poland, Denmark, and Lubeck, ſoon commenced; and was maintained, with circumſtances of national animoſity, which mutually baniſhed every conſideration of humanity, for ſeveral years. The exertions, made by Eric, during the progreſs of ſo unequal a conteſt, evince the ſtate of proſperity and wealth, in which Guſtavus had left his dominions. The Swediſh fleets covered the Baltic, while their forces repeatedly ravaged Scania, Norway, and the Daniſh provinces. Even under all the diſadvantages reſulting from a weak and relaxed adminiſtration, divided counſels, and the augmenting violence or alienation of the king's mind, no important conqueſt was effected by the confederates, either in Livonia, or in Sweden. If we caſt a general view over the leading events, we ſhall find, that the Daniſh ſuperiority by land, was almoſt invariably balanced by the ſucceſs of their enemies, on the ſea. The armies of Frederic repeatedly carried terror and devaſtation into the interior parts of Sweden, and retired, laden with booty: but, theſe incurſions were retaliated by the triumphant and unreſiſted

Events, and alternate ſucceſs.

[31] Celſius, p. 185—224. Puffendorf, p. 233, 234, and p. 239.

appear-

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appearance of the Swediſh admiral, at the head of a fleet, in the harbour of Copenhagen; as well as by the numerous captures made from the Danes, and from the inhabitants of Lubeck. In Livonia, Eric obtained ſome important advantages: his troops became maſters of the port of Revel, and of the coaſt, from which the Poles were unable to expel them; and that fertile province, the granary of the North, was reduced to his obedience in a conſiderable degree [32].

1567. Exceſſes of the king.

No external proſperity or ſucceſs could, however, reſtore tranquillity in the court, where the frantic exceſſes of the king ſpread terror and conſternation. Naturally ſuſpicious, his diſtruſt, increaſing with years, no longer knew any limit; and in the paroxiſms of his jealouſy, or of his rage, every object inflamed him beyond the reſtraints of reaſon. Animated with peculiar deteſtation towards the family of Sture, which had given more than one adminiſtrator to Sweden, before the elevation of the houſe of Vaſa to the throne; he determined on their extermination, as well as on the execution of ſeveral other obnoxious ſenators or nobles. The caſtle of Upſal, in which theſe illuſtrious and unfortunate perſons were confined, was the ſcene of Eric's ſavage and guilty violence. Seized with a ſudden privation of his underſtanding, he burſt the doors of the apartment in which Nicholas Sture was impriſoned, and ſtabbed him with his own hand; while the father and brother of the defenceleſs victim, together with their companions, were overpowered and maſſacred by the guards. Hiſtory has not diſdained to record an action of Sture, almoſt unparalleled in magnanimity. Eric having plunged the dagger into his arm, he drew it from the wound, wiped the blood from off the blade, kiſſed it, and returned it to the king. So heroic an inſtance of duty and ſelf-poſſeſſion, could not, however, either mollify, or diſarm the frantic reſentment of his aſſaſſin. Purſued by remorſe, Eric had no ſooner completed his ſanguinary purpoſe, than

Inſanity, and crimes of Eric.

[32] Puffendorf, p. 237, 238, and p. 240—244, and p. 245—256. Lagerbring, p. 60—64. Celſius, livres 5, 6, 7, and 8, paſſim.

he

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he fled from Upſal; and during three days, diſguiſed in the dreſs of a peaſant, he concealed himſelf in the woods. When diſcovered, and re-conducted to Stockholm, the tumult of his mind and ſenſes ſubſided; and he evinced not only the moſt ſincere contrition for his paſt enormities, but endeavoured to make every compenſation for the involuntary exceſſes, committed in his frenzy [33]. 1567.

Conſequences of them.

It may juſtly excite ſurpriſe, that after ſuch inconteſtable proofs of depravity, or of inſanity, a high ſpirited and martial nobility ſhould continue tamely to ſubmit to the caprice of a prince, incapable of governing himſelf, and whoſe paroxiſms of ſavage fury were fatal to all around him. But, many cauſes conduced to prolong the reign, and to protract the depoſition of Eric. The memory of the great Guſtavus was univerſally dear to the Swedes: John, the next heir to the crown, was ſtill in priſon; and even the crimes of the king rather entitled him to compaſſion, than demanded vengeance, becauſe they proceeded more from intellectual infirmity, than from vice. He had even manifeſted his intention to abſtain from any further exerciſe of the functions of royalty, avowed his incapacity, and abandoned his miniſter, Perhſon, accuſed of propelling him on violent meaſures, to the judgment of a tribunal, which condemned him to ſuffer capital puniſhment. The government, during this ſort of interregnum, devolved on two adminiſtrators: but, with the return of his intellects, Eric reſumed the ſupreme direction of affairs; and the firſt uſe which he made of his reaſon, was to liberate the duke of Finland from the ſtate of confinement in which he had been ſo long detained. The brothers embraced, and exhibited every mark of a ſincere reconciliation [34].

Reconciliation of Eric and John.

It was not, however, poſſible, that affairs could remain long in ſo critical a ſtate. The Danes had advanced into the interior provinces of the kingdom, which were either defenceleſs, or ill protected by 1568.

[33] Celſius, p. 121—136. Puffendorf, p. 256, 257.
[34] Celſius, p. 136—141. Puffendorf, p. 257—259.

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1568.

an army deſtitute of leaders, and diſcontented. Eric, with his faculties, had recovered his authority, and appeared to threaten his ſubjects with new and greater exceſſes. Perhſon not only received a pardon; but, was again replaced in his miniſterial ſituation; while the king prepared to ſolemnize his nuptials, and to place the crown on the head of his miſtreſs. She was the daughter of a peaſant in one of the moſt remote and barbarous provinces of Sweden, and had already borne him two children; the eldeſt of whom, named Guſtavus, he deſigned to legitimate, and to declare his ſucceſſor. The ceremony of his marriage was performed at Stockholm, with a ſolemnity and magnificence, which augmented the general indignation [35]. But, the term of Eric's miſconduct and mal-adminiſtration approached. John, who only waited till the national diſſatisfaction ſhould call him from his retreat, was joined by his younger brother, Charles; in whom, of all Guſtavus's children, ſurvived the greateſt portion of his valour, capacity, and virtues. A numerous body of adherents flocked to their ſtandard; and the king, after vainly attempting to diſperſe, or defeat them, retreated to Stockholm. His defence, though protracted to the laſt extremity, was ineffectual. After ſeeing his miniſter, Perhſon, delivered up to the enemy, and executed with every mark of infamy, under the walls of the capital; he was reduced to capitulate, on a promiſe of gentle treatment. His depoſition, which was preceded by a public trial and adjudication, before a tribunal convoked at Stockholm, took place in the following year [36].

Marriage of Eric.

His depoſition.

1568—1570. Acceſſion of John the Third.

Few princes have ever acceded to a throne, under circumſtances more favourable to their reputation, than John the Third. The exceſſes and crimes of his predeceſſor, had rendered him odious or contemptible to the nation. Sweden was exhauſted by a long ſeries of hoſtilities, againſt a powerful confederacy, and had ſeen her faireſt provinces ravaged by the enemy; while the court and capital were

[35] Celſius, p. 141—156. Puffendorf, p. 259—262.
[36] Celſius, livre 10. Puffendorf, p. 262—268.

filled

filled with conſternation. The new monarch was, himſelf, in the prime of life; of a figure and manners calculated to engage affection; and cheriſhed by the people, as the favourite ſon of the great Guſtavus. His reign did not, however, by any means gratify the high expectations, to which it had given birth. The treatment of the depoſed and unfortunate Eric, was marked with the moſt indecent ſeverity, or rather, inhuman brutality. Transferred from one priſon to another: ſubjected to the extremes of hunger and cold: abandoned to the ferocity and revenge of thoſe, whom he had perſonally injured or incenſed: degraded by blows and wounds; his wretched fate excited equal compaſſion and indignation [37]. Far from recovering the national honor, which had ſuffered ſome degree of injury, during the progreſs of the war againſt the Danes; John ſaw himſelf reduced, after having obtained from the magnanimity, rather than the policy, of Frederic the Second, a truce of ſix months; either to ſign a humiliating treaty, or to try the event of a new campaign. He preferred the latter expedient; but, he had reaſon to repent of the determination. His arms were unſucceſsful: the only place, which Eric had captured from the enemy, in the courſe of ſo long and ruinous a conteſt, was loſt; and the king ſigned at Stettin, a peace, neither glorious nor beneficial to his ſubjects [38].

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1568—1570.

His reign.

Continuation of the war.

Peace of Stettin.

In Livonia, where Ivan Baſilowitz, czar of Muſcovy, commenced a war with Sweden, the generals of John obtained ſome diſtinguiſhed advantages; but, they were not improved with ſagacity, or they were not ſufficiently deciſive, to compel the Ruſſian prince to deſiſt from his pretenſions and continual encroachments. It was with difficulty, that he conſented to a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities during two years, between Muſcovy and Finland, in which Livonia was not included [39]. But, a circumſtance, which more than any external

1570—1574. Truce with Muſcovy.

[37] Celſius, p. 209—213. Mallet, vol. vii. p. 88—92.
[38] Mallet, vol. vii. p. 93—112. Puffendorf, p. 268—272.
[39] Puffendorf, p. 273—275.

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misfortune, or disgrace, tended to alienate from John, the esteem and attachment of the Swedes, was his predilection for the Romish faith, and his endeavours to introduce it anew into his dominions. He had imbibed from the queen, his wife, Catherine Jagellon, this regard for a religion, proscribed by his two predecessors; and the triumph over which, had been the most inconteſtable, as it was the most arduous and laborious proof, of the vigour and capacity of Gustavus. He persisted, during the whole course of his reign, to pursue, with greater, or lesser exertion, the plan of reviving the catholic doctrines, and form of worship. He permitted his son, Sigismund, to be educated in, and to imbibe a bigotted veneration for them; and he, by so obvious a departure from the maxims of policy, and the interests of his descendants, laid the foundation of new convulsions in the family of Vasa [40]. These revolutions did not, however, take place till a period more remote; and nothing can better evince the firm foundations on which Gustavus had erected the grandeur of his house, and the degree of respect and affection entertained for his memory; than the loyalty and allegiance, preserved towards his posterity, in the midst of civil war, heightened by personal and religious animosity. No open attempt was ever made to substitute any other candidate, or to elevate to the throne any subject, while the representatives of Gustavus Vasa remained, to claim the gratitude of the Swedish senate and nation.

1570—1574. John attempts to revive the catholic religion in Sweden.

1574. Obscurity of this period of the Swedish history.

If there is any part of the modern annals of Sweden, which can be regarded, as at least comparatively dark and obscure, it is that portion of time which intervenes between the accession of Eric the Fourteenth, in 1560, and the death of Charles the Ninth, in 1611. The exploits of Gustavus Adolphus, the splendor of his conquests, and the rapidity with which he over-ran the German empire, have fixed on him the attention of posterity, and thrown the actions of his four immediate predecessors into the shade. It was not before the Swedes

[40] Puffendorf, p. 275—278.

landed

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1574.

landed in Pomerania, and obtained a permanent eſtabliſhment in the northern provinces of Germany, that they became intimately known to the kingdoms of the ſouth, and were regarded as conſtituting an integral part of the great political ſyſtem of Europe. In 1542, when Guſtavus Vaſa ſent embaſſadors to Francis the Firſt, king of France, to propoſe a defenſive treaty againſt the houſe of Auſtria; that prince and his miniſters were ſo totally ignorant of the ſtate of Sweden, its conſtitution, power, and reſources of every kind, that they heſitated, and declined giving any poſitive anſwer, till they had been enabled, by enquiries, to ſatisfy themſelves in theſe important particulars. Having aſcertained that the nation was warlike, and the ſovereign capable of making a formidable diverſion, Francis immediately concluded the negociation; and the two monarchs ſtipulated to aſſiſt each other reciprocally, with twenty-five thouſand land forces, and fifty ſhips[41]. But, we do not find that Guſtavus ſent any aſſiſtance, naval, or military, to the French king, when engaged in war ſoon afterwards, againſt the emperor, Charles the Fifth. It was eaſier to engage than to execute, at the remote diſtance of the reſpective kingdoms; and it is probable, that neither court meant ſeriouſly to fulfil the conditions ſpecified. A degree of amity, however, continued to reign between them, which has never been wholly extinguiſhed, in the courſe of more than two centuries. Guſtavus Vaſa, and his ſon, both received from their allies, Francis the Firſt, and Francis the Second, the order of St. Michael[42]. That of the Holy Ghoſt was not then created.

Defenſive alliance between Guſtavus, and Francis the Firſt.

In 1574, the Swedes were ſtill little known, or conſidered, beyond the limits of the Baltic: they were, in fact, almoſt cut off from any regular communication with the reſt of Europe, the Danes being maſters of all the ſouthern provinces, by which that connexion is principally maintained. John the Third poſſeſſed, notwithſtanding, great reſources, which, under a vigorous and popular prince, might be called

41. Puffendorf, p. 203. Lagerbring, p. 58. Vertot, p. 129.
42. Puffendorf, p. 204.

into

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1574. Revenues.

into ſpeedy and effectual action. The antient revenues were ſunk ſo low, that, in 1527, Guſtavus Vaſa aſſerted, in an aſſembly of the States, their inſufficiency to ſupport a body of five hundred cavalry; and he added, that many of the biſhops poſſeſſed an income, ſuperior to the crown. The royal receipts amounted only to twenty-four thouſand marks, while the unavoidable annual expences exceeded ſixty thouſand [43]. But, the reſumption of the eccleſiaſtical property, had rendered the monarchical dignity much more reſpectable and independant. Guſtavus neither divided thoſe immenſe ſpoils with the nobles, nor ſquandered them on favourites, nor affected them to any public uſes and inſtitutions. He annexed them to the crown, as the beſt ſupport of its authority. We may judge of their magnitude, by the prodigious expences, ſuſtained for a number of years, under Eric, and John the Third, in the Daniſh, Muſcovite, and Poliſh wars; which were carried on by ſea and land, under very adverſe occurrences, without greatly oppreſſing, or exhauſting the ſubject [44]. The marriage portion, left by Guſtavus, to each of his five daughters, was a hundred thouſand crowns: a ſum, which, even in this age, and in more wealthy monarchies, would not be deemed very inconſiderable [45].

Treaſures.

Wealth of the clergy.

The revenues and riches of the clergy, before the Reformation, were incredible: two-thirds of the lands of the kingdom are aſſerted to have been in their poſſeſſion; and ſome of the Swediſh writers heſitate not to ſay, that near thirty-ſix thouſand eſtates were united to the royal domain, by Guſtavus [46]. We may judge of the enormous and diſproportionate wealth which they enjoyed, by the circumſtance of Guſtavus Trolle, archbiſhop of Upſal, having demanded of the Swediſh nobles, in 1520, the ſum of ſix hundred thouſand marks of ſilver; as a compenſation for the amount of the income of his ſee, during four years that he had not received his

[43] Lagerbring, p. 49. Vertot, p. 86, 87.
[44] Puffendorf, p. 192.
[45] Puffendorf, p. 223.
[46] Vertot, p. 98. Lagerbring, p. 51.

accuſtomed revenue [47]. One might be tempted reaſonably to doubt, whether, at that period, Sweden contained ſo large a quantity of current coin. His ſucceſſor in the archbiſhoprick of Upſal, when he made his paſtoral viſit through the dioceſe, was uſually attended by a train of two hundred officers and followers [48]. Even, Olaus Petri, the firſt Lutheran, promoted to the ſee, had fifty guards for his eſcort; which being ſuppreſſed, he ſubſtituted fifty ſtudents in their place [49].

Feudal tenures.

The obligation, impoſed by the antient feudal tenures, which compelled every poſſeſſor of a fief, in proportion to its extent or value, to attend the ſovereign in the field, with a certain number of armed vaſſals, had nearly become extinct, or obſolete, in the beginning of Eric's reign. That prince, in 1562, not without extreme difficulty, and much oppoſition on the part of the nobility, revived the antient inſtitution, at leaſt, in a conſiderable degree: but, it was a very unpopular act, and contributed principally to alienate from him their affections [50]. We even find, that when he attempted, in the following year, to retain his troops under their ſtandards, and to lead them againſt the enemy, in the month of November, they refuſed to obey, or to continue longer under arms [51]. Great numbers of Germans and of Scots ſerved in the armies of Sweden; and the cavalry was almoſt entirely compoſed of the former nation [52].

Military forces.

Navy.

It is not without aſtoniſhment, that we contemplate the vaſt naval armaments, annually equipped by Eric. In 1565, the fleet amounted to fifty ſail; and in 1566, it was encreaſed to ſixty-eight veſſels of war [53]. The "Makaleus," on board of which was the Swediſh admiral, Bagge, carried two hundred and twenty-five pieces of braſs cannon; but, neither her tonnage, nor her compliment of ſeamen, are preciſely ſpecified [54]. She was ſurrounded by the Daniſh

[47] Lagerbring, p. 50. Vertot, p. 86.
[48] Lagerbring, p. 51.
[49] Ibid. p. 51, 52.
[50] Celſius, p. 189—192.
[51] Celſius, p. 262, 263.
[52] Ibid. tome ii. p. 75, 76.
[53] Ibid. p. 47, and p. 102.
[54] Ibid. p. 9. Mallet, vol. vii. p. 59.

ſquadron,

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1574.

ſquadron, and blown up, after a deſperate engagement, off the iſle of Oeland, in 1564. Near eight hundred perſons periſhed by the exploſion. She was then regarded, as not only the largeſt ſhip of war, which had ever navigated the Baltic; but, as the fineſt and moſt complete, in all Europe [55].

Commerce.

The commerce of Sweden began to emancipate itſelf from the oppreſſion of the Hanſeatic league, under Guſtavus; and Eric, whatever defects he manifeſted in his general adminiſtration, evinced an anxious deſire to encourage the induſtry, and to extend the trade of his ſubjects. In 1559, it appears, that Stockholm already employed twenty-eight trading veſſels; Gefle, nineteen; Oregrund, nine; and the other ſea ports, in proportion [56]. But, in order to form an accurate idea of the extent and importance of the Swediſh commerce, at this period, we ought to know the quantity of tonnage, as well as the number of ſailors who navigated the merchant ſhips. Towards the end of the reign of Guſtavus, corn was exported in plentiful years [57]. It muſt be remembered, that, when Denmark poſſeſſed the three provinces of Halland, Scania, and Bleking, ſhe was miſtreſs of both coaſts, and could completely interdict the paſſage of the Sound to every European nation. Between the ſouthern frontiers of Norway, and the northern borders of Halland, Sweden retained a narrow tract of territory, by which ſhe could ſtill communicate with the German Ocean; and in this part of the province of Weſt Gothland, ſtood the town of Elffburg, at a ſmall diſtance from the ſpot on which has ſince ariſen the celebrated and commercial city of Gottenburgh. Eric, conſcious of the importance of ſuch a port, and anxious to liberate his ſubjects from their dependance on Denmark, commenced an undertaking which does honour to the extent of his views. He projected, by means of canals, to form a communication between Stockholm and Elffburg, acroſs the whole kingdom of

Plan for joining the Baltic, and the German Ocean.

[55] Puffendorf, p. 242. Celſius, tome ii. p. 10—16.

[56] Lagerbring, p. 53.

[57] Idem, ibid.

Sweden;

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Sweden; an enterprize, greatly facilitated by the lakes Meler, Hielmar, and Wener; and which might vie in utility, as well as grandeur, with the junction of the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, performed by Louis the Fourteenth, in the laſt century. So advantageous and enlightened a plan was prevented from being carried into execution, by the troubles which agitated Eric's reign; but, far from renouncing the idea, he fortified Elfſburg, with an intention of reſuming and completing it, at a more favourable period [58]. All the productions, or commodities of Sweden, at this time, were purchaſed in their original, unwrought ſtate, by the members of the Hanſe; and that induſtrious ſociety, after having manufactured them, derived a vaſt profit, by ſelling them again to their firſt poſſeſſors. Eric, in 1561, iſſued ſome regulations, calculated to repreſs, and finally to extinguiſh a ſpecies of commercial intercourſe, ſo ſyſtematically injurious to his people. Nothing can better evince, that the northern nations began already to embrace ſound notions of the balance of trade [59]. Many of the laws, enacted and publiſhed by Eric, the tendency of which were inconteſtably beneficial, were repealed, or annulled by his ſucceſſor. Such was the eſtabliſhment of a pecuniary impoſition, rated according to the value of eſtates, to enable the crown to provide horſes on all the public roads: before his reign, they were furniſhed by the peaſants. Yet, this tax was regarded as no inconſiderable grievance; and John obtained great popularity, by its ſuppreſſion [60]. So difficult is it to abrogate any uſage, ſanctioned by long preſcription; or to induce the people to adopt the moſt ſalutary and wholeſome regulations, if in contradiction to antient prejudice.

Syſtem of trade.

Laws, and inſtitutions.

Notwithſtanding the judicious precautions, embraced by Eric, previous to the commencement of the war with Denmark, in order to open a direct trade with England and France, through the port of Elfſburg; the Swedes were reduced to great diſtreſs for many articles

Impediments to the Swediſh commerce, and navigation.

[58] Celſius, tome i. p. 130, 131. [59] Ibid. p. 131, 132. [60] Ibid. p. 192, 193.

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ticles of neceſſary conſumption, during the continuance of hoſtilities. Elfſburg was taken by the Danes; and, after that event, it became impoſſible to procure any commodity, except by the paſſage of the Sound, which was completely occupied by Frederic the Second. Holland and Spain, from whence ſupplies might have been drawn, were in ſtrict alliance with the court of Copenhagen. Lubeck, and the Hanſe towns on the coaſt of Mecklenburg, were declared and inveterate enemies of Eric. Among other articles, wine became ſo extremely ſcarce, that a ſufficient quantity could not be found, even for the celebration of the Sacrament[61]. The Calviniſts, headed by the king's preceptor, Denis Bury, a native of France, and by the biſhop of Weſteros, declared their opinion, that as the inſtitution itſelf was only a ſymbolical and figurative repreſentation, or commemoration of the death of Chriſt; any other element might be ſubſtituted in the place of wine. They recommended water, mead, or even beer. But, the archbiſhop of Upſal, as chief of the Lutheran faith, and of the eſtabliſhed religion, oppoſed the propoſition of Bury, which he ſtigmatized as a dangerous and deteſtable hereſy, not unknown in the early ages of the chriſtian church. The king impoſed ſilence on the Calviniſt prelates and divines; but, their intractable and obſtinate adherence to their opinion, produced a general clamor among the clergy and people, which was not eaſily extinguiſhed[62].

Scarcity of wine.

Salt was another object of the firſt neceſſity, which, from the interruption of commerce, roſe more than once to a very high price in Sweden. We may form ſome judgment of the extenſive trade, carried on in neutral bottoms, during that period, by the circumſtances attending the appearance of Horn, the Swediſh admiral, off Copenhagen, in 1565. He found in the harbour, above two hundred and fifty Dutch, or Flemiſh veſſels, laden with grain. He did not, however, make prize of them; but, contented himſelf with exacting from each

Trade of the neutral powers in the Baltic.

[61] Celſius, tome ii. p. 26, 27. [62] Ibid. p. 25—31.

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ſhip, the duty, paid on the paſſage of the Sound, to Denmark [63]. Horn returned again in the enſuing year, when near four hundred merchant ſhips, laden principally with ſalt and corn, lay at anchor, under the protection of a combined ſquadron of Daniſh and Lubeck veſſels of war. In defiance of their united force, he exacted and received the cuſtomary duty from all the ſhips belonging to the neutral Baltic powers; and he captured full two hundred, which he conducted ſafely into the ports of Sweden [64].

Arts and manufactures.

Towards the commencement of Eric's reign, arts and manufactures were eſtabliſhed, of various kinds. A fabrick for ſaltpetre was begun; and another of fire-arms, founded at Calmar. Gallies for the tranſport of grain, from one ſea-port to another, were conſtructed by order of government. The important ſcience of ſhip-building received great encouragement. Foreigners, capable of inſtructing the Swediſh youth in that branch of knowledge, were invited to Stockholm, and liberally rewarded [65]. It ought not to be omitted, in the liſt of inſtitutions, which mark the progreſs of ſociety and the humanizing arts; that hoſpitals for the reception and cure of the wounded, were formed by Eric, in 1566, during the war againſt the Danes, in the two provinces of Smaland and Weſt Gothland [66].

Treatment of captives.

If in this regulation we trace a degree of liberality, and attention to alleviate the calamities inſeparable from war; we equally perceive all the barbariſm and ferocity of the Gothic nations, in their treatment of the unhappy priſoners taken in battle. Bagge, the Swediſh admiral, after the loſs of his ſhip, in 1564, when he fell into the hands of the enemy; wrote to Eric, to acquaint him, that the conquerors had bound a great number of the Swediſh captives to the ſide of a trading ſhip, and then ſet it on fire. He added, that the bodies of theſe miſerable victims, which had not ben reduced to

Ferocity in war.

[63] Celſius, tome ii. p. 50.
[64] Ibid. p. 103, 104.
[65] Celſius, tome i. p. 193, 194.
[66] Ibid. tome ii. p. 80.

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aſhes, were left to float on the waves; and that ſo cruel an act had been committed, in retaliation for the treatment, experienced by the Danes in Sweden [67].

Triumph of the Swediſh admiral.

In the preceding year, Brockenhuſen, the Daniſh naval commander, by an oppoſite chance of war, had been made priſoner, and carried to Stockholm. Eric, who affected magnificence, and loved exhibitions of ſplendor, granted Bagge the honors of a triumph. It may convey an idea of the taſte and manners of the age, to deſcribe the nature of the ceremony. The admiral came firſt, accompanied by two barons, and having over his ſhoulders, a gold chain. All the officers, who had been preſent in the engagement, followed, dreſſed in brocade. Laſtly, marched Brockenhuſen himſelf, attended by his unfortunate countrymen: they were bareheaded, and carried white ſtaves in their hands. Before them, went the court buffoon, named Hercules, who played on the violin. The proceſſion croſſed the capital, from the veſſels, to the caſtle [68]. It muſt be owned, that the difference was very wide, between this triumph, and thoſe of Paulus Emilius, or Marius, to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

Introduction of titles.

Eric had already diſplayed his paſſion for ſpectacles of pomp and ſhew, at his coronation, in 1561. He then firſt introduced among his ſubjects, the titles of Count and Baron, unknown before in Sweden as hereditary dignities. Three noblemen were raiſed to the firſt, and ten to the laſt rank, with extraordinary ſolemnity. Coronets, of different figures, were placed on their heads, by the king himſelf.

Knighthood.

Twenty-two gentlemen received afterwards the honour of knighthood; to each of whom Eric ſaid, on touching them over the ſhoulder with his ſword, "Thou waſt a Pagan; thou art become a "Chriſtian, and I create thee a knight [69]." It is by no means undeſerving of remark, as it ſtrongly evinces the ſuperiority, arrogated and allowed to the claſs of nobility in that age; that when Eric propoſed

[67] Celſius, tome ii. p. 17.
[68] Ibid. tome i. p. 242. Note. Mallet, vol. vii. p. 48.
[69] Celſius, tome i. p. 98—102.

to

to knight the Syndic of Lubeck, and the Burgrave of Dantzic, they excuſed themſelves from accepting ſuch an honor, as unbecoming their condition of citizens. But, the king perſiſting, and declaring in their preſence, that merit and capacity ſuch as theirs, merited the title of knight, in whatever rank of ſociety they were found, the two magiſtrates deſiſted from their reluctance, and accepted the dignity of knighthood [70]. Yet, in 1563, when Frederic the Second, king of Denmark, ſent an herald to declare war on Sweden, Eric received him, ſeated on his throne, and ſurrounded by the principal nobles. But, the envoys, or meſſengers of Lubeck, who came to announce the ſame hoſtile intentions on the part of that powerful and opulent city, were not even admitted to the royal preſence: they were ſent to the corporation of Stockholm, to relate their errand [71]. CHAP. XVI. 1574.

Arts. Medals.

Eric the Fourteenth, and Frederic the Second, each, ſtruck medals, commemorative of the principal events, which diſtinguiſhed their reigns; but, with this difference, that the former prince ſeemed only deſirous to perpetuate the remembrance of his coronation, or his marriage. The Daniſh monarch, on the contrary, wiſhed to immortalize the victories, gained over the enemies of the State [72]. Eric, previous to his nuptials with Catherine, his miſtreſs, ſolemnly conferred on her the privilege of bearing arms; and when ſhe received the crown from the archbiſhop of Upſal, it was publiſhed, that ſhe and her children had been already raiſed to the rank of nobility [73]. So indiſpenſable did that ceremony appear, to precede her ſtill higher elevation to the throne. The medallion, ſtruck on the occaſion, repreſented on one ſide, the effigy of the king, with his name; and, on the reverſe, a ſceptre, deſcending from the ſkies, which was received by a woman [74].

Luxury.

The arts, appertaining to luxury, had not made any great progreſs, in the ſixteenth century, among the Swedes. In 1560, Eric, then

[70] Celſius, tome i. p. 102, 103.
[71] Ibid. p. 250—252.
[72] Ibid. tome ii. p. 155, 156. Mallet, vol. vii. p. 87. Note.
[73] Celſius, tome ii. p. 155, 156.
[74] Idem. Ibid.

preparing

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preparing for his voyage to England, and anxious to preſent himſelf before Elizabeth, with a ſuitable ſplendor, ſent his maſter of the wardrobe, to Antwerp, to purchaſe the moſt ſuperb embroideries and dreſſes that could be procured [75]. Paris did not aſſume the pre-eminence in this article, before the time of Louis the Fourteenth. Eric afterwards cauſed a new and magnificent crown, with other royal ornaments, to be prepared at Antwerp, for his coronation [76]. Flanders had then attained to the higheſt point of induſtry and wealth; but, Philip the Second ſoon baniſhed commerce and manufactures, when he attempted to infringe the civil and eccleſiaſtical immunities of the Flemings.

Letters.

If the elegant arts had not yet penetrated beyond the Baltic, letters, and philoſophy, were ſtill leſs known, or cultivated, in thoſe polar regions. In the liſt of Eric's officers of the Court of Chancery, we ſee, nevertheleſs, a perſon, who bore the title of Hiſtoriographer: he was a native of France, by name Peter Marſilly [77]. But, true hiſtory had not ariſen, at this period. Even, many years afterwards, ſo little progreſs had pharmacy, or phyſic, made in Sweden, that the death of John the Third was generally believed to have been cauſed, by the ignorance of the apothecaries, and the want of every ſort of proper medicinal drugs. Phyſicians, ſtrictly ſo denominated, were unknown among the Swedes, before the beginning of the ſeventeenth century [78].

[75] Celſius, tome i. p. 36.
[76] Ibid. p. 73, 74.
[77] Celſius, tome i. p. 139.
[78] Puffendorf, p. 287.

CHAP. XVII.

RUSSIA.

Review of the Muſcovite hiſtory, from the acceſſion of John Baſilowitz.—Conqueſt of the kingdoms of Caſan and Aſtracan.—Ravages of Livonia.—Deſtruction of Novogrod.—Cruelties of John.—Compariſon of that prince with Peter the Firſt.—State of Muſcovy, in 1574.—Unlimited power of the Czars.—Revenues.—State of military knowledge.—Navigation and commerce.—Manufactures.—Mode of building.—Introduction and encouragement of the Arts.—Letters.—Tolerance in religion.—Manners.—Servitude of the Peaſants.—Architecture.

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Recent appearance of Ruſſia, among the European monarchies.

THE very exiſtence of Ruſſia, under the denomination of Muſcovy, was ſcarcely known to the weſtern nations of Europe, before the beginning of the ſixteenth century. That powerful empire, which, conducted by Peter the Firſt, has made the moſt rapid progreſs in civilization, and bereaved Sweden of her faireſt provinces; which, ſince his death, governed by four ſucceſſive empreſſes, has carried her arms into the center of Germany; reduced Poland nearly to the condition of a province; and after a ſeries of unparalleled victories, has recently driven the Turks beyond the Nieſter and the Danube: that monarchy, previous to the year 1550, could only be regarded as a barbarous portion of Aſia. Surrounded on the ſouth and eaſt, by the Tartar kingdoms of Caſan and Aſtracan, or by ferocious hordes of Calmucks: preſſed on the weſt, by the Republic of Poland: not yet

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yet miſtreſs of Siberia; and almoſt deſtitute of any communication with the Baltic; the Muſcovites were immerſed in ignorance, and equally unacquainted with arts or commerce. But, this torpid maſs required only the energy of an ambitious and capable ſovereign, to awaken and propel it to action. The acceſſion of John the Fourth, commonly known by the name of John Baſilowitz, was the æra, from which we may date the riſing greatneſs of Ruſſia. That prince, at a very early period of life, betrayed the vigor and capacity, as well as the ferocity and violence, which have rendered his reign a mixture of illuſtrious atchievements, and of the moſt revolting barbarities. He had ſcarcely emancipated himſelf from the reſtraints impoſed on his childhood and minority, when his active mind already planned the conqueſt and ſubverſion of the Tartar kingdoms; by which Ruſſia had been antiently enſlaved, and which, although in a ſtate of declenſion, were ſtill objects of apprehenſion. The kingdom of Caſan, from its vicinity to Moſcow, as well as from the riches and grandeur of its capital, was the firſt object of his attention; and the internal diſſenſions, by which it was agitated, were highly favourable to the ambitious projects of the Czar. But, conſcious, that by a ſuperiority in military diſcipline alone, he could hope to vanquiſh enemies ſo numerous and powerful, he began to form a body of forces, which might facilitate the undertaking, and enable him to commence his operations with ſucceſs. The Ruſſians, previous to his acceſſion, neither knew the inſtitution of troops regularly paid and retained; nor the uſe of fire-arms. John introduced both into his dominions. The celebrated body of ſoldiers, diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of "Strelitzes," which were afterwards broke by Peter the Firſt, owed their formation to the policy of the Czar; and were highly inſtrumental in contributing to the victories, by which his reign was diſtinguiſhed [1].

Acceſſion of John Baſilowitz. 1534.

He plans the conqueſt of Caſan. 1545.

Inſtitution of the Strelitzes.

[1] Hiſtoire de Ruſſie, par l'Eveſque, vol. ii. p. 419—422. L'Art de Verif. vol. ii. p. 121.

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Notwithſtanding theſe wiſe and vigorous preparations, ſuſtained by the perſonal and unwearied efforts of John, the conqueſt of Caſan was attended with difficulties almoſt inſuperable. Even the deceaſe of their ſovereign, Sapha Guerai, and the diſorders inſeparable from a minority, did not induce the Tartars to abandon their own independance. The Ruſſians were repeatedly defeated, and compelled to raiſe the ſiege with loſs and diſhonor; while, Jediguer, ſon to the ſultan of Aſtracan, who was elected to fill the vacant throne, prepared to ſupport the utmoſt hardſhips, and to brave every danger, in ſupport of his newly-acquired dominions. But, the Czar, inſtructed by his paſt errors, and having already made the ableſt diſpoſitions for ſecuring his ultimate ſucceſs, renewed the attack. During the memorable ſiege of Caſan, which laſted ſeveral months, all the ſcience of war, known in that age, was exerted, and exhauſted, in the Muſcovite camp. A mine, which was ſprung with effect, preceded, and facilitated the ſtorm, by which the city was, at length, carried, not without the moſt deſperate reſiſtance on the part of the beſieged. Jediguer, himſelf, after falling into the hands of the conqueror, was ſent to Moſcow, and entered into the ſervice of John, by whom he had been depoſed. His ſubjects, unſubdued by the loſs of the capital, and the capture of their prince, continued to maintain an unequal conteſt againſt the Ruſſians, for near ſix years; and were not reduced to obedience, till they had ſeverely revenged on their oppreſſors the calamities, under which they finally ſunk [2].

Siege of Caſan.

Capture of the city.

1553. Conqueſt of Aſtracan.

Animated by the fortunate iſſue of his late enterprize, and preceded by the terror which that important acquiſition had ſpread among all the Tartar tribes; John proceeded to undertake the conqueſt of the kingdom of Aſtracan. It was effected with as much facility, as the ſiege of Caſan had been difficult and laborious. An army of thirty thouſand men, provided with a formidable artillery, deſcended the

[2] Leſveſque, vol. ii. p. 422—449.

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river Wolga, and found Aſtracan deſerted on their approach. The Khan of the Crimea made an ineffectual attempt to prolong the deſtiny of his countrymen, and the religion of Mahomet: he was vanquiſhed; and the Czar returned to Moſcow, after having completely deſtroyed the antient grandeur of the Tartar nations on the Don and the Wolga, which, for many ages, had menaced the independance and exiſtence of Ruſſia [3]. In the peruſal of this intereſting period of the Muſcovite annals, and in contemplating the expulſion, or reduction of the Tartars; we trace the ſame cauſes, as leading to ſo great an event, and we behold nearly ſimilar conſequences ariſing from it, with thoſe that accompanied and followed the expulſion of the Moors from Spain, under Ferdinand and Iſabella. In both, inteſtine jealouſies, and a diſputed title, opened the way to their deſtruction. Like Ferdinand, John conſtructed a temporary city to facilitate the capture of Caſan, which capital was defended with the ſame valor as Granada. The Mahometan faith was alike ſubverted, in both inſtances, by the Chriſtian; and, from thoſe memorable epochas, we may equally date the rapid political elevation of Spain, and of Ruſſia, at the two extremities of Europe.

Similarity of the Muſcovite, and Spaniſh hiſtory.

1554—1557. War with Sweden.

It is not without ſome degree of admiration and aſtoniſhment, that, after viewing the progreſs of the Ruſſian arms on the banks of the Euxine and Caſpian Seas, we find them inſtantly transferred with equal ſucceſs to the Polar regions, and occupied againſt the Swedes in the ſixtieth degree of northern latitude. Guſtavus Vaſa, having at the ſolicitation of the Poles, invaded Carelia, in violation of the truce ſubſiſting with John, was worſted by the Muſcovites, and compelled to renew the treaty; while the Czar, victorious over his numerous enemies, already prepared to improve his advantages, by the attack and ſubjection of Livonia [4]. That beautiful and fertile province was ſtill ſubject to the Teutonic knights, when the Ruſſians entered

John Baſilowitz attacks Livonia.

[3] L'Art. de Verif. vol. ii. p. 122. Leſveſque, vol. ii. p. 449—453.

[4] Puffendorf, p. 223, Leſveſque, vol. ii. p. 454—456.

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it; and having captured Narva, continued their progreſs, which was marked by the moſt brutal exceſſes. Fürſtemberg, the grand maſter of the order, having been taken priſoner, and conducted to Moſcow; Kettler, his ſucceſſor, terrified at the approach of the Muſcovite troops, and incapable of reſiſtance, haſtened to reſign Livonia to Sigiſmund Auguſtus, king of Poland; reſerving only for himſelf the two duchies of Courland and Semigallia, as hereditary fiefs[5]. Far from adducing a remedy, the reſignation made by Kettler, tended rather to augment the calamities, under which the Livonians ſuffered. The city of Revel, and a conſiderable part of the province, invoked, and received the protection of Sweden; while Magnus, duke of Holſtein, brother to Frederic the Second, king of Denmark, purchaſed the iſle of Oeſel, and its dependencies; by means of which he hoped to attain the ſovereignty of Livonia itſelf[6]. Alternately ravaged by theſe four contending powers, that unfortunate country was, during a number of years, a prey to calamities of every kind; and it was not till a period, conſiderably later than the one which we are reviewing, that John Baſilowitz, compelled by foreign and domeſtic loſſes or defeats, conſented to renounce his pretenſions, and to abandon his acquiſitions in Livonia.

Ravages committed in that province.

1562—1568. Enormities of John.

This part of his reign was peculiarly marked by acts of cruelty and ferocity, which are, in a great meaſure, unknown to the hiſtory of the moſt barbarous nations; and the parallel of which can only be found among the tyrants of antiquity. In reading the flagitious enormities of John, we are divided between incredulity, horror, and diſguſt, while we ſee the crimes of thoſe monſters who inſulted and trampled on the Roman ſenate and people, exceeded by the Muſcovite prince. His ſtern and ſavage temper had, during many years, been mollified or ſubdued by the virtues of the Czarina; but, her death withdrew the only reſtraint which could mitigate its fury.

[5] Leſveſque, vol. ii. p. 456—468.

[6] Mallet, vol. vii. p. 29—37. Celſius, tome i. p. 185—188. Leſveſque, vol. ii. p. 468, 469.

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1562—1568. Wealth and commerce of Novogrod.

After affecting a ſpecies of voluntary abdication, and retiring from Moſcow for a conſiderable time, he again reſumed the ſupreme direction of public affairs; and, irritated at the attachment which the city of Novogrod had manifeſted towards the crown of Poland, he exerciſed on that devoted place, an act of vengeance, that may vie with the deſtruction of the inhabitants of Alexandria, by Caracalla. Novogrod, ſituate on the frontier of Muſcovy, near the confines of Lithuania and Livonia, was eſteemed the moſt flouriſhing and commercial city of the empire; and after Moſcow, the moſt populous. It had, for ages, been the only mart, by which the productions of Europe were exchanged for the commodities of Ruſſia; and its antiquity aſcended to times the moſt remote. On a ſuſpicion, which, if not groundleſs, was by no means clearly aſcertained, that the citizens had held a treaſonable correſpondence with the Poles; the Czar, accompanied by his eldeſt ſon, repaired thither in perſon, and abandoned them to the rage of his guards and ſoldiery. The defenceleſs and unreſiſting inhabitants were maſſacred, or precipitated into the river, in crouds; and the carnage laſted five weeks, without intermiſſion. It was not an impulſe of ſudden rage, but, of deliberate and ſyſtematical reſentment, which it may be difficult to compare with any event in modern hiſtory, except the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew, in France, acted almoſt at the ſame time. John had the inhumanity to cauſe the ice of the Volkhof, on which Novogrod ſtands, to be broken, in order to drown the victims of his fury; and not the ſlighteſt attempt at reſiſtance, appears to have been made, during the continuance of ſo long and unprovoked a ſlaughter. The city, deſolate and depopulated, never recovered its former luſtre, and has gradually diminiſhed to a mean and inſignificant village [7].

1569. Maſſacre of the inhabitants.

1570.

1571—1574. Paſſive ſubmiſſion of the Muſcovites.

After this ſcene of horror, we might naturally expect, that the Czar, ſatiated with blood, would have, at leaſt, ſuſpended his further violence; but, Moſcow was deſtined to renew the ſcene, performed

[7] Leſveſque, vol. ii. p. 478—483. L'Art de Verif. vol. ii. p. 122.

at

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at Novogrod. It is difficult to know, whether we ſhould moſt admire the ſilent and proſtrate ſubmiſſion of a whole empire, to the ſanguinary mandates of ſuch a tyrant; or, moſt deteſt the deſpotiſm, which was employed only for the purpoſes of extermination. The ſtate of degradation and debaſement, in which the human mind was ſunk among a people, where not one individual was found to oppoſe or arreſt the vengeance of a monſter, armed with ſupreme power, is not the leaſt wonderful object of reflexion; and ſtands ſtrikingly oppoſed to the generous and elevated character of antient Greece, or Rome, even in their moſt depraved and abject condition. The Muſcovites of the ſixteenth century, by the teſtimony of their own countrymen, were incapable of political freedom, deſtitute of elevation or liberality, and only ſenſible to injuries, oppreſſion, and tyranny. It is more in the genius of the nation, than in the character of the monarch, that we are to ſeek the cauſe of ſo many deliberate acts of brutal ferocity; and if the intractable or debaſed nature of the people cannot extenuate the cruelties of their ſovereign, it may, at leaſt, explain and account for their extent and magnitude. In peruſing the deſcription of the executions and puniſhments, inflicted by the Czar, at Moſcow, for the real, or ſuppoſed defection of the inhabitants; we may conceive ourſelves tranſported to the moſt ſavage countries of Africa, or America. John was not merely the exterminator: he was likewiſe the executioner of his own people; and his vengeance ſeemed to delight in every refinement of cruelty, by which their ſufferings were heightened, or prolonged. It muſt be admitted, that if theſe continual ſcenes of horror could not ſhake the foundations of his authority, or awaken to reſentment a nation framed for ſlavery; they yet tended to diminiſh the opulence, commerce, and population of Muſcovy. The deſtruction of Novogrod was a ſevere and irremediable blow to the trade of all the weſtern provinces, which remained long in a ſtate of languor and decline [8].

Executions at Moſcow.

[8] Leſveſque, vol. ii. p. 483—488.

Notwith-

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1571—1574. Comparison between John, and Peter the First.

Notwithstanding the barbarities by which the reign of John Basilowitz is polluted and deformed, it would be unjust not to recognize with the applause which they demand, his enlarged and expanded principles of government. It may even be asserted without a violation of truth, that he bore, in many of the leading features which characterize his administration and policy, as well as in the shades and vices of his private conduct, a close and intimate resemblance to that illustrious person, who has merited the admiration of mankind, beyond any prince of the age in which he lived; and on whom, by the unanimous consent of his contemporaries, was conferred the title of "Great." Peter the First may be said only to have matured and perfected the plan, which was conceived and commenced by John. The same desire to reform and ameliorate the barbarous jurisprudence of the nation; the same attention to encourage commerce, to animate industry, and to open sources of advantage to their subjects; similar efforts to draw foreigners to the capital, and to humanize the Muscovites, by their intercourse; equally distinguish the two princes. Military discipline, and the formation of a powerful body of regular forces, occupied each, at the beginning of their reigns. Peter did not more passionately desire, nor anxiously prosecute the conquest of Livonia, and the acquisition of a province, which might facilitate his passage to the Baltic, than did John. But, the circumstances were more favourable to Peter, and he profited of them with greater dexterity, than his predecessor. John over-ran and desolated Ingria, Esthonia, and Livonia: Peter, more magnanimous, wise, and fortunate, not only subjected, but retained those valuable countries, and transmitted them to his descendants. In all points, he is superior to John; but, in none, perhaps more so, than in the circumstance of his being born in a period, when light and science were generally diffused. Europe, in the sixteenth century, was not yet polished, nor capable of affording to a barbarous nation, that variety of assistance, which the conclusion of the seventeenth, and beginning

Similarity of their views and projects.

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of the eighteenth century, offered. If from their virtues and endowments, we turn our view to the defects and crimes of the two monarchs, we ſhall find the ſimilarity yet more ſtriking. Peter, like John, was addicted to the characteriſtic vices of the Muſcovites; intoxication, brutality, and cruelty. His reign and life afford too many proofs of this melancholy aſſertion; and he owned, that he could more eaſily reform his people, than himſelf. Each, in their paroxiſms of rage, was ſanguinary and terrible: each, even, in thoſe moments of fury, was yet capable of being ſoothed, or ſoftened, by their wives. In one circumſtance, the reſemblance is ſtill cloſer; that both ſovereigns put to death their ſon and ſucceſſor; and in this act, John, who inflicted a wound, in the tranſports of his anger, which proved mortal; ſeems to be far more an object of pardon and compaſſion, than the Czar, Peter, who premeditatedly and ſyſtematically deprived the Czarowitz of his life from motives rather political, than perſonal.

1571—1574. Reſemblance of their vices.

There is no period of the Ruſſian hiſtory, anterior to the acceſſion of Peter the Great, which merits equal attention with the reign of John Baſilowitz. It was the æra, when that vaſt empire began firſt to emerge from barbariſm; and the troubles, or rather revolutions, by which it was agitated ſoon after his deceaſe, impeded, and retarded its advances in power, wealth, and civilization, for above a century. Under John, the Ruſſians neither enjoyed, nor, perhaps, even aſpired to poſſeſs any political conſtitution. Never was deſpotiſm more unlimited, than that exerciſed by him, over the lives, liberties, and property of his ſubjects; nor was any order of them exempt from its ſeverity. He united, in ſome meaſure, the pontifical and kingly power, in his own perſon; and even the veneration, paid to the character and office of the Metropolitans of the Greek, or Ruſſian church, impoſed no reſtraint on his arbitrary diſpoſition. He depoſed, impriſoned, and condemned them at pleaſure, with every circumſtance of ignominy [9]. The nobility, princes, and even the perſons allied to him by

1574. State of the Ruſſian empire.

Deſpotiſm of the Czars.

[9] Leſveſque, vol. iii. p. 58, 59.

blood,

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blood, were equally the victims of his caprice, rage, or apprehenſion. Yet, in the formation of a code of laws for the government of the empire, he aſſembled the deputies of the nobility, demanded their advice, and conformed himſelf to it, in the regulations which he promulgated [10]. We cannot entertain a very exalted idea of this ſyſtem of juriſprudence, framed in 1550, when we find that judicial combats, or appeals to the interpoſition of Heaven, were ſtill permitted by it, at a time when thoſe inſtitutions of barbariſm were either aboliſhed, or fallen into diſuſe, in almoſt all the other ſtates of Europe [11].

Revenues.

It was as difficult to aſſign any limit to the revenues, as to the prerogatives of the Czar. Beſides the immediate domain of the crown, and the impoſitions levied from the people, John poſſeſſed other modes of amaſſing wealth. Confiſcations were a principal ſource; and ſeveral of the higheſt claſs of the nobility were ſeized, and put to death, in order to obtain their vaſt eſtates. Numbers of the inferior vaſſals were commonly implicated in the guilt, and ſhared the fate of their chief, on theſe occaſions [12]. Almoſt all the gold and ſilver, brought into his dominions by trade, was gradually drawn into the treaſury of John; and when he invaded Livonia, he carried off every thing valuable, without ſparing even the plate, and ſacred ornaments of the churches. The ranſom of priſoners, or the neceſſary diſburſements for levying foreign troops, were the only occaſions and objects, which induced him to permit the diſtribution and expenditure of his treaſures. Leather money was uſed in the common intercourſe of life, by the inferior orders of the people [13]. The Muſcovites did not poſſeſs a ſingle ſhip of war, under John Baſilowitz: it was reſerved for the genius of Peter the Firſt, to tranſfer the capital from Moſcow to the banks of the gulf of Finland, and to create a formidable navy. Even the military force of Ruſſia, in 1574, however ſuperior to the undiſciplined and tumultuary aſſemblage of vaſſals, which conſtituted their armies

Confiſcations.

Military forces.

[10] Leſveſque, vol. iii. p. 45.
[11] Ibid. p. 46.
[12] Leſveſque, vol. iii. p. 60, 61.
[13] Idem, ibid.

in

in earlier periods, was altogether deficient in the knowledge of war. The ſcience of fortification, and the art of attacking or defending cities, was ſtill leſs cultivated; but in paſſive and invincible courage, the Ruſſian ſoldier ceded to none [14]. It is not unworthy of remark, that cannon were caſt at Moſcow, as early as 1482, by an Italian engineer, named Ariſtoteli de Bologna, under the reign of Ivan the Third; and they were even employed in that year, againſt the town of Felling, in Livonia; while the Swedes do not appear to have made uſe of artillery, till thirteen years afterwards, about 1495 [15]. At the memorable ſiege of Caſan, in 1552, the Czar's phyſician acted in the capacity of principal engineer, and prepared the mine, by means of which a breach was made in the walls of the city [16]. After the beginning of the ſixteenth century, the uſe of cannon became general among the northern nations: at the capture of Narva, by the Muſcovites, in 1558, they found two hundred and thirty pieces of artillery, of different ſizes and dimenſions, in the place [17]. 1574. Artillery.

In the diſtinguiſhed protection which John Baſilowitz granted to commerce, we trace the extent of his views for augmenting his own greatneſs, and the wealth of his ſubjects. No ſooner had he gained poſſeſſion of Narva, in 1558, than he uſed every means to draw thither the trade of the Baltic; and he ſucceeded beyond his expectations. The Dutch, French, and Engliſh, as well as the inhabitants of Lubeck, repaired to Narva, notwithſtanding the prohibitions iſſued by the emperor Ferdinand the Firſt, at the ſolicitation of the grand maſter of the knights of Livonia [18]. Some years before this event, in 1553, the Engliſh had opened a new and unknown channel of trade, by the diſcovery of a paſſage round the North Cape, to the Icy Sea. They landed near the mouth of the river Dwina, at a monaſtery, named St. Nicholas, not far from the ſpot where has ſince been conſtructed the city of Archangel. Commerce. Navigation of the northern ſea.

[14] Leſveſque, vol. iii. p. 52—54.
[15] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 358.
[16] Ibid. p. 444.
[17] Leſveſque, vol. ii. p. 462.
[18] Ibid. vol. iii. p. 49.

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angel. They were conducted, acroſs Muſcovy, to the capital, and treated by John with extraordinary attention [19]. In 1554, two more Engliſh veſſels attempted the ſame voyage; but, being ſurrounded by the ice, could not reach their deſtination. The crews periſhed by the ſeverity of the climate; and when the ſhips were deſcried by the Ruſſians, no perſon remained alive. Yet, to the honor of their national character, a faithful account was rendered, of all the merchandize, or effects, contained on board the veſſels. The Czar, anxious to cultivate a connexion with England, ſent an embaſſy to Mary, who then filled the throne [20]. He even entered into cloſer ties of amity, private and political, with her ſucceſſor, Elizabeth; and the two ſovereigns ſtipulated to grant each other a mutual aſylum in their reſpective dominions, in caſe of neceſſity. The Engliſh queen obtained from her new ally, an excluſive patent, in favour of her ſubjects, for the whole trade of Muſcovy, which, before 1570, began to encreaſe very rapidly. The Czar did not heſitate to demand an Engliſh lady in marriage, in order ſtill more to cement the union; and Elizabeth meant to have ſelected the Lady Anne Haſtings, daughter to the earl of Huntingdon, for the future Czarina: but, juſtly terrified at the character of her Muſcovite lover, and at the accounts which ſhe had received of the barbariſm of his country and ſubjects, ſhe declined the dangerous honor of reigning in Ruſſia [21].

Alliance between John, and Elizabeth, queen of England.

Actuated by rivality and jealouſy, at the progreſs which John Baſilowitz made towards eſtabliſhing a commercial intercourſe with the European nations, by means of Archangel; Guſtavus Vaſa attempted to impede its further advance. He endeavoured to inſpire the court of Copenhagen with apprehenſions; and he remonſtrated with the queen of England; but, equally without effect. Elizabeth promiſed to prevent her people from ſelling arms to the Ruſſians; but, ſhe refuſed to limit them upon any other article, or object of com-

[19] Leſveſque, vol. iii. p. 47, 48.

[20] Idem, ibid.

[21] Camden's Life of Elizab. p. 408, and 418; and p. 493.

merce.

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merce [22]. Notwithſtanding the anxiety, evinced by John, to facilitate and to augment the trade of Muſcovy, it lay under numerous impediments, reſulting from the barbarous cuſtoms and prejudices of the age, or country. No foreigners, except Poles and Lithuanians, were allowed to viſit Moſcow, for the purpoſe of carrying on their mercantile tranſactions; by which injudicious prohibition, the advantages obviouſly reſulting from a concurrence of dealers, was ſacrificed. The Czar pretended and enforced a right of pre-emption for himſelf, which was highly vexatious and inimical to the genius of commerce. Above all, his inhuman treatment of Novogrod, and the conſequent decline of that opulent and induſtrious city, produced effects the moſt ruinous to his own projects [23].

1574. Impediments to trade in Muſcovy.

Every article of elegance or luxury, known in Ruſſia during the ſixteenth century, was imported from ſtrangers. Their own manufactures were few, rude, and homely. Coarſe cloth, linen, and leather, were fabricated, or prepared, with ſome degree of ſkill; and the number of their exports was far more conſiderable, than it was natural to ſuppoſe, from the ſtate of depreſſion, or barbariſm in which the nation remained. Furs, wax, ſalt, iron, timber, and even corn, were largely exported to moſt of the European kingdoms, under the reign of John [24]. Beſides theſe objects, a great and important traffic was carried on from the interior provinces, with the Tartar nations, and even with Bocharia and Perſia. Caravans arrived frequently in the capital of Ruſſia, from all the provinces to the ſouth and eaſt of the Caſpian Sea [25]. Moſcow was almoſt entirely conſtructed of wood, and conſequently ſubject to continual, and moſt deſtructive ravages by fire. In 1547, two ſucceſſive conflagrations laid it in aſhes: the palace of the Czars; the Bazar, or aſſemblage of ſhops, which, as in all Aſiatic towns, were contiguous and collected in one place; together with every edifice of conſequence, ſhared the general ruin. Near two

Manufactures. Arts.

Conflagrations at Moſcow.

[22] Leſveſque, p. 48, 49.
[23] Ibid. p. 98, 99.
[24] Leſveſque, p. 49, 50.
[25] Ibid. vol. iii. p. 50, 51, and p. 100.

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thouſand perſons were ſuppoſed to have periſhed in the flames [26]. A ſtill greater calamity befel Moſcow in 1571, at the preciſe time, when John was preparing to march into Livonia. The Tartars of the Crimea, inſtigated by the king of Poland, made an irruption into Muſcovy, penetrated to the capital, and ſet fire to the ſuburbs. A high wind aiding the flames, they gained the powder magazine, which blew up, and involved in its deſtruction a great part of the city. Seventy thouſand people, of both ſexes, were maſſacred or burnt in this expedition of the Tartars [27].

Mode of conſtructing towns with wood.

Some conveniencies were, notwithſtanding, annexed to the mode of building with wood, which counterbalanced, in certain caſes, the diſaſters to which it was liable. The eaſe and expedition, with which not only houſes and palaces, but even towns were raiſed, excite admiration. The moſt extraordinary inſtance of this invention, was exhibited by order of the Czar, in 1551, before the famous ſiege of Caſan. In order to facilitate the approaches to the city, he took poſſeſſion of a ſpot, at the diſtance of five leagues from it, where the river Sviaga falls into the Wolga. Having cauſed a number of trees to be prepared for building, and tranſported by water to the place, he arrived, unmoleſted, and began inſtantly to fabricate a town. So dextrous were the workmen, and ſuch incredible celerity was exerted, that in a month, a wooden city was completely finiſhed. A principal church, ſix inferior, or ſmaller ones, and a monaſtery, were included within its limits. Noblemen, merchants, and perſons of every rank, raiſed houſes at their own expence. The place, named Sviasjk, was of a very conſiderable ſize; and contributed eminently, by the accommodations which it afforded the Ruſſian army, to the proſperous concluſion of the enterprize againſt Caſan [28].

Sviasjk.

[26] Leſveſque, vol. ii. p. 412—414.

[27] L'Art de Verif. vol. ii. p. 122. Leſveſque, vol. ii. p. 492, 493.

[28] Leſveſque, vol. ii. p. 429, 430.

Before

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Before the year 1500, Ivan the Third, great prince of Muſcovy, had already endeavoured, not without ſucceſs, to attract ſtrangers, artiſts, and workmen of various deſcriptions, to Moſcow. Several Italians of talents, induced by the hopes of reward and encouragement, had viſited that remote and barbarous metropolis [29]. But, John Baſilowitz made far greater efforts to introduce arts, manufactures, and civilization, among his ſubjects. He allured perſons from England; with which country, during his whole reign, he appears to have maintained a cloſe communication. A colony, of near three hundred manufacturers, aſſembled from the different ſtates of Europe, and which was ready to embark from Lubeck, for Narva, was prevented by the Livonians [30]. To John, is due the introduction of the art of printing into Muſcovy. Impelled rather by motives of devotion, than from the deſire of propagating knowledge, he rendered this ſervice to his people. The clergy were ſunk in the moſt profound ignorance; and it is aſſerted by contemporary authors, that in the vaſt extent of John's dominions, only three eccleſiaſtics underſtood the Latin language. A circumſtance ſtill more ſingular, among a people, and in a church, which obſerved the Greek ritual, is, that not a ſingle prieſt could read or comprehend Greek [31]. The firſt work, printed by order of the Czar, under the inſpection of a Ruſſian deacon, was a tranſlation of the Acts and Epiſtles of the Apoſtles. It was begun in April, 1563, and was near a year in the preſs; not being finiſhed before March, 1564 [32].

1574. Encouragement given to foreign artiſts.

Art of printing.

Such was the deteſtation in which the Romiſh religion was held by the Muſcovites, that they conceived themſelves to be polluted by any intercourſe with perſons who held that faith; and even the Czars, when they gave audience to embaſſadors, in which ceremony they preſented the hand, always waſhed it, immediately afterwards, in a golden baſon [33]. Yet, motives of policy rendered John Baſilowitz

Toleration of the Czar.

[29] Leſveſque, vol. ii. p. 358.
[30] Ibid. vol. iii. p. 47, and p. 54, 55.
[31] Ibid. p. 56.
[32] Leſveſque, vol. iii. p. 56.
[33] Ibid. p. 57.

tolerant;

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tolerant; and in order to induce foreigners to repair to Moſcow, liberty of conſcience was granted, in its fulleſt extent: the Lutheran merchants, ſettled in that metropolis, poſſeſſed two churches [34].

Manners.

To complete the picture of Muſcovy, under John, it only remains to ſay a few words on the general manners of the people. They were ſimple, rude, and partook more of Aſiatic, than European cuſtoms. A ſervility, and even paſſive reſignation to the orders of the ſovereign, however unjuſt, cruel, or abſurd, characteriſed every claſs, from the prince to the meaneſt of his vaſſals. We can, with difficulty, conceive, or credit the extent of this ſubmiſſion; which debaſed and diſhonoured the nation [35]. The ſame deſpotiſm, brutality, and triumph of the ſtrong over the weak, pervaded private life. All the refinements, which humanize and ſoften the intercourſe of the ſexes, were unknown. Violence, and blows, operated more than the ſuggeſtions of generoſity, or the emotions of tenderneſs. The power of fathers over their children had hardly any limit: not only they could inflict upon their unfortunate offſpring, corporal chaſtiſement of the ſevereſt kind; but, they even poſſeſſed a right of ſelling them four times. Women, ſecluded from converſation or ſociety, were, if poſſible, more rigorouſly, or ignominiouſly treated. The antient laws did not even ſpecify or decree any puniſhment for a huſband who murdered his wife; ſo abſolute was their dominion, and ſo uncontrouled their authority, in all domeſtic tranſactions [36].

Divorces.

Divorces were only permitted, according to the rules of the Greek church, in caſe the huſband, or wife, ſhould voluntarily embrace a monaſtic profeſſion. But, the Czars, accuſtomed to trample on all inſtitutions, civil or moral, did not reſpect the ties of marriage, nor regard them as ſacred and binding. Baſil the Fourth, Father of John, diſguſted with the Czarina, on account of her ſterility, repudiated

[34] Leſveſque, vol. iii. p. 57.

[35] Ibid. p. 58—61.

[36] Leſveſque, vol. iii. p. 81—88.

her,

her, in 1525; and not ſatisfied with this act of injuſtice, he baniſhed her to Kargapol, a town little more than two degrees removed from the Arctic circle, where ſhe was treated with extreme ſeverity [37]. John Baſilowitz, his ſon, ſurpaſſed him in this reſpect. He had, ſucceſſively, according to the teſtimony of foreigners, no leſs a number of wives than ſeven: the Ruſſians limit them to five; two of whom he compelled to retire into convents [38]. 1574.

Condition of the peaſants.

The condition of the Ruſſian peaſants, though abject, was diſtinct from ſlavery. They could even quit the eſtate of their lord, and engage in any occupation, or enter into a new ſervice, at their pleaſure; but, they felt ſo little either the dignity, or the charms of freedom, that they were accuſtomed to ſell themſelves, and voluntarily to renounce the prerogative of liberty [39]. Slaves, in the ſtrict and literal acceptation of the term, were unknown, except captives, taken in war; more particularly, Tartars and Coſſacks, who uſually were affranchiſed at the death of their maſters [40]. We may form ſome idea of the barbarous practice of the Muſcovites, when engaged in hoſtilities, by their treatment of the priſoners, made at the battle of Wyburg in Carelia, gained by prince Paletſkoi over the Swedes, in 1556. So great a number of ſoldiers, peaſants, women, and children, fell into their hands, that the conquerors diſpoſed of them at the vileſt prices. The young women, as miniſtring to the pleaſures of the Ruſſian troops, were eſtimated at a higher ſum, than the males [41].

Treatment of captives.

Domeſtic architecture.

The dwellings of the ſuperior claſſes, and even the palaces of the ſovereign himſelf, were not only rude in their conſtruction, compoſed of wood, and deſtitute of elegance; but, they wanted many accommodations of ordinary convenience. Chairs, an article, become ſo general in the preſent age, were totally unknown, under John.

[37] Leſveſque, vol. ii. p. 387.
[38] Ibid. vol. iii. p. 44.
[39] Ibid. p. 89, 90.
[40] Leſveſque, vol. iii. p. 89, 90.
[41] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 455, 456.

Benches

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Benches ſupplied their place, fixed to the walls of the apartment; and they were very commonly uſed as beds. The rigour of the climate, and ſeverity of the cold, during many months of the year, compelled the Muſcovites to adapt their architecture to theſe circumſtances. The windows were very ſmall, and the doors ſo low, that in order to enter them, it was neceſſary to ſtoop conſiderably. Like the Aſiatics, the men occupied the front of the houſe, while the women were confined in the moſt retired chambers of the building [42].

[42] Leſveſque, vol. iii. p. 80, 81.

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POLAND.

Survey of the hiſtory of Poland, from the elevation of the family of Jagellon.—Reign of Sigiſmund the Firſt.—Decline of the order of the Teutonic knights.—Secularization of Pruſſia.—Acceſſion of Sigiſmund Auguſtus.—Ceſſion of Livonia to Poland.—Death of Sigiſmund Auguſtus.—Interregnum.—Intrigues preceding the election of Henry, duke of Anjou, to the Poliſh crown.—Limitations impoſed on his power.—Arrival, and coronation of Henry.—His flight.—Reflexions on the Poliſh hiſtory, and form of government.—Weakneſs of the crown.—Power and privileges of the nobility.—Anarchy, and diſorders.—Slender revenues.—Military forces.—Feſtivities.—Commerce.—Plans for navigating the Black Sea.—Barbariſm of the people.—Magnificence of the higher orders.—Letters.—Religion.—Vices of the conſtitution, and mode of election.

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THE Poliſh kings, of the race of the Piaſts, who had governed that country, for ſeveral ages, having become extinct in the perſon of Louis, king of Hungary and Poland, towards the concluſion of the fourteenth century; after ſome years of interregnum, Jagellon, great duke of Lithuania, was elected to fill the throne, and became the founder of a new dynaſty of princes. It is a circumſtance equally curious and authentic, that, at the period of his elevation, when more than a thouſand years had elapſed, ſince the complete triumph of the chriſtian religion over the ſuperſtitions of antiquity; and when almoſt all the other ſtates of Europe had embraced the ſame faith for many

1382. Elevation of the family of Jagellon, to the Poliſh throne.

Idolatry of the Lithuanians.

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1386. many centuries; the Lithuanians alone ſtill remained in the practice of the groſſeſt idolatry. All the objects of veneration, ſacred among their Scythian anceſtors, were ſtill retained, and regarded as divinities. The element of fire, thunder, and many inanimate objects; but, peculiarly, ſerpents of every ſpecies, received religious honors: the cock was offered to theſe reptiles, as the moſt acceptable ſacrifice, accompanied with libations of milk; and captives, taken in war, were frequently burnt alive, as propitiatory victims, to avert the wrath

1386—1508. of their offended gods [1]. Actuated by ambition, Jagellon, not only renounced the errors in which he had himſelf been educated: he, likewiſe, induced, or compelled, his ſubjects to follow his example; and he became the apoſtle, as well as the legiſlator of the Lithuanians [2].

Introduction of the chriſtian religion.

That barbarous people, aſſembled in multitudes, were admitted, the laſt of the European nations, into the chriſtian communion: but, as their numbers rendered it impoſſible, or tedious to baptiſe them individually; they were divided into diſtinct troops, and received the ſacrament of baptiſm by aſperſion, under one chriſtian denomination, according to the different ſexes [3]. The kingdom which Jagellon had acquired, he tranſmitted, to his deſcendants. Ladiſlaus, his eldeſt ſon, a prince, who manifeſted the moſt elevated diſpoſition, was killed, at a very early period of his life, in the memorable battle of Varna, gained by Amurath the Second, emperor of the Turks; but, the family of the Lithuanian kings continued to reign in Poland.

1508—1513. Reign of Sigiſmund the Firſt.

Sigiſmund the Firſt, acceded to the throne, ſoon after the beginning of the ſixteenth century, at the period when the animoſity of Charles the Fifth, and Francis the Firſt, involved Europe in long and perpetual wars. From any active, or effectual participation in theſe quarrels, Sigiſmund was, in a great meaſure, precluded, by his remote ſituation; which rendered him much more deeply intereſted in the events, or policy, of his northern and eaſtern neighbours, the Ruſſians, the

[1] Solignac, Hiſtoire de la Pologne, vol. iii. p. 245, 246. Note.
[2] Ibid. vol. iii. p. 246, 247. [3] L'Art de Verif. vol. ii. p. 72.

Teutonic

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1508—1513.

Teutonic knights, and the Ottoman ſultans. In the firſt years of his reign, Baſil the Fourth, great duke of Muſcovy, obtained repeated advantages over the Poles, deſolated Lithuania, and reduced to his obedience the two important cities of Pleſkow and Smolenſko, with their dependant provinces [4]. But, the tranſaction, that has rendered the reign of Sigiſmund memorable in the hiſtory of Europe, and which in its effects is ſtill powerfully felt after near three centuries, was the ſecularization of the duchy of Pruſſia, in the perſon of Albert of Brandenburg. The Teutonic knights, by a ſeries of military exploits, had gradually eſtabliſhed their empire, over ſome of the richeſt and moſt commercial provinces of the north. From the frontiers of Brandenburg and Pomerania, they had ſubjected all the countries which ſkirt the ſouthern ſhore of the Baltic, to the borders of Ingria, and the gulf of Finland. Their power and revenues had enabled them, not only to defend, but, to augment their extenſive dominions. Frequently engaged in hoſtilities with Poland, they had more than once nearly reduced Lithuania; but, vanquiſhed by Caſimir the Fourth, and obliged to demand peace on humiliating conditions, they had ceded the duchy of Pomerellia, the fertile diſtricts along the river Viſtula, and even the city of Marienburg itſelf, the reſidence of the grand maſter, in order to obtain it from that prince. The eaſtern diviſion of Pruſſia, they were only permitted to retain, as a fief, for which every ſucceſſive chief of the order was bound to do homage in perſon, to the kings of Poland [5]. It is proper that hiſtory ſhould commemorate, as a melancholy proof of the ravages and devaſtations of war, that in the ſhort ſpace of twelve years, above three hundred thouſand perſons, bearing arms, had periſhed, beſides a ſtill greater number of peaſants; and that of more than twenty-one thouſand villages, which Pruſſia had contained at the commencement of hoſtilities, only three thouſand and thirteen eſcaped deſtruction by the flames [6].

Power, and extenſive dominions of the Teutonic knights.

Devaſtation of the Pruſſian territories.

[4] Leſveſque, vol. ii. p. 370—374. Solignac, vol. iv. p. 337—341.

[5] Solignac, vol. iv. p. 186, 187.

[6] Ibid. p. 187, 188.

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1508—1513. Decline of the Teutonic knights.

From this period, the power of the Teutonic knights continued rapidly to decline, notwithſtanding the repeated efforts made by them, to recover their diſmembered provinces, and to ſhake off their dependance on the Poliſh crown. Albert of Brandenburg, who deſcended from a collateral branch of the electoral family, was choſen grand maſter, ſoon after the acceſſion of Sigiſmund, and became one of the earlieſt converts to the Lutheran doctrines. After having, like his predeceſſors, maintained an unequal conteſt againſt the king of Poland, he terminated all further diſputes by a treaty, in which he ſacrificed the intereſts and exiſtence of the order itſelf which he commanded, to motives of perſonal ambition and aggrandizement.

Secularization of Pruſſia.

1525.

Sigiſmund conſented, that the duchy of Pruſſia ſhould be converted into an hereditary fief, revertible to the Republic of Poland, in caſe of the failure of Albert's poſterity, and that of his brothers. By this agreement, which was carried into immediate execution, Albert became, from the elective head of a military order of knights, the ſovereign of a conſiderable and opulent province, which deſcended to his ſon; and by the failure of his immediate deſcendants, was, in the enſuing century, united to the other dominions of the houſe of Brandenburg [7].

1526—1548. Felicity of Poland under Sigiſmund.

If Sigiſmund the Firſt has been deſervedly eſteemed one of the moſt illuſtrious princes who has reigned in Poland, his reputation was due, not to the foreign acquiſitions by which he augmented the Republic; but, to the vigor of his adminiſtration, and to the internal tranquillity, enjoyed under his government. Equally courted by France, and by the houſe of Auſtria, he obſerved a wiſe neutrality; and refuſed to take any part in the civil, or religious quarrels, by which the German empire was agitated and deſolated. Yet, zealouſly attached to the catholic faith, and an enemy to all innovations in religion, he ſteadily repreſſed every attempt to eſtabliſh, or to introduce,

[7] Solignac, vol. iv. p. 399—401.

among

among his ſubjects, the Lutheran, or Calviniſt doctrines. The city of Dantzic having thrown off its allegiance, and openly renounced the Romiſh worſhip; he had no ſooner terminated the war in which he had been engaged with the Teutonic knights, than he repaired thither in perſon; compelled the inhabitants to return to the obedience of Poland; inflicted capital puniſhment on the leaders of the ſedition, and reinſtated the eccleſiaſtics in their offices and dignities [8]. The termination of his life, was marked by every circumſtance of national proſperity. While, on one hand, he maintained peace with Muſcovy, on the other, he repelled an irruption of the Walachians, who had invaded the province of Podolia. The election of his only ſon, Sigiſmund Auguſtus, to the ſucceſſion, in contradiction to the jealous reluctance conſtantly manifeſted by the Poles, who ſtill regarded the throne as elective, and not hereditary; left him without anxiety, on that ſubject. Sinking in years, but, exempt from all the infirmities which uſually accompany old age; he was occupied in the moſt enlightened and beneficial exertions to introduce arts, civilization, and knowledge, among his rude and uncultivated ſubjects. Superior to the illuſions, or proſpects of ambition, he refuſed, ſucceſſively, the crown of Sweden, and thoſe of Hungary and Bohemia, which were tendered him; and attentive only to perform the duties incumbent on a king of Poland, he was repaid by the grateful affection and reſpect of every order of his people [9].

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1526—1548.

Termination of his reign.

The reign of Sigiſmund Auguſtus opened a very different ſcene, and was alternately agitated by domeſtic diſſenſions, and by foreign wars. His inſurmountable paſſion for a Poliſh lady, of the family of Radzivil, whom he had privately married before his father's deceaſe; and the generous, but imprudent obſtinacy, with which he adhered to his matrimonial engagement, in defiance of the entreaties, expoſtulations, and even menaces of the Poliſh nobility; had nearly precipi-

1548—1551. Reign of Sigiſmund Auguſtus.

[8] Solignac, vol. iv. p. 403, 404.

[9] L'Art de Verif. vol. ii. p. 73. Solignac, vol. iv. p. 409—430.

tated

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1548—1551.

tated him from the throne. It required the utmoſt addreſs, as well as firmneſs, to avert the danger, and to place the crown on the head of a perſon, whom the nation ſeemed unanimous in refuſing to acknowledge as their queen [10]. The troubles, occaſioned by the pro-

1552.

greſs of Lutheraniſm, which had been zealouſly propagated, and univerſally diffuſed throughout the kingdom; were encreaſed by

His conduct, relative to the proteſtants.

the zeal of the Poliſh eccleſiaſtics. Widely different in this reſpect, from his predeceſſor, Sigiſmund Auguſtus indirectly encouraged, and, on many occaſions, openly protected the proteſtants; whoſe tenets, if he had not adopted, he was at leaſt ſuppoſed to regard with predilection and complacency. After long heſitation, he, notwithſtanding, declared himſelf for the catholic religion; and authorized the biſhops to proceed to extremities againſt hereſy: but, the Poles, accuſtomed to treat the royal authority with diſreſpect, and inſolent from their numbers, repelled every attempt, and even intimidated the clergy from proceeding to further acts of violence and perſecution [11].

1553—1561. Affairs of Livonia.

Livonia, at this period, began to occupy the attention of the king, and demanded the moſt vigorous interpoſition of Poland. The Teutonic knights, who had continued to ſubſiſt in that province, and who formed a ſeparate order, governed by their grand maſters, after the ſecularization of Pruſſia, in 1525; having inſulted Sigiſmund Auguſtus, by the impriſonment of the archbiſhop of Riga, he marched againſt them, at the head of a conſiderable force. Furſtemberg, who then occupied the place of grand maſter, unable to oppoſe him, demanded a ceſſation of arms; and not only releaſed his priſoner, but conſented to ſign a treaty, which virtually ſubjected Livonia to the crown of Poland [12]. A far more formidable competitor was, however, preparing to diſpute the title to ſo valuable a poſſeſſion. John Baſilowitz, Czar of Muſcovy, repeatedly deſolated the province,

[10] Solignac, vol. v. p. 5—26, and p. 35—38.
[11] Ibid. p. 39—47, and p. 52—72. [12] Ibid. p. 78—93.

carried

carried the grand maſter in chains to Moſcow, and ſpread ſuch conſternation to the gates of Riga, that Kettler, choſen to replace Furſtemberg, invoked the aid of Poland, as his laſt reſource. Imitating the example of Albert, duke of Pruſſia, he repaired in perſon to Wilna, the capital of Lithuania, where a diet was aſſembled; and ſoon afterwards conſented to cede the territories beyond the river Duna, comprehending all Livonia and Eſthonia, to the king and republic of Poland. For this ſacrifice of the intereſts and dominions of the order, he was recompenſed with the duchies of Courland and Semigallia, rendered hereditary in his family, on condition of homage to Sigiſmund Auguſtus, and his ſucceſſors [13]. Livonia, nevertheleſs, long continued to be diſputed and ravaged by the contending powers of Ruſſia, Sweden, and Poland; nor did its calamities terminate, and the province aſſume a ſettled form, till towards the concluſion of the ſixteenth century.

1553—1561. Ceſſion of that province to Poland.

The laſt years of the reign of Sigiſmund Auguſtus were more beneficially occupied, in completing the union of the kingdom of Poland, with the duchy of Lithuania. Although the two countries had been governed for near a hundred and eighty years, ſince the acceſſion of the houſe of Jagellon, by the ſame common ſovereign, they were by no means incorporated; and their future ſeparation was an event, which the perpetual diſſenſions of the Poles and Lithuanians rendered highly probable. Deſtitute of iſſue, though he had been three times married; infirm in his conſtitution, and ſinking in bodily, as well as mental vigor; the king betrayed the warmeſt anxiety to conſummate ſo uſeful a work. He ſucceeded, after ſurmounting the delays and impediments which long retarded it; and the act, by which it was ſolemnly decreed, in a diet compoſed of deputies from both nations, held at Lublin, has never, in the courſe of more than two centuries, been infringed, or invalidated [14].

1562—1569. Union of Poland and Lithuania.

[13] Solignac, vol. v. p. 93—109. Leſveſque, vol. ii. p. 465—468. L'Art, de Verif. vol. ii. p. 74.

[14] Solignac, vol. v. p. 141—152.

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1570—1572. Death, and character of Sigiſmund Auguſtus.

Sigiſmund Auguſtus expired ſoon afterwards, exhauſted by an immoderate and injudicious purſuit of pleaſures, no longer ſuited either to his age, or ſtrength. He may be regarded rather as an amiable prince, than a great one; and his talents were more calculated to excite affection, than to command obedience. Endowed with qualities which enabled him to ſurmount the bad effects of a vicious education, and to riſe above the ignorance of the age and nation; he cultivated the arts, and was the protector of letters. Floating in uncertainty between the catholic and proteſtant religions, he was a friend to toleration; and Poland, though agitated, was not convulſed, by the theological diſſenſions, which, at that period, deſolated the faireſt countries of Europe. In his perſon, the princes of the houſe of Jagellon became extinct: an event, which, by rendering the crown completely elective, opened the proſpect of its poſſeſſion to foreign candidates; and augmented all the inveterate political evils, under which the nation already laboured, from the defects inſeparably connected with its conſtitution [15].

1572, July. Interregnum. Candidates for the Poliſh throne.

The death of Sigiſmund Auguſtus had long been regarded as probable, if not imminent; and the vacant throne had already excited the ambition, and awakened the hopes of various ſovereigns, who did not even wait for the ſignal of his diſſolution, to commence their applications and intrigues. At their head, might be juſtly ranked the emperor Maximilian the Second, who propoſed the arch-duke Erneſt, one of his younger ſons; a prince of promiſing virtues, and highly acceptable to the nation. Every circumſtance ſeemed to facilitate and ſecure his ſucceſs in the attempt. The nobility of Lithuania were almoſt univerſally inclined to the Imperial party; and their choice muſt neceſſarily influence, if not decidedly prevail on the Poles; as the union, ſo recently effected between the two countries, depended on the unanimity of their ſuffrages in the election of a common ſovereign. The papal legate, cardinal Commendon, a prelate of talents and dexterity, ac-

The arch-duke Erneſt.

[15] Soligñac, vol. v. p. 153—165. Vie de Commendon, p. 493—496.

quainted

quainted with the genius and manners of the people, among whom he had made a long reſidence; was warmly devoted to the Auſtrian faction, and could greatly contribute to its triumph. The character of Maximilian himſelf, moderate, humane, and beneficent; added to his ſpirit of religious toleration, and indirect protection of the reformed doctrines in his own dominions, naturally conciliated the proteſtants of Poland, who, under various denominations, formed a very numerous and powerful body. It is highly probable, that if ſo many advantages had been vigorouſly and ſpeedily improved, the young archduke would have ſurmounted all oppoſition. But, the characteriſtic indeciſion and flowneſs of the Imperial court, which allowed the firſt ardor of its adherents to cool, and neglected the moment of action, turned the current of national favour and partiality into a different channel[16].

CHAP. XVIII. 1572.

Fortune, which, in the great tranſactions of ſtates and empires, as well as in the events of private life, continually overturns the matureſt plans of human wiſdom; eminently influenced in the election of a ſucceſſor to the crown of Poland. A dwarf, by name Craſoſki, of liberal birth, and not deficient in any of thoſe qualities or attainments, calculated to raiſe their poſſeſſor in a court; having quitted his native country during the reign of Sigiſmund Auguſtus, had viſited France, where he received very flattering teſtimonies of regard, and even more ſolid proofs of affection, from the queen dowager Catherine of Medecis, and her ſon, Charles the Ninth. Enriched by their bounty, he returned to Cracow; and, penetrated with gratitude towards his benefactors, Craſoſki extolled and exaggerated the magnificence of the French monarch, the ſplendor of his capital, and the wealth of his ſubjects. Anticipating, in common with all his countrymen, the approaching vacancy of the Poliſh throne, he depictured Henry, duke of Anjou, brother to the king of France, as a prince, who was eminently qualified to contribute to the glory and

History of Craſoſki.

Henry, duke of Anjou.

[16] Solignac, vol. v. p. 169—172. Commendon, livre iv. chap. vi.

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1572.

felicity of a great people. The victories of Jarnac and Montcontour, gained by him over the Hugonots, though due to the talents of others, had covered the duke with perſonal reputation, at a very early period of life. His perſon, manners, and exterior endowments, were ſeductive; while his vices and imperfections, not yet matured by manhood, left the graces of his figure and deportment to produce their full effect, and to conciliate general partiality. The panegyrics and recommendations of Craſoſki, operated ſo powerfully on the minds or imaginations of the Poles, that a conſiderable party inſenſibly formed itſelf in favour of the candidate whom he propoſed; and in the expectation of the moment when it would be requiſite to produce him on the ſcene, the principal nobility deputed Craſoſki to repreſent to the king of France, their diſpoſition to confer the crown on his brother [17].

Propoſal to elect him king of Poland.

No propoſal could be more grateful to that monarch, nor to his mother, Catherine; though from motives very diſſimilar. Charles, deeply affected by the ſuperiority, fame, and atchievements of the duke of Anjou; diſpleaſed at the queen dowager's unconcealed partiality for him; and anxious to remove him to a diſtance, where he could be no longer dangerous; ardently ſeized ſo favourable an occaſion of baniſhing him from France. Catherine, intoxicated with viſions of ambition, and deſirous of raiſing her favourite ſon to the rank of a ſovereign; embraced the offer with equal enthuſiaſm.

Embaſſy of Montluc.

Montluc, biſhop of Valence, one of the ableſt negotiators of the ſixteenth century, was inſtantly diſpatched, on the deceaſe of Sigiſmund Auguſtus, to commence the public proſecution of the enterprize. In defiance of obſtacles and difficulties, under which ordinary men would have ſunk; deſtitute of pecuniary reſources; unaccompanied by the retinue, becoming his function and commiſſion; he, nevertheleſs, penetrated through the German ſtates, and arrived on the Poliſh frontiers. Though prevented by the violence and ravages of the plague,

[17] Commendon, liv. iv. p. 552—557.

which defolated the kingdom, from venturing further to profecute his journey, or to prefent himfelf in the diet, and announce the object of his embaffy; he furmounted thefe impediments, and made a rapid progrefs in acquiring adherents. Even the intelligence of the maffacre of St. Bartholomew, committed at Paris, which immediately followed his appearance in Poland; and the participation of the duke of Anjou in that deteftable tranfaction, which was notorious and indifputable; neither difconcerted, nor fruftrated his endeavours. 1572.

The fecurity, fupinenefs, and arrogance of the Imperial miniflers, aided Montluc; and the natural levity, inconftancy, and love of change, which characterifed the Poles, gave him an eafy acceſs to their hearts. The very circumftances, which, in their own nature, were calculated to prevent his fuccefs; the vaft diftance of the two countries, and the total unacquaintance of Henry with the cuftoms, language, and intereſts of the nation over which he afpired to reign, by an extraordinary coincidence of events, facilitated his elevation [18]. Notwithftanding the efforts and oppofition of the proteftants, who juftly apprehended the election of a prince, diftinguifhed for his victories over their brethren in France, and who had recently imbrued his hands in the blood of the Hugonots; his party preponderated in the diet, convoked at Warfaw. Scarcely were the other competitors heard, in the tumultuous aſſembly of the Polifh nobles, who almoft unanimoufly, by their acclamations, rather than fuffrages, declared Henry king of Poland, and duke of Lithuania. It is not without fome degree of admiration, that we can reflect on this event, when it is conſidered, that in the vaft concourfe of perfons, who concurred in the choice of the duke of Anjou, hardly a fingle individual had ever feen or acquired any knowledge of the prince, whom they blindly raifed to the throne [19]. As if conſcious of their rafhneſs and precipitation, or fenfible of the imprudence which they had mani-

Succeſs of his exertions.

Election of Henry.

1573.

[18] Solignac, vol. v. p. 182—207.

[19] Commendon, liv. iv. p. 553, and p. 588—607. Solignac, vol. v. p. 258—334.

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Limitations, annexed by the Poles to the royal power.

feſted in their paſt conduct; they endeavoured to impoſe fetters on their new monarch, by diminiſhing and degrading the royal dignity itſelf. Conditions, equally humiliating and ſevere, were framed, and propoſed to Montluc, as indiſpenſable, previous to the ratification of their own act; and that miniſter, unable to elude or refuſe them, was under a neceſſity of ſolemnly confirming ſtipulations, which left to Henry, little more than the external decorations and inſignia of a king [20].

Reluctance of the new king, to quit France.

The embaſſadors, deputed to announce to him the choice of the nation, and to witneſs his formal acceptance of the crown on the terms annexed to it, were loaded with honors in the court of France; and every teſtimony of public feſtivity was exhauſted by Catherine of Medecis, to evince her grateful ſenſe of the diſtinction conferred on Henry. But, no ſooner had the firſt emotions of joy ſubſided, than the new monarch began to betray his reluctance to aſſume the government, delegated to him by the Poles. His indignation at the diſtruſt, implied by the retrenchment of the royal prerogatives: the repugnance, natural to a diſſolute mind, at the idea of quitting a poliſhed and voluptuous court, in order to exerciſe the painful and laborious duties of ſovereignty, among a fierce and turbulent people: the proſpect of ſucceeding to the throne of France, which appeared neither diſtant, nor improbable: all theſe motives would have detained him in his native country, if the menaces and commands of Charles the Ninth had not accelerated his departure. Neither the reflexions of the duty which he owed to his own character; nor the incitements of a generous ambition: not even the entreaties, and expoſtulations of the Poliſh embaſſadors, who threatened to repreſent to his new ſubjects, the indignity of his conduct, could have prevailed, without the peremptory injunctions of his brother, who in perſon conducted him towards the frontiers [21].

[20] Solignac, vol. v. p. 344—339.

[21] Mezerai, vol. ix. p. 104—111. Commendon, liv. iv. p. 607—618. Solignac, vol. v. p. 354—402.

Having

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Having ſeparated himſelf, with every ſymptom of regret, from the embraces of his mother, and croſſed all Germany in the moſt inclement ſeaſon, he arrived on the borders of Poland, and was received with teſtimonies of affection by the nobility. His approach to Cracow, the capital of his dominions, was marked by demonſtrations of univerſal loyalty; and his coronation, notwithſtanding ſome ſudden ebullitions of diſcontent or haughtineſs, which were inſtantly ſuppreſſed, exceeded in ſplendor, and barbarous pomp, every preceding ceremony of that nature in Poland [22]. The kingdom demanded counſels of energy and vigor. Not only the long vacancy of the throne, and the temporary extinction of the royal authority, had inflamed the ordinary turbulence and licentiouſneſs of the nobles: but, a foreign enemy had invaded the territories of the Republic. The Czar of Muſcovy, John Baſilowitz, after deſolating Livonia, threatened to extend his ravages into Lithuania; and the Poles expected from a prince, nurſed in camps, to whom war was familiar, not merely protection, but, redreſs. They were ſoon undeceived in theſe fallacious hopes. Henry was no longer the hero, who had acquired reputation by renouncing pleaſures and ſenſual indulgence. Regardleſs of every motive which could ſtimulate him to exertion; abandoned to the gratifications of appetite, or ſunk in indolence; he only endeavoured to baniſh the recollection of his obligations. Thoſe vices, or weakneſſes, which had not been perceived in the duke of Anjou, became viſible in the king of Poland. His prodigality, and facility, rendered him poor, without either acquiring the praiſe of liberality, or the attachment of the perſons on whom he laviſhed his favours. His alienation from the Poles, and his unconcealed contempt for their manners and modes of thinking, excited reſentment; while the caprice, or injuſtice of his deciſions and edicts, in the few inſtances when he exerciſed the prerogatives of the crown, pro-

1574. He arrives at Cracow.

Supineneſs of Henry's government.

Vices, and defects of his character.

[22] Solignac, vol. v. p. 403—435. Commendon, liv. iv. chap. xiv.

duced

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duced a fermentation, which time would probably have ſoon matured, among a high-ſpirited and reſtleſs nobility, into inſurrection. Inacceſſible, except to his own countrymen, and plunged in effeminate amuſements; he looked back to France for deliverance from a bondage, which he regarded as the moſt ſevere of privations [23].

Flight of Henry from Poland.

The death of Charles the Ninth, in theſe circumſtances, by recalling him to his hereditary dominions, extricated him from a ſituation, beſet with difficulties: but, it was reſerved for Henry to exhibit to Europe, the new and ignominious ſpectacle of a king, flying, like a criminal, from his own court and capital, purſued by his ſubjects, and eſcaping under ſhelter of the night, from their vigilance and circumſpection. After having deceived the Poliſh ſenate, by aſſurances of his determination to await the convocation of the diet, previous to his departure; terrified at the apprehenſion of the intrigues which his abſence from France might occaſion, he embraced the humiliating reſolution of quitting Cracow, only attended by a few followers. He executed the plan with ſucceſs, and reached the Auſtrian frontiers, before a body of Poliſh cavalry, ſent to purſue and bring him back, could ſtop his progreſs; leaving the kingdom in a ſtate of greater confuſion and anarchy, than that, from which it was extricated by his elevation to the throne [24].

Sterility of the Poliſh annals.

The hiſtory of Poland excites leſs intereſt, and contains fewer incidents which awaken, delight, or elevate the mind, than the annals of any other country of modern Europe. Its vicious form of conſtitution, uniting the extremes and evils of tyranny, anarchy, and ſlavery, may account for this ſterility, and deficiency. However deſpotiſm may degrade and debaſe the nature of man, there yet are found in the hiſtory of every people who have been ſubject to arbi-

[23] Commendon, liv. iv. p. 638—642. Solignac, vol. v. p. 435—453. Mezerai, vol. ix. p. 112, 113.

[24] Mezerai, vol. ix. p. 140, 141. Commendon, liv. iv. p. 642—648. Solignac, vol. v. p. 453—468.

trary

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trary monarchs, bright and ſhining periods; when unlimited power being under the direction of virtue and wiſdom, we are almoſt led to forget, or to pardon the inherent defects and abuſes, inſeparable from that ſpecies of government. Such were the reigns of Trajan, and of the Antonines, in antiquity. Such may be, perhaps, eſteemed thoſe of Henry the Fourth, in France, and of Elizabeth, queen of England. The benevolence, heroiſm, and clemency of the former prince; the vigor, talents, and felicity of the latter princeſs; take us, in ſome meaſure, priſoners; and induce us to loſe ſight of the ſtate of depreſſion, or ſervitude, in which their ſubjects remained. But, in the Poliſh annals, we ſcarcely find any thing to compenſate for the miſery entailed on the people. They were retained in a ſlavery which approached to that of the Africans, tranſported to the colonies in the new world; and they were not only attached to the glebe, but, their lives and properties were at the diſpoſal and pleaſure of the lord to whom they belonged, and from whoſe cruelty or caprice, there was no appeal.

Defects, and vices of the conſtitution.

The throne, which, in other ſtates, afforded ſome protection to the meaneſt vaſſal; far from being in a condition to grant ſhelter or aſſiſtance, was frequently unable to ſecure its poſſeſſor from inſult and menace, or to avenge its own wrongs and injuries. A ferocious nobility, ſecure in their numbers, unaccuſtomed to the reſtraints of law, barbarous in their manners, deſtitute of ſcience, and only fit for predatory incurſions againſt Muſcovites and Tartars: this formidable body, ſuſtained by the equeſtrian order of inferior nobles, ſwallowed up all the authority of the Republic, and oppoſed every inſtitution, or regulation, calculated to ſet limits to their exceſſes [25]. Under Sigiſmund Auguſtus, new abuſes, nouriſhed, or encouraged by the facility of that prince's character, had crept in, and greatly augmented the preceding confuſion. The deputies of the equeſtrian order, whoſe original functions had only extended to tranſmitting and circulating the

Privileges of the nobility.

Equeſtrian order.

[25] Commendon, liv. ii. p. 303—305; and liv. iv. p. 579—581. Solignac, vol. v. p. 101, 102.

decrees

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decrees of the king and ſenate; emboldened by the licence which accompanied the progreſs of the Reformation; and ſecretly ſupported by the king, with a view to depreſs the authority of the ſenate; erected themſelves into tribunes of the people. Every act of inſolent and lawleſs interpoſition was committed by them with impunity, to the extinction of the antient and legitimate privileges of the ſenatorial body; and many of this latter claſs voluntarily laid down their office and dignity, in order, by aſſuming the equeſtrian rank, to become more powerful and popular [26].

Royal authority.

So feeble was the royal authority under Sigiſmund Auguſtus, that he was incapable of carrying into execution even thoſe meaſures, or inducing the legiſlature to adopt thoſe plans, in which the honor, intereſts, and exiſtence of Poland were moſt deeply and eſſentially implicated. In 1561, when Kettler, the grand maſter of the Teutonic knights, repaired in perſon to Cracow, to ſupplicate aſſiſtance againſt the Czar, John Baſilowitz, who had almoſt ſubjected Livonia; though he offered to cede the province to Poland, and was warmly ſupported by the king in his requeſt of ſuccour and protection; yet, no attention whatever was paid to their joint recommendations or entreaties. Irritated, as well as mortified by ſo contemptuous a rejection, Sigiſmund applied to his Lithuanian ſubjects, convoked at Wilna; and over whom his influence or authority were more extenſive. Yet, even there, before he ventured to diſcloſe the propoſition, or to demand their co-operation, he began by according voluntarily, to the nobility of the duchy, every privilege which they choſe to reclaim. After ſo gracious a conceſſion, the diet received the propoſal favourably, and agreed to ſupport the Livonians; whoſe ſubjection to Muſcovy muſt neceſſarily have been ſpeedily followed by their own, as the countries were contiguous, and alike open to the Czar's invaſion. But, notwithſtanding the obvious and ſtriking neceſſity for a vigorous interpoſition to ſave Li-

Feeble and limited nature of it.

Difficulty of aſſembling the forces of Poland.

[26] Commendon, liv. ii. p. 304, 305.

vonia;

vonia; and though that fertile province had been completely ceded to Poland, the nobility refuſed to march, or to aſſiſt the king [27]. Encouraged by the ſupine inaction of the Poles, John, in 1564, made an irruption into Lithuania, inveſted the frontier city of Poloczk, and rendered himſelf maſter of the place. Sigiſmund iſſued an order to prince Radzivil, to ſummon the nobles, as in the laſt emergency. In theſe diſtreſsful circumſtances, only two thouſand Lithuanians, and fifteen hundred Poles, could be collected from a country, which boaſted to contain above a hundred thouſand gentlemen, fit to bear arms [28].

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It is, however, to be remembered, that the title by which the family of Jagellon held Lithuania, was different from the tenure which conferred on them the Poliſh crown. They were hereditary great dukes of the former province; and the inhabitants felt for them the attachment, natural towards their antient princes. But, Poland was an elective monarchy; though the lineal deſcent, and the right of blood, were reſpected, while the houſe of Jagellon continued to exiſt. At the deceaſe of Sigiſmund Auguſtus, this laſt barrier was removed, and the throne became open to every pretender. The nation, previous to conferring, diſarmed the royal authority of every remaining prerogative, which could excite terror; and ſcarcely left it wherewithal to conciliate affection. It was on theſe conditions that the crown was tendered to the duke of Anjou, who felt the inanity of the preſent; but, was unable to reſent, or to conteſt the terms [29]. His reign, if, indeed, his ſhort reſidence among the Poles, can merit the name; carried the anarchy of that country to its utmoſt heighth. All the forms of reſpect towards the ſovereign, ceaſed; and his palace itſelf was not an aſylum from inſult. Under the windows of the royal apartments at Cracow, a fray took place of the moſt ſerious nature, between two parties of armed nobles, in which a ſenator of the

Contempt of the royal power.

[27] Solignac, vol. v. p. 100—105. [28] Ibid. p. 113, 114.

[29] Commendon, liv. iv. p. 610—612; and liv. iv. p. 620—626. Solignac, vol. v. p. 343—347, and p. 363—370, and p. 378.

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firſt rank was killed; and Henry, apprehenſive of an inſurrection, had already ſummoned all the French to his aid, and prepared to repel the aſſailants [30]. Such was the abject condition to which the ſovereign was reduced, and ſuch the diſſolution of the government at this period.

Diſtribution of offices.

The principal ſource of influence or conſideration, poſſeſſed by the Poliſh kings, lay in the diſtribution of offices and dignities; the number of which was great. They likewiſe nominated to the biſhopricks, and principal eccleſiaſtical preferments. When any of theſe became vacant during the interval of an interregnum, they uſually were not filled up, with a view to enable the future monarch to acquire ſome ſupport at his acceſſion, by the employments in his power to beſtow [31].

Revenues.

It is difficult to aſcertain, with any preciſion, the extent or amount of the revenues of the crown, at the extinction of the race of Jagellon. Previous to the commencement of the reign of Sigiſmund the Firſt, the royal domain had been almoſt entirely alienated; but that prince reſumed many of the grants made by his predeceſſors. His ſon, Sigiſmund Auguſtus, deſtitute of iſſue, and little intereſted to maintain the independance of the future ſovereigns, diminiſhed by his liberalities, the lands appropriated to their uſe; and he even contracted a very conſiderable debt, which Henry, by one of the ſtipulations annexed to his election, undertook to liquidate [32]. It is clear, that the Poles themſelves regarded the royal revenues as inadequate to ſupporting the grandeur or majeſty of the throne; ſince by another condition, impoſed on the duke of Anjou, he was bound to draw annually from the receipts of his patrimonial eſtates or eſtabliſhment in France, no leſs a ſum than four hundred and fifty thouſand florins, which were to be expended in, and excluſively devoted to Poland [33].

Cavalry.

The military force of the Republic in the ſixteenth century, conſiſted almoſt entirely in cavalry; and was eſtimated to exceed two hundred thouſand men, when all the nobility mounted on horſe-

[30] Solignac, vol. v. p. 437—443.

[31] Commendon. liv. iv. p. 620—622.

[32] Solignac, vol. v. p. 334—337.

[33] About forty thouſand pounds ſterling. Solignac, vol. v. p. 336.

back.

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back. But, this tumultuous and diſorderly croud was incapable of diſcipline, devoid of ſubordination, and reſembled the Tartar hordes, who deſolated Europe in the middle ages. The only regular troops known in Poland, were foreign mercenaries: the genius of the Poles was incompatible with the reſtraints, requiſite to form a body of infantry; and the licentious ſpirit of the nobility diſdained every curb, which checked their inſolence or depredations. All the characteriſtic love of ſhew and magnificence, by which the nation was peculiarly diſtinguiſhed, was manifeſted in their camps; and they delighted to exhibit the parade of martial ſplendor, when marching againſt an enemy. Vaſt numbers of the fineſt horſes, procured from foreign countries at any expence: rich trappings, and accoutrements, compoſed of the moſt precious metals, or materials: all theſe decorations gave to their camp, the appearance of a tournament, or a carouſal, rather than of an army ranged under its banners [34]. Poland was the only European country, in that age, completely open, and unprotected by any garriſon, or fortreſs, notwithſtanding the facility which the want of fortifications gave to the continual inroads of their formidable enemies, the Tartars, Turks, and Muſcovites. Long preſcription, ſo powerful in its influence on nations, as well as individuals; the pride of the nobility, who regarded themſelves as the beſt defence of the State; and the total ignorance of the ſcience of attacking or defending cities: theſe prejudices or motives contributed to perpetuate a practice, ſo contrary to the policy of every other civilized country.

1574. Magnificence of the Poliſh camps.

Want of fortreſſes, or garriſons.

The reception of Henry of Valois, at his arrival on the Poliſh frontiers, in the Palatinate of Poſnania, was a ſpectacle equally ſingular, ſuperb, and pictureſque. Fifteen thouſand cavalry, conducted by the principal nobility, covered the eminences on either ſide, as far as the view could extend. The variety of arms, military inſtruments, dreſſes, and coſtly ornaments, exceeded imagination; forming a compendium

Reception of Henry in Poland.

[34] Commendon, liv. iv. p. 655.

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of thoſe worn by all the European, as well as many of the Aſiatic nations. Complete troops of horſe, habited in uniforms bordered with furs, and embroidered with gold and ſilk, encreaſed the beauty and grandeur of the ſcene. The air was rent with acclamations of joy, and the ſound of military muſic, as the new king approached; who, tranſported with ſo novel and exhilarating a diſplay of pomp, owned, that "for the firſt time ſince his election to the throne of Po-"land, he then felt that he was a ſovereign [35]."

Splendor of the Poles.

Theſe exhibitions of barbarous feſtivity, were renewed, and even augmented, at the ceremony of his coronation, ſoon afterwards; the deſcription of which recals the idea of the Perſian and Mogul encampments, in the plains of Agra, or Iſpahan, rather than the inauguration of a catholic prince [36]. The inhabitants of Paris could never ſufficiently ſatiate their curioſity, with viewing and admiring the Poliſh embaſſadors, who came to offer the crown to the duke of Anjou. Their groteſque and ſingular dreſs; their bonnets of fur; their ſabres, arrows, and quivers; the ſplendor of their equipage: the diſplay of precious ſtones on their ſcymitars, ſaddles, and houſings; their fierce and martial deportment: all theſe united circumſtances produced an effect, difficult to be conceived, in the court of Charles the Ninth. The general admiration augmented, when two of the chiefs of the embaſſy entered the great hall of ſtate, bearing on their ſhoulders the act of election, contained in a caſket of ſilver, by virtue of which Henry was called to the throne of the Jagellons [37].

Stipulations annexed to Henry's election.

Notwithſtanding the arrogance of the Poliſh nobles, and the affected confidence which they placed in their own valor, for the defence of their country; they compelled Charles and Henry to ſtipulate jointly, that they would ſend a body of four thouſand French troops into Poland, whenever the nation ſhould be involved in a war with the Muſcovites. As they were deſtitute even of a ſingle ſhip,

[35] Commendon, liv. iv. p. 633—636.

[36] Solignac, vol. v. p. 422—427.

[37] De Thou, vol. vii. p. 8. Solignac, vol. v. p. 375.

and

and incapable of either conſtructing, or equipping a navy; the French, likewiſe, engaged to ſend a fleet into the Baltic, to render them maſters of that ſea, and to retake the city of Narva, which had been captured by John Baſilowitz [38]. It muſt be owned, that France paid dearly for the honor of ſeating one of her princes on the throne of Poland, and that it was ſcarcely poſſible to purchaſe an elective crown, at a more extravagant price. CHAP. XVIII. 1574.

The commerce of Poland, at this period, was excluſively confined to the port of Dantzic; their poſſeſſion of Livonia being too precarious and too recent, to allow them to profit of the facility, which Riga, and other places in that valuable province, lent to trade. The privileges, enjoyed by Dantzic, were ſo ample, and their municipal franchiſes ſo numerous, that the inhabitants might rather be eſteemed as living under the protection, than as ſubject to the obedience of the Poliſh kings; peculiarly, after the death of Sigiſmund the Firſt. In 1563, the commerce muſt have been prodigious; ſince it is aſſerted by a contemporary writer, that ſix hundred veſſels were ſeen there at a time; and the elegance of the buildings ſufficiently evinced its wealth. All the productions of the interior provinces of Poland, particularly grain, honey, wax, and tallow, were brought down the Viſtula, and exported from Dantzic. By the ſame channel, manufactures of every ſort, articles of luxury, wines, ſugar, perfumes, and ſilk, found their way into the kingdom [39]. Commerce. Dantzic.

The Poles, in the ſixteenth century, poſſeſſed a direct communication with the Black Sea, by means of the river Nieſter, and the port of Bialogorod, in the province of Podolia. From thence a traffic, equally extenſive and beneficial, might have been carried on with all the ſouthern kingdoms of Europe, Turkey, and the Levant. The Venetians would have made it the emporium of the trade of the Euxine; and the fertility of the Ukraine ſecured inexhauſtible ſupplies of corn, as well as other important articles; in return for Communication with the Black Sea.

[38] Solignac, vol. v. p. 335, 336.

[39] Commendon, liv. ii. p. 235—238.

which,

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which, the commodities of Italy and Spain would have been exchanged. It was propoſed to Sigiſmund Auguſtus, to avail himſelf of ſo ineſtimable a ſource of advantage, which only demanded the protection and encouragement of an enlightened government. Unfortunately, that prince, childleſs, incapable of proſecuting with vigour, any ſcheme of public utility, and attentive only to his pleaſures; was eaſily induced to relinquiſh it, on account of the impediments found in the current of the Nieſter, which rendered its navigation difficult, or dangerous; but, which might have been eaſily removed [40]. The inattention of Sigiſmund Auguſtus, to ſo obvious a means of enriching, improving, and civilizing his dominions, is only to be ſatisfactorily explained, by the pernicious genius of the Poliſh conſtitution, which left the ſovereign without power, or incitement to exertion, or to awaken emulation. The nobles deſpiſed trade, as degrading, and unworthy of their ſtations; while the miſerable and abject peaſant, chained to the ſoil, and deſtitute of freedom, or property, could make no effort to liberate himſelf from ſlavery [41]. The intermediate claſs of citizens, which, in other ſtates, forms the bulwark between the two extremes, and in which order of men, is uſually found the greateſt portion of induſtry, opulence, and invention, was unknown.

Pernicious nature of the Poliſh conſtitution.

In ſuch a ſtate of ſociety, we cannot wonder, that the nation continued to remain without arts, manufactures, or improvement. Only fabricks of the rudeſt nature, and of abſolute neceſſity, exiſted in Poland: all the luxuries of life were drawn from foreign countries, at a vaſt expence. So ſupine was the inaction of the people, that the little commerce which exiſted, was monopolized by the Jews; who enjoyed extraordinary exemptions or immunities, at a period, when, throughout the other kingdoms of Europe, that nation was held in univerſal execration. They not only applied to trade: medicine, polite letters, the management of the cuſtoms and revenue, were principally, and almoſt excluſively, exerciſed by Jews. They poſſeſſed lands, were regarded as honorable, had the right of wearing ſwords, or carrying

Immunities enjoyed by the Jews.

[40] Commendon, liv. ii. p. 279—285.

[41] Solignac, vol. v. p. 296.

rying arms, and participated in all the privileges of the native Poles [42]. We may form ſome idea of the ſtate of commercial intercourſe in Poland, in 1573, by the circumſtance of Montluc, the French embaſſador, being unable to find a ſingle merchant in the kingdom, who could furniſh five thouſand crowns, in the ſpace of three months [43]. All the buildings in the principal towns were compoſed of wood; and their conſtruction was mean in the greateſt degree [44]. Every ſpecies of police was baniſhed; and ſo dreadful were the ravages of the plague, when Montluc entered Poland, that he found it impoſſible to eſcape with his life, except by ſleeping in the woods, where he had nearly periſhed from the want of proviſions [45].

1574.

Architecture.

Ravages of the plague.

We may ſee in the compoſitions of Deſportes, the poet, who accompanied his ſovereign, Henry the Third, to Cracow, in 1574, with what horror the French viewed the Poliſh manners. Deſportes deſcribes the country in the ſame colours and language, which Ovid uſes, when writing of Pontus; and the Roman poet was not more deeply ſenſible to his exile from Rome, than was Deſportes to his baniſhment from Paris. The aſpect of Poland muſt have been truly hideous, to the refined courtiers of a voluptuous and poliſhed capital. The ſnows, under which the ground was buried, during many months of the year; the barbarous ſtile of building, not only deſtitute of ornament, but, deficient even in common convenience; the mode of warming the apartments by ſtoves, which was new to the French; and the practice of bringing cattle into their rooms, uſual among the inferior claſſes of people: all theſe circumſtances are eloquently enumerated by Deſportes. He ſeems to have been not leſs affected with diſguſt, at their characteriſtic loquacity, arrogance, levity, and inebriety, which he cenſures with the harſheſt aſperity. Even of their martial proweſs, and ſkill in war, he pretends to doubt. "Poverty alone," ſays he, "protects and guarantees Poland from

[42] Commendon, liv. ii. p. 270, 271.
[43] Solignac, vol. v. p. 282. Note.
[44] Commendon, liv. ii. p. 238.
[45] Solignac, vol. v. p. 199.

"ſubjec-

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"ſubjection. The Ottomans prefer the rich vales of Cyprus and "Candia, to theſe icy and ſterile plains; and the Germans, though "fond of war, direct their attention to Flanders, where their toils are "more amply recompenſed." However, we may ſuſpect ſome exaggeration, or trace ſome prejudice in the deſcriptions of the Poet, we muſt ſtill admit, that the banks of the Viſtula were widely different from thoſe of the Tyber, or the Seine [46].

Luxury.

The general penury and wretchedneſs of the people, did not prevent a great diſplay of magnificence among the nobles. Coaches were already known, and uſed at the coronation of Henry, in 1574[47]. Many of the Palatines and Staroſts were even highly accompliſhed, and poſſeſſed all the graces of the moſt poliſhed, or cultivated nations. Nothing tended to impreſs the French court, with a higher opinion of the Poliſh embaſſadors, than the facility with which ſeveral among them, converſed in Latin, French, Italian, and German [48]. Caſimir the Third, as early as 1362, founded a univerſity at Cracow, and brought, or invited profeſſors, from Paris; but the inſtitution fell into decay. The young nobility ſtudied in the German ſeminaries

Letters.

of learning. Sigiſmund Auguſtus loved and protected letters. Luther dedicated to him a tranſlation of the Bible; and Calvin in-

Religion.

ſcribed the Commentary, which he compoſed on the Epiſtle of St. Paul to the Hebrews, to the ſame prince: but theſe offerings were more theological, than literary [49]. Sigiſmund ſecretly cheriſhed the Reformation, though he did not think proper to ſhelter its adherents

Progreſs of the Reformation.

from the reſentment and perſecution of the eccleſiaſtics. The progreſs which the proteſtant religion made in Poland, during his reign, was very conſiderable. In Lithuania, four years after his death, only ſix catholic prieſts could be found; and it was ſuppoſed, that not more than a thouſandth part of the inhabitants remained firm to the

[46] Œuvres de Deſportes, "Adieu a la Po-"logne," p. 427, 428.

[47] De Thou, vol. vii. p. 32, 33.

[48] Solignac, vol. v. p. 358, 359.

[49] Ibid. p. 69. Note.

antient faith [50]. Okini, a native of Sienna in Italy, who had been originally a Franciſcan monk, but, having renounced the inſtitutions of his order and the Romiſh religion, had at length ſettled at Cracow, ventured not only to preach heretical doctrines; but, publicly to recommend the practice of poligamy, as founded on holy writ. He long remained unmoleſted, and even followed; till Commendon, the papal legate, after repeated applications, procured from the Senate an edict, by which all foreign heretics were commanded to quit the kingdom. Okini reluctantly complied with the injunction, and died of the plague, in Moravia [51]. CHAP. XVIII. 1574.

State of Poland, at the extinction of the family of Jagellon.

All the inveterate defects and vices, characteriſtic of, and inſeparable from the Poliſh conſtitution, were called out into action, by the death of the laſt prince of the Jagellon line. Near two centuries had then elapſed, ſince the nation might be ſaid to have fully exerciſed the unreſtrained right of election: Sigiſmund Auguſtus had been declared the ſucceſſor to the crown, at ten years of age; and the kingdom, though nominally conferred by the free ſuffrages of the piaſts, or gentlemen, was in effect, hereditary [52]. But, the vacancy of the throne, in 1572, was the ſignal of tumult, outrage, and anarchy. The plain, on the banks of the Viſtula, near Warſaw, where the general diet was convoked for chuſing a king, exhibited a ſtriking and faithful picture of the genius of the Poles. It reſembled rather a camp of ferocious Tartars, met to determine on ſome hoſtile incurſion, or to execute an enterprize againſt enemies, than an aſſembly, ſummoned for the purpoſe of conferring the crown on the moſt deſerving candidate. Every individual came armed, according to his choice; and every ſpecies of military weapon, uſed either by antient, or modern nations, was to be found among them. Javelins, ſpears and arrows, were mingled with matchlocks, and harquebuſſes. Many of the Poles, at the head of their aſſociates, brought artillery to the place of election, entrenched themſelves, and ſeemed to prepare for the laſt

General diets.

Anarchy and ferocity of the Poles.

[50] Solignac, vol. v. p. 39—45, and p. 70. Note.

[51] Commendon, liv. ii. chap. ix.

[52] Solignac, vol. iv. p. 412, 413.

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extremities of violence or bloodſhed[53]. Theſe appearances were, by no means, merely external. After the duke of Anjou had been choſen, and even proclaimed, with ſuch apparent ſymptoms of unanimity; a faction, compoſed principally of the Palatines and nobles who had embraced the Reformation, and who were diſcontented at the ambiguity of the article, by which liberty of conſcience was ſecured to them, ſeceded from the aſſembly. Conducted by the grand marſchal of Poland, one of the higheſt officers of the Republic, they demanded a confederation; and proteſted their reſolution, either to proceed to a new choice, or to exact from Henry the moſt ample conceſſions on the freedom of religious opinion. The catholics, ſuperior in numbers, and irritated by ſo unexpected an oppoſition, prepared to reduce their adverſaries by force: each party quitted their tents, mounted on horſeback, drew out cannon, and only waited the ſignal for an action. Happily, the moderation of ſome temperate and conciliating ſpirits, anxious to anticipate ſo diſgraceful and ſanguinary a conteſt, with difficulty prevented the effuſion of blood, and induced the leaders to liſten to terms of accommodation[54].

[53] Commendon, liv. iv. p. 579, 580.

[54] Solignac, vol. v. p. 311—334. Commendon, liv. iv. p. 601—603.

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THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE.

Review of the Turkiſh hiſtory, from the ſubverſion of the Greek empire.—Siege and capture of Conſtantinople, by Mahomet the Second.—Conqueſts of that ſultan.—Efforts of the Venetians, to retard the Ottoman arms.—Scanderbeg.—Mathias Corvinus.—Repulſe of the Turks before Rhodes.—Capture of Otranto.—Danger and terrors of Italy.—Death and character of Mahomet.—Acceſſion, reign, and depoſition of Bajazet the Second.—Reign of Selim the Firſt.—Conqueſt of Egypt.—Extinction of the Mammelukes.—Death, character, and exploits of Selim.—Acceſſion of Solyman the Second.—State of Hungary, Italy, and Spain, at that period.—Attack of Belgrade, and its capture.—Siege, and capture of Rhodes.—Battle of Mohatz.—Reduction of Hungary.—Repulſe of Solyman, before Vienna.—Naval expeditions, and ravages of Barbaroſſa.—Subjection of the iſlands of the Archipelago, and of the Morea.—Alliance of the ſultan with France.—Ill ſucceſs of the Turks, at Malta.—Death, and character of Solyman.—Glory of the Turkiſh arms.—Reign of Selim the Second.—Invaſion of Cyprus.—Victory of Lepanto.—Reduction of Cyprus.—Peace, concluded by the Venetians with the Porte.—Conqueſt of Tunis, and the Goletta.—Death of Selim the Second.—State of the Ottoman empire, in 1574.—Nature of the royal power.—Origin, and immunities of the Janizaries.—Their inſolence, power, and exceſſes.—Military diſcipline.—Numbers.—Artillery.—Barbarities, exerciſed in war.—Naval force.—Gallies.—Formidable marine.—Turkiſh admirals, and commanders.—Barbaroſſa.—Viziers.—Mahomet.—Piali.—Ulucciali.—Commerce of the Turks.—State of Conſtantinople.—Terror, in-

ſpired by the ſultans.—Reflections on the magnitude, and reſources of the Ottoman empire.

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THE capture of Conſtantinople by Mahomet the Second, and the ſubverſion of the Greek empire, were not only events of the firſt magnitude; but, may be conſidered as forming an æra in the hiſtory of mankind. The Turkiſh ſultans, ſeated on the throne of the Greek emperors, and having transferred their court and reſidence to the antient capital of Conſtantine, could no longer be eſteemed in the rank of Aſiatic princes. Maſters of the rich provinces to the ſouth of the Danube, and annually extending their conqueſts towards the frontiers of Hungary, Germany, and Italy; they aſſumed a place in the general ſyſtem of Europe, equally important and formidable. It cannot be doubted, that the fate of Conſtantinople might have been protracted, if not totally averted, by a timely and vigorous exertion of the principal European ſtates. The Turkiſh troops, however brave and devoted to their leader, were unſkilled in the ſcience of attacking fortified cities; and Mahomet, repeatedly on the point of abandoning the ſiege, was induced to perſiſt in the enterprize, by the conſciouſneſs of its facility. So general and ſupine an indifference excites our ſurprize; and it appears more ſingular, when contraſted with the enthuſiaſtic zeal and frantic deluſion, which, ſome centuries before, had precipitated whole nations upon Syria, in order to reſcue the Holy Sepulchre from the Saracens.

1453. Capture of Conſtantinople. Its conſequences to Europe.

Indifference of the great European powers, to its fate.

State of Europe, in 1453.

This inaction can only be explained by the ſituation and poſition of the great kingdoms of Europe, in 1453. France, governed by Charles the Seventh, had ſcarcely effected the entire expulſion of the Engliſh, and required a reſpite, to recruit her exhauſted ſtrength, before ſhe ventured to engage in foreign expeditions. Ferdinand and Iſabella had not yet united Caſtile and Arragon into one monarchy; nor could Spain attempt diſtant projects of glory or advantage, while the Moors continued to occupy the provinces of Granada and Murcia. The Imperial dignity was ſunk into

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into contempt, and almoſt into oblivion, under Frederic the Third; who poſſeſſed neither the talents, nor the territories, requiſite to inſpire reſpect, and to propel the Germans; while the empire, torpid and unwieldy, refuſed to take any ſhare in repelling the common enemy of the chriſtian name. In Poland, Ladiſlaus the Sixth, engaged in conteſts with his own ſubjects, and compelled to turn his arms againſt the Teutonic knights, had neither leiſure nor ability to attend to the calamities of the Greeks. Hungary, ſituated nearer to the ſcene of danger, and deeply intereſted in the preſervation of Conſtantinople, was, from various cauſes, incapacitated to extend aſſiſtance. The battle of Varna, fought only nine years preceding, in which Amurath the Second, the father of Mahomet, had obtained a deciſive victory over the Hungarians, was accompanied with the loſs of their ſovereign, and the flower of the nobility, who fell in the action. This diſaſter, which remained deeply imprinted on the minds of the people, inſpired a juſt apprehenſion of the Ottoman power; and the kingdom, rent by factions under a minor prince, only deſired repoſe, however inglorious, or precarious. It was from Italy alone, that effectual and immediate ſuccour could juſtly be expected: but, Nicholas the Fifth, who occupied the papal chair, was deficient in the elevation, diſintereſtedneſs, and energy, required to animate the other princes or republics. The naval force, conſiſting of thirty gallies, equipped at the joint expence of the Holy See, of Alfonſo, king of Naples, and of the Venetians, which was ſent to raiſe the ſiege of Conſtantinople, arrived too late, occaſioned by the delays, almoſt inſeparable from the operations of combined forces; and the city was abandoned to its deſtiny [1].

1453.

Exertions of the Italian ſtates.

In this deplorable ſituation, Conſtantine the Thirteenth did not forſake himſelf; and though neither diſtinguiſhed by his reſources of mind, nor ſuſtained by any external circumſtances, he prepared to defend the laſt remains of the empire of Rome. His precautions

Efforts of Conſtantine the Thirteenth.

[1] Knolles's Hiſt. of the Turks, p. 340. Laugier, Hiſt. de Venice, vol. vii. p. 71.

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appear to have been able and judicious: but, the debaſed and abject character of his ſubjects, who, even in ſuch an extremity, were incapable either of exerting the courage ariſing from deſpair, or of contributing towards the preſervation of their own property, by relinquiſhing a portion of it; precipitated and accelerated the common deſtruction [2]. It muſt be confeſſed, that Conſtantine did not, in the laſt act of his life, diſgrace the Imperial purple, as ſo many of his predeceſſors had done; and that the liſt of the Cæſars, which terminated in his perſon, is reſcued, in ſome meaſure, from the ignominy with which they had been ſo long covered, by his generous death.

Conduct of Mahomet the Second, towards the Greeks.

The city, expoſed to all the outrages of an incenſed and ferocious ſoldiery, was, during ſome days, a ſcene of indiſcriminate plunder, or carnage: but, the ſultan, by his ſubſequent conduct, exhibited the enlargement of views, and the conciliating policy of a legiſlator, equally anxious to protect his new ſubjects, as he had been ardent to effect the conqueſt of Conſtantinople. Commercial privileges, and a toleration of every form of religious faith or worſhip, were conceded in the ampleſt manner, to thoſe who ſhould eſtabliſh themſelves in the capital; and Mahomet, who had atchieved the deſtruction of the Greek empire, at a very early period of life, evinced, through the remainder of his reign, that he only regarded ſo important a capture, as the prelude to ſtill greater acquiſitions [3]. During

Exploits, and conqueſts of Mahomet.

the courſe of near thirty years, his active ambition ſeems to have been ſcarcely ever ſuſpended; and its effects were alternately felt on either ſide of the Boſphorus; in Europe, and in Aſia. Thrace and Macedonia ſubmitted without reſiſtance, on the firſt ſummons: the iſlands of the Archipelago were either ſubjected, or deſolated; and the peninſula of the Morea, as well as Greece, were only preſerved by the naval force of the Venetians; which, from its ſuperiority to the

[2] Knolles, p. 345, 346. Vanel, Hiſt. des Turcs, vol. ii. p. 64.

[3] La Croix, Hiſt. Ottomane, vol. i. p. 236—244. Cantemir, Ottoman Hiſt. p. 98—106.

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Turkiſh marine, could afford continual ſupplies to the numerous garriſons, poſſeſſed by the Republic on the coaſts [4].

1453—1481.

If we ſurvey the conqueſts of Mahomet the Second, we muſt admit, that in magnitude and extent, they have ſcarcely been exceeded by thoſe of any prince in antiquity. Timur, and Zingis, who ravaged a larger portion of the earth, neither eſtabliſhed their empire on ſuch ſolid foundations, nor reigned over ſo beautiful, fertile, and commercial a part of the globe. From the Euphrates to the Adriatic, and from the frontiers of Syria, to thoſe of Poland and Hungary, all the kingdoms and ſtates ſucceſſively yielded to the Ottoman arms. Since the death of Juſtinian, and the temporary revival of the eaſtern empire, by the victories of Beliſarius and Narſes, during the reign of that monarch; the world had not ſeen ſo many provinces permanently united under one head. Servia, which had aſſumed the form, and arrogated the title of a kingdom, in the darkneſs of the middle ages, when the debility of the Greek emperors favoured the attempt; had been long governed by a race of chriſtian princes, or deſpots. They were, nevertheleſs, incapable of oppoſing any effectual barrier to the Turkiſh valor, which ſpeedily reduced Semendria, the capital, and its territory, to the obedience of the ſultan. Boſnia followed the example: Walachia, a part of the antient Dacia, conquered by Trajan, was permitted to remain under the adminiſtration of its native governors, or waivodes, rendered tributary to the Turks. Bulgaria had been already ſwallowed up by them; and from Belgrade to the mouths of the Danube, the Mahometan power was firmly and univerſally eſtabliſhed [5].

Reflections on the magnitude of the Ottoman empire.

Reduction of Servia and Boſnia.

Beyond the Helleſpont, Mahomet, in perſon, over-ran, with almoſt as much rapidity as Alexander, and with equal ſucceſs, the countries of Anatolia, hitherto unſubjected; and after an obſtinate conteſt,

Conqueſts in Aſia.

[4] La Croix, vol. i. p. 244, and p. 248, and p. 256.

[5] Cantemir, p. 108, 109. Knolles, p. 354—356. La Croix, vol. i. p. 252—260.

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maintained with ſome ſucceſs, he made himſelf maſter of Caramania[6]. Turning his arms northward, to the coaſt of the Euxine, he formed the ſiege of Sinopé, then the metropolis of the dominions of Iſmael, a prince, whoſe puſillanimity rendered his reſiſtance ſhort; and who was rewarded by the conqueror, for his prompt ſubmiſſion, by the preſent of the city of Phillippopoli, in Thrace, to which he was transferred with his family[7]. A more ſevere and humiliating deſtiny awaited David Comnenus, emperor of Trebizond. This obſcure and feeble repreſentative of the Cæſars, was deſcended from Alexis, who reigned in Conſtantinople, at the period of its capture by the Latins, about the commencement of the thirteenth century, and who had eſtabliſhed his reſidence at Nice, in Bythinia. His ſucceſſors, driven from thence by Orcan, one of the earlieſt leaders, or ſultans of the Turks, transferred the ſeat of their government to Trebizond, on the eaſtern coaſt of the Black Sea. After a ſhort defence, David conſented to ſurrender, upon aſſurances of honorable treatment, and perſonal ſafety; but, under pretence of ſome criminal, or dangerous correſpondence with the court of Perſia, Mahomet violated the capitulation, and condemned the unfortunate emperor to ſuffer death[8]. Uſſum Caſſan himſelf, who then filled the throne of Perſia, was vanquiſhed in a general engagement, and compelled to evacuate the Ottoman territories: while Achmed, the grand vizier, expelled the Genoeſe from Caffa; reduced the Crimea itſelf; and placed in it a tributary khan, or ſovereign, dependant on the ſultan[9].

1453—1481. Sinopé.

Trebizond.

Other expeditions of the ſultan.

Terror of the Turkiſh arms.

Acquiſitions ſo vaſt, cemented by the able policy and martial character of Mahomet, excited terror throughout Europe, and menaced the ſubverſion of Italy, expoſed to the fury of the Janizaries, who impatiently demanded to be led againſt that beautiful, and defenceleſs

[6] Cantemir, p. 110. La Croix, vol. i. p. 252.
[7] Knolles, p. 359.
[8] La Croix, vol. i. p. 254. Knolles, p. 360, 361. Vanel, vol. ii. p. 97, 98.
[9] Cantemir, p. 111—113. La Croix, vol. i. p. 252, and p. 278.

country.

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country. But, fortune had oppoſed inſuperable obſtacles to every attempt for its ſubjection; and the Turks, by ſevere experience, were long compelled to regard the Danube and the Adriatic as the boundaries of their conqueſts. Even Venice alone, at this period, was able to arreſt the progreſs of the Ottoman invaſions. Poſſeſſed of a lucrative and extenſive commerce; miſtreſs of a powerful fleet, and a vaſt revenue; the Republic ſlowly and reluctantly gave way before the Mahometans. Her fortreſſes in the Morea, in Negropont, among the iſlands of the Archipelago, and in Dalmatia, withſtood, and repeatedly repulſed the baſhaws of the ſultan: Mahomet himſelf was compelled, with loſs and ignominy, to abandon the ſiege of Scutari; and that impregnable citadel was only ceded, at length, to the Turks, as the price of peace. It muſt be, nevertheleſs, confeſſed, that the Venetians dearly purchaſed theſe honorable teſtimonies of their valor and magnanimity. While they triumphed in Greece, on the ſhore of the Leſſer Aſia, and in Epirus, they were unable to protect their ſubjects in Friuli and Iſtria. The Turks more than once made incurſions almoſt to the vicinity of Venice itſelf, retired unmoleſted, and carried off, or maſſacred, the inhabitants, with the ſame inhumanity that had diſtinguiſhed the barbarians, who deſolated thoſe provinces of the Roman empire, a thouſand years before [10].

1453—1481. Obſtacles to their progreſs. Venice.

Providence had raiſed up, at the ſame period, a leſs powerful, but a more formidable and invincible barrier to Mahomet the Second, in the perſon of George Caſtriot, prince of Epirus; more generally known in hiſtory by the name of Scanderbeg. This illuſtrious chieftain, whoſe exploits rendered him juſtly celebrated, ſeems to have poſſeſſed all the qualities requiſite to ſupply the deficiency of political ſtrength, or extent of dominion: an extraordinary vigor of body; unſhaken fortitude; inexhauſtible reſources; and an unextinguiſhable enmity to the Mahometan name and faith. Retired

Scanderbeg.

[10] Laugier, vol. vii. p. 181—188, and p. 203—205, and p. 211, 212, and p. 231, 232, and p. 233—245, and p. 252—255, and p. 281—286. Cantemir, p. 110, 111. Knowles, p. 405—408, and p. 411—423. La Croix, vol. i. p. 258, and 266—274.

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among the faſtneſſes of his native province, Albania, he defied the power of the ſultan; and Croia, the capital of his contracted territories, was vainly inveſted by the Turkiſh armies. Senſible of the ineſtimable value of ſuch a bulwark, the kings of Naples, and the Venetians, continually ſuſtained the prince of Epirus with pecuniary and military ſupplies; nor could either the treachery of Mahomet circumvent his vigilance, nor the ſuperiority of forces reduce him to capitulate. It was not till after the death of Scanderbeg, that Croia ſurrendered, and that Albania ceaſed to be an independant ſtate [11].

If theſe impediments delayed the progreſs of the Ottoman arms on the ſhore of the Adriatic, ſtill greater barriers were impoſed to them, beyond the Danube. Early in his reign, and ſoon after the capture of Conſtantinople, the ſultan, in perſon, attacked the city of Belgrade, juſtly regarded as the key of Hungary. That kingdom was then governed by Ladiſlaus, a feeble prince, who had not yet attained to manhood: but, John Huniades, declared regent, compelled the Turks to retire with diſgrace, after ſuſtaining every calamity, incident to a long and deſtructive ſiege. He breathed his laſt among the people whom he had reſcued, a few days ſubſequent to their deliverance; but his capacity, valor, and fortune, ſurvived in his ſon, the celebrated Matthias Corvinus, who was choſen to fill the throne, left vacant ſoon afterwards, by the death of Ladiſlaus. His reign, rendered memorable by a variety of great exploits, and marked by its proſperity, may be regarded as the golden age of Hungary. During its continuance, neither Mahomet, nor Bajazet, his ſucceſſor, ventured to paſs the Danube; and the Hungarians, deſtined by a reverſe of fortune, to experience, in the ſixteenth century, all the misfortunes of anarchy and tyranny, were, under Matthias Corvinus, the moſt flouriſhing and happy people, to be found in Europe [12].

John Huniades.

Matthias Corvinus.

[11] Knolles, p. 365—392, and p. 425, 426. La Croix, vol. i. p. 232—234, and p. 236, and p. 252, and p. 260, and p. 262—264.

[12] La Croix, vol. i. p. 246—248, and p. 281. Sacy, vol. i. p. 219—226.

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The laſt obſtacle to the Turkiſh conqueſts at this period, was the military order of knights, transferred in 1309, from Syria, to the iſland of Rhodes. Their reputation for all the virtues of chivalry, and their rigorous diſcipline, long protected them from invaſion, or attack; and they remained alone, ſurrounded by the ruins of the Greek empire, at a diſtance from every ſpecies of ſuccour, except that which they derived from their own valor. It was not till towards the concluſion of his reign, that Mahomet, after having reduced the neighbouring iſlands, and the coaſt of Aſia Minor, ventured on ſo hazardous an enterprize. All the preparations and precautions, requiſite to inſure its ſucceſs, were made; and the baſhaw, to whom the conduct of the ſiege was entruſted, appears to have omitted no endeavours to juſtify the confidence repoſed in him by the ſultan. But, neither ſuperiority of numbers, nor diſparity of force, terrified the grand maſter, d'Aubuſſon, who ſuſtained with intrepidity and firmneſs, the impetuous ardor of the Mahometans. They retired from before the place, after having held it inveſted three months; and Rhodes, like Belgrade, remained unmoleſted, till the reign of Solyman, in the enſuing century [13].

Knights of Rhodes.

Unſucceſsful ſiege of that city.

A leſs difficult and brilliant, but, a more alarming capture to the ſtates of Italy and of Europe, conſoled the Ottoman court for their late diſgrace. Otranto, in Apulia, after a ſhort reſiſtance, was taken by the vizier Achmed, and inſtantly garriſoned with near twenty thouſand men. Proviſions, for a year, were brought into the city; and the Turkiſh commander left no doubts of his determination to preſerve a fortreſs, which opened a paſſage to Rome and Naples. It was in vain that Alfonſo, duke of Calabria, at the head of a numerous army, attempted to retake Otranto: he was repulſed in all his attacks [14]. If ever Italy was in ſerious and imminent danger of becoming a Mahometan province, it was at this period. Every

Capture of Otranto.

Danger, and condition of Italy at this period.

[13] Cantemir, p. 115. Knolles, p. 427—432. La Croix, vol. i. p. 283, 284.

[14] Laugier, vol. vii. p. 371—373. Knolles, p. 432. Vanel, vol. ii. p. 164, 165.

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circumſtance favoured the progreſs of the vizier. The Neapolitans, oppreſſed under the feeble and tyrannical adminiſtration of the Arragoneſe kings, were incapable of expelling the Turks; and the diſaffection, as well as puſillanimity, which equally diſtinguiſhed the princes and the people, only thirteen years afterwards, when Charles the Eighth of France over-ran Naples without reſiſtance, may evince how little effectual oppoſition could have been made to Mahomet the Second. From the Roman pontiffs, only ſpiritual aid or weapons, were to be expected; and ſuch was the conſternation ſpread through the antient capital of the world, at the news of Achmed's having landed in Apulia, that Sixtus the Fourth, who then occupied the chair of St. Peter, prepared to abandon Rome, as inſecure. Florence, though in a ſtate of opulence and proſperity under Lorenzo of Medecis, could oppoſe only feeble impediments to the fury of the Janizaries, conducted by the moſt experienced commanders of the Eaſt. This combination of events, tending to facilitate the conqueſt of Italy in 1481, no longer exiſted, when Solyman ſent his fleets under Barbaroſſa and Dragut, to deſolate the coaſts of Sicily and Calabria, more than half a century later. The Neapolitans had then ſunk into ſubjects of the emperor Charles the Fifth: the defence of Naples was entruſted to veteran troops, drawn from that prince's hereditary dominions; and all the collected force of the Spaniſh monarchy would have been drawn out, to withſtand any ſerious invaſion of the Turks. But, only the death of Mahomet could have reſcued the Italians from ſlavery, after the capture of Otranto; and never did the vacancy of the Ottoman throne take place at a more momentous and critical juncture. The ſultan's anxious deſire to overturn the capital and reſidence of the ſupreme head of the Chriſtian faith, was well known; while his religious zeal would have inflamed and ſupported his love of glory, and thirſt of dominion. The province of hiſtory is only to record, and not to ſpeculate; but, it is hardly poſſible not to reflect with ſome degree of gratitude and ſatisfaction, on this interpoſition of Providence, which

Change of circumſtances, under Solyman the Second.

reſcued Italy from barbariſm, and impoſed limits to the Muſſulman enthuſiaſm. If Mahomet had lived only a few years longer, Rome might have become the ſeat of a baſhaw; and the ſuperb church of St. Peter, which roſe in the ſixteenth century under ten ſucceeding pontiffs, would have been ill-replaced by moſques and minarets.

1482. Death of Mahomet.

From ſo vaſt and awful a revolution, Italy was ſnatched by the unexpected termination of the ſultan's life, in the vigor of his age and faculties, when he had not completed his fifty-ſecond year, and while he was occupied in ſchemes of further conqueſt. The Turkiſh commander, who had been left by Achmed in Otranto, induced by the conſideration of his ſovereign's deceaſe, and the confuſion which had enſued relative to the ſucceſſion, rather than compelled by famine, or diſtreſs, reluctantly agreed to ſurrender the place upon honorable conditions. They were violated; and the Janizaries, detained by Alfonſo, duke of Calabria, were condemned to ſerve in the Neapolitan gallies: but, the menaces of the new ſultan ſpeedily extricated, and reſtored them to freedom [15].

Surrender of Otranto.

Mahomet the Second may be juſtly ranked among the ſevereſt ſcourges of the human race, who have exiſted in the hiſtory of the world. His ambition, inhumanity, and reſtleſs paſſion for extending his conqueſts, deluged Europe and Aſia with blood, during thirty years. We ought, however, to lend a very academic faith to the legends and aſperſions, with which the Chriſtians have defamed his character; and which naturally originated from their deteſtation of ſo formidable an enemy. He was unqueſtionably endowed with talents of the rareſt kind; and in activity, vigilance, and the ſcience of war, he has been ſeldom equalled. His love of juſtice, and ſeverity towards thoſe who oppreſſed his people by an abuſe of their power and offices, were exemplary. In a taſte for the gentler arts, he was not deficient; and his invitation of Bellino, the celebrated Venetian painter, to Conſtantinople, as well as the rewards with

Character of Mahomet the Second.

[15] Knolles, p. 433. Cantemir, p. 115. Laugier, vol. vii. p. 373—376. La Croix, vol. i. p. 285, 286. Vanel, vol. ii. p. 167, 168.

which

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which he honoured the labours of the artiſt, may reſcue him from the reproach of barbariſm [16].

1481—1500. Reign of Bajazet the Second.

No event could have been more favorable to the repoſe and independance of Europe, than the death of a ſultan, whoſe whole reign had been paſſed in war; and the years of which had been marked with perpetual inroads or devaſtations of Greece, Hungary, and Italy. The talents of Bajazet the Second, who ſucceeded to the throne, were leſs dangerous; and his activity was inferior to that of his father. Zizim, a younger ſon of Mahomet, long diſputed with his brother, the ſupreme authority, and diverted his attention from foreign expeditions. After the defeat and flight of Zizim, the ſultan turned his arms againſt Egypt, then governed by the Mammeluke princes: but, far from effecting the reduction of the kingdom, he was repeatedly defeated with prodigious ſlaughter; and if the Chriſtian ſtates had availed themſelves of the opportunity, it is probable, that the Ottoman power might have been reduced within narrower limits. Except the tranſitory appearance of a Turkiſh fleet on the coaſts of Andaluſia, which contented itſelf with only committing depredations; and ſome irruptions into Croatia and Hungary, the object of which was plunder; Europe enjoyed a tranquillity of fifteen years, ſucceeding the death of Mahomet [17]. This fallacious calm was followed by hoſtilities, directed againſt Venice. The Republic, after ſuſtaining, without any ally, the whole preſſure of the Turkiſh force, was compelled to ſue for peace: but, ſhe did not condeſcend to ſo humiliating a meaſure, till her naval ſtrength had been exhauſted; the moſt important places which ſhe had occupied in Greece, or the Morea, captured; and the province of Friuli, deſolated by a ſavage band of Tartars, who maſſacred, or carried off the greater part of the inhabitants. The cities of Lepanto, Modon, and Coron, together with the fortreſs of Durazzo in Albania, were ſacrificed, in or-

Tranquillity.

Rupture with Venice.

[16] La Croix, vol. i. p. 285. Vanel, vol. ii. p. 168, 169. Knolles, p. 433. Cantemir, p. 115.

[17] La Croix, vol. i. p. 288, and p. 298—300, and p. 304. Cantemir, p. 118—124, and p. 130. Knolles, p. 437—442, and p. 447—450, and p. 452.

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der to terminate ſo ruinous a war [18]. It muſt be owned that Europe had no inconſiderable obligations to the long and generous ſtruggle, ſupported by the Venetians, for more than a century, againſt enemies, who poſſeſſed every advantage; and that to their magnanimous efforts, were principally to be attributed the ſafety and preſervation of all the provinces, that border on the weſtern ſhore of the Adriatic.

1501—1512. Repoſe of Bajazet's reign.

The laſt ten years of Bajazet's life were paſſed in the moſt profound repoſe; and the Turks, after having carried their arms over ſo many kingdoms, might have become acquainted with the arts of peace. The ſultan, infirm, and broken by diſeaſes, was incapable of appearing in perſon at the head of his troops; and he occupied his leiſure by reſearches of a literary kind, peculiarly the ſtudy of Averroës, an Arabian philoſopher, whoſe writings on medicine and aſtronomy were held in high eſtimation among all the eaſtern nations. From theſe recluſe and ſpeculative amuſements, he was rouſed by the revolt of Selim, one of his ſons. That ambitious and unnatural prince, having inſpired the Janizaries with reſentment at the inglorious tranquillity in which the empire was ſunk, and at the ſame time inflamed their ardor to propagate the Muſſulman faith, in obedience to the law of their prophet, by the ſword; ſucceeded in rendering his father odious and contemptible. After a longer reſiſtance than might have been expected from ſo aged and pacific a ſultan, Bajazet yielded: quitting Conſtantinople, he began his journey towards Demotica, a town in the vicinity of Adrianople, which he had choſen for his retreat; and which has been rendered famous in the hiſtory of the preſent century, by the reſidence of Charles the Twelfth of Sweden, after his flight from Pultowa. But, Selim, whoſe preſence was demanded in Aſia, to quell the party of Achmet, his brother and competitor, dreaded the conſequences of leaving the capital, at the commencement of his reign, while the depoſed ſovereign was ſtill alive. This conſideration was fatal to Bajazet, whoſe end was haſtened by poiſon; and the death, not only

Revolt of Selim.

Depoſition, and death of Bajazet.

[18] Laugier, vol. viii. p. 89—92, and p. 112—117, and p. 123—129, and p. 144—146. Knolles, p. 457—462. Cantemir, p. 133.

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of Achmet, but of every other member of the Imperial family, cemented the new adminiſtration [19].

1512—1516. Acceſſion of Selim the Firſt.

Deteſtable as were the means by which Selim acquired the throne, his tranſcendent abilities enabled him not only to render it reſpected; but, to enlarge and extend the dominions, tranſmitted to him from his anceſtors. His reign, one of the ſhorteſt in the Turkiſh annals, and which, from its commencement, to its termination, hardly exceeded eight years, forms an epocha in hiſtory, by the ſubverſion of the kingdom of Egypt, and the extinction of the Mammeluke ſultans, who had governed it for three centuries. After having ſubjected Armenia, and received the voluntary homage of the inhabitants of Diarbeck, the Meſopotamia of antiquity; Selim entered Perſia. The ſuperior diſcipline of his infantry, and the ſtrength of his artillery, eminently contributed to the deciſive victory which he obtained over the Perſians, near the city of Tauris; and the principal impediment, which prevented him from effecting the permanent reduction of the country itſelf, aroſe leſs from the valor or reſiſtance of the nation, than from the difficulty of ſubſiſting his troops in the deſerts beyond the Euphrates [20]. Similar obſtacles had conſtantly attended and checked the Roman legions, from the time of Lucullus and Pompey, to that of Julian, when engaged in proſecuting their conqueſts in thoſe remote provinces. Irritated at the indirect ſupport, which Iſmael, the ſovereign of Perſia, had derived from the ſultan of Egypt, Selim transferred his reſentment to the latter prince. Campſon Gauri, who then poſſeſſed the Egyptian throne, reigned over all the countries, from Aleppo and Damaſcus, to the borders of Nubia; and Cairo, his reſidence, contended in population, wealth, and ſplendor, with the moſt flouriſhing capitals of the eaſt. He was neither deficient in courage, nor in any of the qualities becoming his ſtation; and the total defeat which he ſuſtained, in the vicinity of Aleppo, was due more to the treachery and deſertion of his own officers, than

Invaſion of Egypt.

[19] Cantemir, p. 136—142. Knolles, p. 480—496. Vanel, vol. ii. p. 224—232. La Croix, vol. i. p. 332—338.

[20] Cantemir, p. 145—154. Knolles, p. 505—520. La Croix, vol. i. p. 350—354.

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to the genius of Selim, or the ſuperior bravery of the Janizaries. Campſon fell in the action, after giving proofs of the moſt heroic intrepidity; and the conqueror, improving his ſucceſs, paſſed without delay or injury, the ſandy and deſolate tracts which ſeparate Syria and Paleſtine from the frontiers of Egypt.

1512—1516. Death of Campſon Gawri.

Arriving at the gates of Cairo, he found another ſultan, Tomanbai, whom the Mammelukes had elected; and who was already prepared to defend his newly acquired dominions. But, the fortune and reſources of Selim ſurmounted every effort. Tomanbai, vanquiſhed like his predeceſſor, and reduced to fly, was diſcovered, conducted to his capital as a criminal, and executed with circumſtances of barbarity and ignominy. Cairo, partly deſtroyed by fire, and abandoned to the rage of the Turkiſh ſoldiery, ſubmitted; and Egypt, which had been ſucceſſively conquered in every age of the world, by the Perſians, Macedonians, Romans, and Arabs, paſſed again under a foreign yoke. Selim, embarking on the Nile, like Cæſar, deſcended that celebrated river to Alexandria, rather to gratify his curioſity, and to accept the homage of the inhabitants, than to confirm his acquiſition [21]. It is difficult to believe, that, previous to his final departure from Egypt, he had the inhumanity to aſſemble the ſurvivors of the Mammelukes on the banks of the Nile, and to cauſe them, without diſtinction, to be indiſcriminately maſſacred, and thrown into the ſtream. In this act, committed with a view to exterminate the race of foreign ſlaves, by whom Egypt had been ſo long held in ſubjection; we trace all the ſavage ferocity of a barbarian, who had not heſitated to imbrue his hands in the blood of his neareſt relations, in order to aſcend the throne, and who cemented his uſurpation by ſtill greater crimes [22].

1517. Defeat, and death of Tomanbai. Subjection of Egypt.

The terror of the Ottoman name did not leſs extend into Arabia, and Africa: it may be queſtioned whether the Roman arms, at any

1518. Terror, produced by the Turkiſh arms.

[21] Cantemir, p. 156—156, and p. 162—166. Knolles, p. 521—552. La Croix, vol. i. p. 353—356. Vanel, vol. ii. p. 259—279.

[22] La Croix, vol. i. p. 356, 357. Cantemir, p. 166. Vanel, vol. ii. p. 280. Knolles, p. 553.

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period, effected conqueſts more remote, in thoſe quarters of the earth, than were produced by the exploits of Selim. The tribes of Arabs, from Barca and Cyrené, to the entrance of the Red Sea, appeared by their embaſſadors, at Cairo, to receive the orders of their new ſovereign; and even the Scherif of Mecca, himſelf, preſented him the keys of the holy city, and invoked his protection, as the repreſentative of Mahomet, and the ſupreme chief of the Muſſulman faith [23]. Acquiſitions ſo vaſt, however they might gratify, were far from relaxing, the ambition of Selim: after having deſolated Aſia, and ſubjected Egypt, he was occupied in preparations, the object of which was conceived to regard the iſland of Rhodes, or Italy; when his life was terminated by a diſeaſe, which manifeſted itſelf on his return to Conſtantinople, accompanied with the moſt acute and incurable ſymptoms. Under the preſſure of theſe, he expired; and hiſtory, which commemorates the retribution ſometimes inflicted on tyrants, has not failed to record, that he breathed his laſt on the ſpot, where he had cauſed his father, Bajazet, to be poiſoned [24].

1519, 1520. Death of Selim.

If we appretiate his adminiſtration, not by the parricide which opened his way to the throne, nor by the crimes which ſuſtained him in it; but, by the events with which his reign is crouded, we muſt admit his claim to admiration. In talents for war, in ſolidity of judgment, and depth of penetration, he was not ſurpaſſed by any of the princes, who preceded or followed him; and his reduction of Egypt, annihilated the only power, which could effectually and ſpeedily co-operate with the Chriſtian ſtates, to oppoſe his progreſs beyond the Danube, or in the Mediterranean. Europe fully experienced the injurious effect of this important conqueſt, under the reign of Solyman the Second; and had reaſon to deplore the apathy that pervaded the kingdoms, which were moſt deeply intereſted in

1520. Review of his reign, and actions.

[23] Cantemir, p. 167—169. Knolles, ibid. La Croix, vol. i. p. 357.

[24] La Croix, vol. i. p. 357—359. Cantemir, p. 169—172. Knolles, p. 561.

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the fate of the Mammeluke ſultans. Perſia was too far removed, to afford the ſame aſſiſtance; and too weak, or divided, to ſuſtain the ſhock of the Ottoman forces. Almoſt every moment of Selim's life, after his acceſſion, was devoted to war; and it was believed, that policy, not leſs than ambition, propelled him to unremitting exertion. The formidable body of the Janizaries, to whoſe revolt he owed his power, might have again deprived him of it; and the ſultan ſaw with pleaſure, that their numbers were reduced, to leſs than a third part of the force, which they could boaſt, before his expeditions to Egypt and Perſia. Of forty thouſand, only about twelve thouſand ſurvived [25].

1520. Sublimity, and extent of his views.

To Selim the Firſt, was due the formation of the Turkiſh marine; and he conſtructed the arſenal of Pera, as well as many of the moſt ſumptuous edifices, by which the principal cities of his dominions were decorated [26]. It is not from a prince of ſo fierce and martial a diſpoſition, that we ſhould naturally expect any protection of letters: but the ductility of his parts qualified him for every purſuit. His leiſure was devoted to the ſciences, held in eſteem among the Mahometans: even the compoſitions of his poetry, which remain, atteſt the variety and elegance of his talents. We are neceſſarily led to regret, that crimes ſo flagitious, and abilities ſo diſtinguiſhed, ſhould have been blended in the ſame character; but, hiſtory is full of ſimilar examples. Selim, who emulated the fame of Alexander and of Cæſar, delighted in the peruſal of the exploits which immortalized thoſe princes, and cauſed the Greek, or Roman hiſtorians who had commemorated them, to be tranſlated into the Turkiſh language [27]. His genius ſurvived in Solyman, his only ſon and ſucceſſor.

Before we enter upon a reign, the meaſures of which were peculiarly directed againſt the Chriſtian Powers, and whoſe effects were

State of Hungary, at this period.

[25] La Croix, vol. i. p. 358.
[26] Ibid. p. 360.
[27] Vanel, vol. ii. p. 284. La Croix, vol. i. p. 358. Cantemir, p. 172, 173.

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deeply and laſtingly felt through all Europe; it is indiſpenſable to ſurvey the ſtate of thoſe kingdoms or countries, which by their ſituation lay moſt expoſed to the Ottoman arms. Hungary had already declined from the point of elevation and proſperity, to which it had attained under Matthias Corvinus. Not content with expelling the Turks, and confining them to the provinces beyond the Danube; that active and enterprizing prince had enlarged his dominions at their expence, and added to them Walachia, Moldavia, and Boſnia [28]. But, under Ladiſlaus, his ſucceſſor, and peculiarly during the minority of Louis the Second, who aſcended the throne only a ſhort time before the acceſſion of Solyman, the vigor of the government diſappeared. Luxury, effeminacy, and all the vices of opulent ſtates, had extinguiſhed the generous and manly ſpirit, by which the Hungarians had been characteriſed: while the ignorance, or inattention of the miniſters, who ſurrounded the young king, permitted the frontiers to remain open to invaſion, or unprovided with ſufficient means of defence [29].

Luxury and vices.

Venice. Its declenſion.

Venice, like Hungary, had paſſed her meridian, at the ſame period. The wounds, inflicted by the league of Cambray, which had nearly extinguiſhed the Republic itſelf, were recent, and not yet cloſed. A calamity ſtill more irremediable, the diſcovery of a paſſage round the Cape of Good Hope by the Portugueze, had ſubverted the foundations of their commerce; the only permanent and ſolid ſupport of their wealth and conſideration: nor were the Venetians any longer able to repair their loſſes, with the celerity and facility, which they had evinced under Mahomet and Bajazet, in the preceding century. But, as if to occupy the place, left vacant by the decline of two ſuch powerful ſtates, juſtly conſidered to be the bulwarks of Germany and Italy, Charles the Fifth had ariſen; who, by the poſſeſſion of Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia, added to his patrimonial inheritance, and the

Charles the Fifth.

[28] Sacy, Hiſt. d'Hongrie, vol. i. p. 222—240.

[29] Sacy, vol. i. p. 248, 249.

treaſures

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treaſures of the new world, was equally intereſted and competent to extend protection to his vaſt dominions. In the interval of near forty years, between the death of Mahomet the Second, and the beginning of Solyman's reign, the ſucceſſors of St. Peter had, likewiſe, in addition to their ſpiritual authority, acquired no inconſiderable degree of temporal power. Julius the Second had diſcloſed the reſources, poſſeſſed by an enterprizing or ambitious pontiff; and Leo the Tenth aſpired to hold the balance of Italy. Unfortunately for the repoſe and ſecurity of Europe, the new king of Spain, occupied at the commencement of his government, by inſurrections in Caſtile; by intrigues to procure the Imperial crown; and by conteſts of policy and animoſity, with Francis the Firſt; was not at leiſure to turn his principal force againſt the Turks. Leo, immerſed in pleaſures, little ſuited to the ſanctity of his office; or engaged in hoſtile enterprizes to enlarge the patrimony of the church, beheld, without emotion, the alarming conqueſts of Selim. Though his penetration enabled him to predict, that the extinction of the Mammeluke princes, and the reduction of Egypt, would be ſpeedily followed by the invaſion of Italy; yet he appears, to the laſt moments of his life, to have attended ſolely to the aggrandizement of his family. Inſtead of exerting his influence to unite the Chriſtian States againſt the common enemy; he contented himſelf with making proceſſions, to avert the wrath of Heaven: and while his troops were employed in Lombardy againſt the French, he carried the Holy Sacrament, barefooted, through the ſtreets of Rome, to deprecate the misfortunes which menaced the Holy See from the Turkiſh arms [30].

Roman pontiffs.

Under theſe circumſtances ſo favourable to his deſigns, Solyman acceded to the throne. The natural elevation of his mind, and his native thirſt for glory, impelled him to great and daring enterprizes: while advantages, which none of his predeceſſors had enjoyed, facilitated their execution. The only ſon of Selim, he had no competitor

Acceſſion of Solyman the Second.

[30] Vanel, vol. ii. p. 287.

for

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for the ſucceſſion; and the empire was not convulſed, or thrown into diſorder, by a conteſt between different claimants, as had happened at the cloſe of the two preceding reigns. His education had framed him for the fatigues of government, and expanded his underſtanding. Selim, with a magnanimity which we cannot ſufficiently admire, had neither baniſhed him to Magneſia, nor to Iconium, as had been frequently practiſed by the jealouſy of preceding ſultans; nor had he permitted him to be brought up in the ſoft effeminacy of the ſeraglio, in ignorance of his duties, among ſlaves and eunuchs. Perceiving in him a diſpoſition to receive impreſſions equally beneficial to himſelf and to his future ſubjects, Selim committed his ſon to the care of the baſhaw Peri; who accuſtomed him betimes to the exertion of every manly and generous effort, while he acquainted his pupil with the intereſts of the different nations, whom he was deſtined to command [31].

1520. Education, and qualities of the new ſultan.

His adminiſtration.

The firſt acts of Solyman's adminiſtration were dictated by wiſdom, humanity, and policy. His reſtitution of the effects which had been unjuſtly ſeized or confiſcated during his father's reign, conciliated the affections, while it excited the veneration of the people; and his devotion, liberality, and courteſy completed the favourable impreſſion [32].

1521. Siege of Belgrade.

Animated by the dying exhortations of Selim, as much as by his own deſire to accompliſh the reduction of Hungary, he determined to attack Belgrade in perſon. The city was not unprovided with the means of defence: but, the ſpirit which John Huniades had inſpired among his countrymen, when he repulſed Mahomet the Second, near ſeventy years preceding, had become extinct. Treachery aided the efforts of the Turks; and after a ſiege of conſiderable duration, rendered Solyman maſter of a place, juſtly conſidered as one of the ſtrongeſt barriers againſt his power, or encroachments [33]. Yet, ſuch

[31] Vanel, vol. ii. p. 288, 289. Knolles, p. 567, 568.

[32] La Croix, vol. i. p. 362.

[33] Cantemir, p. 175, 176. Knolles, p. 569. La Croix, vol. i. p. 364—366. Sacy, vol. i. p. 249. Vanel, vol. ii. p. 301—304.

was

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was the ſupine, and lethargic ſecurity of the court of Buda, that even ſo important a loſs, which menaced the exiſtence of Hungary itſelf, far from ſpreading alarm, did not ſuſpend the feſtivities, in which the capital was immerſed, during the nuptials of the young king, Louis the Second, with the arch-ducheſs, Mary of Auſtria [34]. If the imbecility of his conduct merits contempt, the folly and inhumanity of his treatment of Solyman's embaſſadors, excites indignation. Reſenting on the miniſters of the Sultan, whom the laws of nations ſhould have protected, the misfortunes, occaſioned by his own want of capacity or exertion; he ſent them back to Conſtantinople, mutilated in a manner equally cruel and ignominious: while Solyman, ſatisfied with his preſent acquiſition, and deſirous of a temporary truce on the Hungarian frontier, prepared to turn his arms towards another quarter [35].

Inactivity of Louis, king of Hungary.

1522. Attack of Rhodes.

Rhodes, ſo celebrated in antiquity, ſituated at the entrance of the Archipelago, near the coaſt of Aſia, had long ſurvived the fate of the numerous iſlands in its vicinity; and its poſition enabled the knights, by whom it was held, to moleſt and intercept the whole commerce of the Black Sea, and of the Mediterranean. Like Belgrade, it had repulſed the efforts of Mahomet the Second, and was regarded as impregnable. But, Solyman, ſtimulated by a deſire of atchieving an exploit, under which his predeceſſors had ſunk, and irritated by the aſſiſtance which the grand maſter had ſent to Tomanbai, ſultan of Egypt; commanded it to be inveſted by ſea and land. His preſence became neceſſary, in order to revive the ardor of the Janizaries; and after a ſiege of ſix months, during which every reſource was exhauſted on the part of the beſieged, the place was ſurrendered by capitulation [36]. We cannot reflect without ſurprize, on the inaction and indifference of the European ſtates, to ſo important a capture. Venice alone equipped a fleet for the relief of Rhodes; and if Adrian the Sixth, newly elected to the papal ſee, would have ſent the ſqua-

[34] Vanel, vol. ii. p. 304.

[35] Sacy, vol. i. p. 249. La Croix, vol. i. p. 366.

[36] La Croix, vol. i. p. 366—372. Cantemir, p. 176, 177. Knolles, p. 569—600. Vanel, vol. ii. p. 306—338.

dron,

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dron, on board of which he arrived at Oſtia, to act in conjunction with the Venetians, it is probable, that Solyman muſt have relinquiſhed his attempt [37]. But, the pontiff, educated in the privacy and retirement of a Flemiſh univerſity, was deſtitute of the elevation of character, requiſite for his ſtation; and Charles the Fifth, in raiſing him to the higheſt eminence of ſpiritual power, only expoſed the defects and incapacity, which might have lain concealed in the profeſſor of Louvain, or the archbiſhop of Toledo. Rhodes was loſt; and the ſultan, rendered more formidable by his ſucceſs, ſeemed to regard his acquiſition, as the prelude to new and greater enterprizes.

Capture of Rhodes.

1523—1525. Invaſion of Hungary.

The firſt object of his ambition was the kingdom of Hungary; and ſo avowed were his intentions, that, in order to commence the campaign early in the year, he paſſed the preceding winter, near the frontiers, at Belgrade. Yet, by an infatuation, or negligence, of which there are few more fatal examples in hiſtory, no adequate preparations were made to ſuſtain the impending attack. The temerity, and precipitation of the young king's ſubſequent conduct, completed his own diſgraces, and the deſtruction of the Hungarian monarchy. After having committed the ſupreme command of his forces to an eccleſiaſtic, unſkilled in the ſcience of war; inſtead of waiting for the German and Tranſylvanian troops, which were on their march to join him; he ventured, with very inferior numbers, to advance and give battle to the enemy. The celebrated engagement of Mohatz, near the banks of the Danube, was ſpeedily decided in favour of the Turks; and the death of Louis himſelf, who was ſuffocated in a moraſs, left the throne without a ſucceſſor [38]. From this æra, for more than a hundred and fifty years, till towards the cloſe of the laſt century, no European kingdom underwent ſuch a variety of calamities, as Hungary. Deſolated by Chriſtians and Mahometans: the crown itſelf diſputed by

1526. Battle of Mohatz.

Calamities of Hungary.

[37] Vanel, vol. ii. p. 329.

[38] Sacy, vol. i. p. 251—257. Knolles, p. 601—603. Cantemir, p. 180. Vanel, vol. ii. p. 341—348.

various competitors: the inhabitants, maſſacred, or ſwept away into ſlavery; no trace remained of the glory and felicity, which it had enjoyed under Matthias Corvinus. CHAP. XIX. 1526.

The victory of Mohatz, however deciſive, was not productive of the immediate effects, naturally to have been expected. Solyman, compelled to quit his conqueſt, by an inſurrection of the moſt alarming nature in Aſia Minor, repaſſed the Danube, and returned to Conſtantinople: while John Zapoli, prince of Tranſylvania, and the arch-duke, Ferdinand, brother of the emperor Charles the Fifth, ſucceſſively raiſed to the Hungarian throne by their reſpective factions, continued to augment the general confuſion [39]. Oppreſſed by the ſuperior ſtrength and reſources of the arch-duke, who, with the aid of the Germans, had already ſecured the ſucceſſion of Bohemia, and rendered himſelf maſter of the greater part of Hungary, Zapoli beſought the protection of the Turks. Solyman re-appearing, after an abſence of ſome years, traverſed the kingdom as a conqueror; entered Buda; and with a diſintereſtedneſs or magnanimity, rarely found, permitted the Tranſylvanian, his ally, to retain the ſupreme power, of which it was eaſy to have deprived him [40]. It was not till after the deceaſe of Zapoli, that the ſultan, yielding to the dictates of his ambition, reduced Hungary into the form of a Turkiſh province, and transformed the capital into a Mahometan city. Buda then became the permanent reſidence of a baſhaw; the churches were converted into moſques; and the arch-duke Ferdinand, maſter only of ſome garriſons on the Auſtrian frontier, retained little more than the name and honors of a king [41]. 1529. Reduction of that kingdom, into the form of a Turkiſh province.

Not ſatisfied with having ſubjected the Hungarians, Solyman attempted to carry his arms into Germany; and truſting rather to the terror which his reputation and preſence inſpired, than to the preparations demanded for ſo great an enterprize, he ventured to approach, Solyman invades Germany.

[39] Sacy, vol. i. p. 258, and p. 264—270. La Croix, vol. i. p. 382. Vanel, vol. ii. p. 350—358.

[40] Cantemir, p. 185. Knolles, p. 609. La Croix, vol. i. p. 386—388. Sacy, vol. i. p. 271.

[41] Sacy, vol. i. p. 296—304. La Croix, vol. i. p. 424—426.

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and to inveſt Vienna itſelf. That city was deſtitute of almoſt all the requiſites for a long, or vigorous defence; and to the preſumptuous negligence of the Turks, who omitted to bring battering cannon of a ſufficient ſize, rather than to the ſkill or ability of the beſieged, was due the repulſe which the ſultan ſuſtained [42]. He never undertook, during his long reign, to repeat ſo hazardous an experiment; and he always, in ſpeaking of Vienna, denominated it his diſgrace and ignominy [43]. The conqueſts of the Turks were bounded by the courſe of the Danube; nor was Ferdinand, though continually defeated in his endeavors to recover the crown, at any period, totally ejected from ſome portion of Hungary. The diſtance of the Auſtrian provinces, from the ſeat and capital of the Ottoman ſovereigns; the ſeverity of the climate, to troops, habituated to the warm or temperate regions of Aſia; and the bravery of the Germans, who were compelled to defend their deareſt poſſeſſions; theſe circumſtances conſpired to check the Mahometan progreſs. The German empire was, in a great meaſure, abandoned to its deſtiny, by the emperor, Charles the Fifth, notwithſtanding the obligations impoſed on him from his quality of its chief; as well as from proximity of blood to the king of Hungary, his brother [44]. Engaged in expeditions of perſonal glory, to the coaſt of Africa; attentive to the defence and protection of his Italian dominions; or reduced to oppoſe the invaſions of Francis the Firſt; he rarely appeared in the empire, and made feeble exertions for its preſervation. Even when the contributions of the German princes and ſtates had placed him at the head of an immenſe army, with which he might have entered Buda, and recovered the kingdom; he neglected the favorable occaſion, and permitted Solyman to retreat, unmoleſted, to Conſtantinople [45]. If the Turks could not ſubject, they were

1529. He is repulſed before Vienna.

Obſtacles to the further progreſs of Solyman.

1532. Ravages committed by the Turks, in Germany.

[42] Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 145. Knolles, p. 610—614. Cantemir, p. 190—193. La Croix, vol. i. p. 390—392. Vanel, vol. ii. p. 360—365.

[43] Buſbequii Epiſtolæ. Epiſtola quarta, p. 384.

[44] Buſbeq. Epiſt. p. 385.

[45] Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 150. Vanel, vol. ii. p. 370—372. Knolles, p. 618—623.

allowed

allowed to desolate, the empire: Styria, Moravia, and Silesia, were repeatedly inundated by barbarous troops of Janizaries, who carried off the wretched inhabitants: the cavalry, still more enterprizing, penetrated beyond Lintz, the capital of Upper Austria, and spread consternation to the borders of Franconia [46]. It must be owned, that, under Frederic the Third, the Imperial dignity was scarcely more degraded, or insulted, than at the time when it was held by Charles the Fifth, the most powerful monarch in Europe, king of Spain, and master of the American continent. CHAP. XIX. 1532.

The whole reign of Solyman may be said to have passed in hostilities, rarely intermitted, against the two branches of the house of Austria. While his armies overran Hungary and Transylvania, the Turkish fleets carried terror over every part of the Mediterranean. Even the internal dissensions and domestic feuds of the seraglio, or the distant and unfortunate expeditions against Persia, did not long suspend the animosity of the sultan. Barbarossa, the ablest naval commander of the age, and who, from the condition of a simple corsair, had become admiral and captain bashaw, perpetually hovered over the coasts of Naples, Sicily, and Spain. It would be difficult to calculate the enormous amount of the damages, sustained from the ravages of this celebrated pirate, during near fourteen years, that he occupied his station at the head of the Turkish navy. It would be much more painful to recapitulate, or particularize the calamities, inflicted by him on the defenceless natives of the various islands, which are scattered from Ivica, to the entrance of the Adriatic, as well as at Reggio, Castro, Messina, and every part of Calabria, or Apulia [47]. The superiority of the Turks, under Solyman's reign, is in no respect more forcibly evinced, than in these inhuman and frequent de- 1533—1539. Naval enterprizes of Solyman. Barbarossa.

[46] La Croix, vol. i. p. 396. Vanel, vol. ii. p. 373—376.

[47] La Croix, vol. i. p. 400—408, and p. 410, and p. 412, and p. 416. Vanel, vol. ii. p. 376—385, and p. 391—399, and p. 409—415, and p. 420—432. Knolles, p. 635—645, and p. 687—691. Laugier, vol. ix. p. 520—547.

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predations, from which all the exertions of Charles the Fifth could not protect his ſubjects. Doria, who commanded the Imperial fleet, feldom ventured to engage, and never vanquiſhed Barbaroſſa; though the Spaniſh gallies were joined on various occaſions, by thoſe of Venice, and of the papal ſee. Far from making any impreſſion on the Ottoman empire, the confederates only aggravated their misfortunes, and loaded each other with recriminations and charges of cowardice, or treachery. It may, in fact, be juſtly doubted, whether Doria, notwithſtanding his high merit as a citizen of Genoa, did not betray, or deſert the common cauſe; peculiarly in the famous action between the two fleets, near La Preveſa, on the coaſt of Albania. The Venetians were ſo convinced of his diſinclination, if not repugnance to attack Barbaroſſa, notwithſtanding the advantageous circumſtances under which he might have forced the Turkiſh admiral to hazard a battle; that they thought it adviſable to make a ſeparate peace, upon any terms. It was procured, not without difficulty, by a ceſſion of their laſt valuable poſſeſſions and fortreſſes in the Morea; accompanied with the renunciation of their right to fourteen iſlands of the Archipelago, which had been previouſly captured by Solyman [48].

1533—1539. Superiority of the Turkiſh fleets.

Feeble efforts of the chriſtian powers.

1540—1544. Expeditions of Charles the Fifth.

Charles, abandoned by his ally, continued the war; but, with little glory, and leſs advantage. The expedition which, at an early period of his reign, he undertook againſt Tunis, had been crowned with ſignal ſucceſs; and the brilliancy, as well as ſeeming diſintereſtedneſs of the enterprize, conduced to raiſe his reputation. But, the benefit, reſulting from the capture, was ſhort; and Tunis was reconquered in a few years by the Moors, who inſtantly claimed the protection of the Porte. In his attempt upon Algiers, the emperor not only rejected every exhortation of Doria, who diſſuaded him from commencing it, at ſo unpropitious and advanced a ſeaſon; but, he ſacrificed, at the moſt critical juncture, the intereſts of his

Unſucceſsful enterprize againſt Algiers.

[48] Laugier, vol. ix. p. 555—579. Knolles, p. 691—694. Cantemir, p. 204. Vanel, vol. ii. p. 440—450. La Croix, vol. i. p. 420—422.

brother,

brother, Ferdinand, and the duties impoſed on him by his imperial ſtation. Hungary might have been conquered, and the Turks driven beyond the Danube, into Servia and Bulgaria, by the army, which was ſwallowed up in the waves, or exterminated by the Moors, on the coaſt of Africa [49].

Inſtead of retaining Tunis, or ſubjecting Algiers, he was unable to defend his own dominions. Barbaroſſa committed his annual, and accuſtomed ravages, from Dalmatia, to the ſtraits of Gibraltar; and returned in triumph to Conſtantinople, laden with ſlaves, and plunder. The fleet of France formed a junction with that of Solyman, and carried on their joint depredations or hoſtilities againſt Nice, the Tuſcan coaſt, and every power, allied with, or ſubject to Spain [50]. If we try the meaſure of Francis the Firſt and Henry the Second, in forming ſo cloſe, and offenſive an alliance with the ſultan, by the feelings, prejudices, and modes of thinking, univerſally adopted in the ſixteenth century, we ſhall find it difficult, or impoſſible, not to affix to it our condemnation. The antipathy, which then ſubſiſted between the followers of Mahomet, and the Chriſtians; the ferocity and inhumanity which marked the former, in their treatment of the unfortunate victims, who fell into their hands; together with the ſacrifice of every generous or magnanimous ſentiment, to the gratification of their animoſity againſt the emperor, have juſtly conduced to raiſe the indignation of poſterity. The French did not even derive thoſe benefits from the connexion, with which their ſovereigns had flattered themſelves; and the calamities, inflicted by Barbaroſſa, Dragut, and the other Turkiſh commanders, rather fell upon individuals, than affected materially the power of Charles himſelf. Nice repulſed the combined forces; and the ſervices, performed by Solyman's troops, were infinitely overbalanced by the odium which the alliance excited throughout Europe.

Ravages of Barbaroſſa.

Alliance between the French kings and Solyman.

Reflections on it.

[49] La Croix, vol. i. p. 426—428. Knolles, p. 718—724.

[50] Knolles, p. 734, 735. and p. 743—745. Cantemir, p. 205, 206. Vanel, vol. ii. p. 454—460. La Croix, vol. i. p. 428—434.

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1545—1565. Reverſes, experienced by Solyman.

Notwithſtanding the ſplendor of the Ottoman empire, under Solyman's adminiſtration, and the terror inſpired by his arms, he was not exempt from the reverſes and misfortunes, attached to human affairs. In his firſt expedition againſt Perſia, he was compelled to evacuate Bagdad with precipitation, purſued and haraſſed by the enemy; nor even in his ſecond more proſperous invaſion of that country, does he appear to have derived any ſolid acquiſition of power, or glory [51]. All his efforts, in perſon, at the head of a vaſt army, and ſupported by the fleet under Barbaroſſa, to take the city of Corfu from the Venetians, were ineffectual [52]. But, more than any of theſe, the repulſe of his choiceſt troops, and of the flower of the Janizaries, before Malta; while it raiſed the fame of the knights, who could ſo long defend an inconſiderable iſland againſt his utmoſt exertions; covered him with confuſion. The whole force of the Turkiſh empire, by land and ſea, was drawn out againſt a barren rock, of the ſmalleſt ſize; and the only defence of which conſiſted in the invincible valor of its garriſon, commanded by La Valette, the grand maſter of the order. They were long abandoned by Philip the Second, king of Spain, and the other chriſtian ſtates; but, their courage ſurmounted the rudeſt aſſaults. The Spaniſh fleet did not appear off the harbour, till Muſtapha, the baſhaw who conducted the operations of the ſiege, wearied with repeated and fruitleſs efforts, had determined to withdraw his diſpirited and diminiſhed forces from the place. Such was the humiliation attached to the defeat, that he did not venture to meet the popular reſentment on his return, by entering the port of Conſtantinople during the day: his veſſels took advantage of the obſcurity of the night, to conceal their ſhame and diſappointment [53].

Siege of Malta.

Repulſe of the Turks.

[51] Cantemir, p. 209—211.

[52] Laugier, vol. ix. p. 486—494. La Croix, vol. i. p. 412.

[53] La Croix, vol. i. p. 518—534. Knolles, p. 793—818. Vanel, vol. ii. p. 499—502.

A repulſe

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A repulſe, diſtinguiſhed by circumſtances of ſuch ignominy, and diſgrace, affected Solyman in the moſt ſenſible manner, and may be ſaid to have accelerated the termination of his reign. Animated with the deſire of vengeance, he ſhook off the infirmities of age; and at a period when repoſe is equally deſirable and neceſſary, he put himſelf at the head of his troops, entered Hungary, ſo often deſolated, and ſat down before the town of Sigeth. Under the walls of the place, rendered memorable in hiſtory, he expired; and victory, which had ſo eminently attended him living, accompanied him beyond the grave. His death was concealed by the vizier, till the arrival of Selim, his ſucceſſor, in the camp; and Sigeth, after reſiſting till the laſt extremity, was ſtormed and taken by the Janizaries [54].

1566. Death of Solyman.

It is not ſufficient to ſay of Solyman the Second, that he was, on a comprehenſive view of his character, the greateſt ſultan, who has reigned over the Turks. He was, unqueſtionably, one of the moſt illuſtrious princes of the ſixteenth century; and poſſeſſed many qualities, equally calculated to promote the felicity, as to augment the glory of his people. His regard to juſtice was inflexible, and knew no diſtinction between Chriſtians and Mahometans. Naturally clement, his acts of cruelty are more to be imputed to the genius of his age and nation, than to the ferocity of his nature. Abſtinent in his diet, ſimple in his manners, and an enemy to every ſpecies of exceſs; he neither indulged in the uſe of wine, nor was ever, at any period of his life, ſuſpected of a propenſity to the unnatural pleaſures common among the Aſiatics [55]. His rigid diſcipline and military talents, inſpired the Janizaries with reſpect and veneration: that fierce ſoldiery never dared, even under any circumſtances, to proceed to acts of violence; and his death was bewailed, by them, as the moſt irreparable loſs to the empire. Formed for war, he yet loved and cheriſhed the

Character, and great exploits of Solyman.

[54] Sacy, vol. ii. p. 39—51. La Croix, vol. i. p. 534—538. Vanel, vol. ii. p. 502—507. Cantemir, p. 215, 216. Knolles, p. 819—823.

[55] Buſbeq. Epiſt. p. 105, 106.

arts

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arts of peace: capable of love, he was too eaſily enſlaved by the objects of his affection. The celebrated Roxalana, with whom he divided his throne, and whoſe hiſtory or ſuppoſed adventures have furniſhed ample ſubject for fiction, abuſed her aſcendancy over him. Her jealouſy, or her deſire to open a way to the diadem for her own children, produced convulſions in the empire, and polluted the ſeraglio with blood.

1566. Crimes of Roxalana.

Muſtapha, the eldeſt ſon of Solyman, by one of his concubines, whoſe qualities rendered him peculiarly obnoxious to her reſentment or apprehenſion; and who is depictured as highly accompliſhed, brave, and virtuous, was ſtrangled in the tent, and under the eyes, of the ſultan [56]. Bajazet, his brother, by Roxalana, terrified at the fate of Muſtapha, and apprehenſive of a ſimilar deſtiny, after the deceaſe of Solyman, took up arms. The tears and entreaties of Roxalana induced his father to pardon him; but, when her death had deprived him of ſo powerful an interceſſor, he was compelled to fly into Perſia, where he did not long receive protection, or ſupport. The ſophy, alarmed at the menaces, and ſoftened by the preſents of the Turkiſh emperor, permitted the unfortunate Bajazet to be ſtrangled in priſon. In conſequence of theſe ſucceſſive deaths, Selim, the only ſurviving ſon of Solyman, by Roxalana, became the undiſputed heir to the Ottoman dominions [57]. We are, however, ſo little acquainted with the interior of the Turkiſh ſeraglio; and the information, acquired, or tranſmitted us, of its intrigues, its crimes, and its tranſactions, is ſo doubtful, that we ought to read them with ſome diſtruſt.

Deaths of Muſtapha and Bajazet.

In power and reputation, Solyman held the firſt place among the European ſovereigns, through the courſe of his long reign. We can conceive nothing more dignified and majeſtic, than the picture of the ſultan, receiving the embaſſadors of the emperor Ferdinand

Power of the ſultan.

[56] Knolles, p. 767—782. Vanel, vol. ii. p. 492, 493. La Croix, vol. i. p. 466—480. Buſbeq. Epiſt. p. 52—64.

[57] Buſbeq. Epiſtolæ, p. 125—139, and p. 224—242, and p. 261—265, and p. 267—275, and p. 346—351.

the

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the Firſt, at Amaſia, in 1554. It is drawn by Buſbequius himſelf, who performed the principal part on that humiliating occaſion. In peruſing his deſcription, we are reminded of Tamerlane and Zingis, the conquerors of Aſia, whoſe arms and preſence diffuſed terror over ſo large a portion of the globe. To attempt a tranſlation of the paſſage, would diveſt it of all its beauty and originality.—"Sed, ille nec "orationem, nec rationes noſtras, nec mandata, animo, aut fronte ſatis "benigna, ſuſcepit. Sedebat ipſe in ſolio perquam humili, ab humo "haud altiore uno pede. Erat illud inſtratum pretioſiſſima, pluri-"maque veſte ſtragula, pulviniſque exquiſito opere elaboratis. Juxta "erant arcus, et ſagittæ. Frons, ut dixi, minime læta, triſtiſque in "vultu; ſed, tamen, plena majeſtatis ſeveritas [58]." If we compare this portrait of Solyman, with the picture left us of the Roman emperor, Carus, giving audience in his camp, to the embaſſadors of Varanes, king of Perſia, we ſhall not heſitate to admit the vaſt ſuperiority of the Ottoman ſultan [59]. In Carus, we trace only the hardy ſimplicity of a veteran general, inured to fatigue, and accuſtomed to privations. But, Solyman blended the monarch with the ſoldier, and united the majeſty of the throne, with the rough auſterity of the camp. Familiar with victory, and habituated to triumphs during more than forty years, his mind was never indecently elated by ſucceſs, nor the ſerenity of his features affected by any external circumſtances. With the ſame apparent calmneſs and compoſure, he marched to quell the inſurrection of his ſon, Bajazet; and beheld the captive fleet of Philip the Second, conducted into the harbour of Conſtantinople, after the ignominious defeat of the Spaniards, at Gerbes, in 1562 [60].

The glory of Charles the Fifth ſinks, on a compariſon with that of the Mahometan prince; and his triumphs over Francis the Firſt, or the members of the confederacy of Smalcald, only augmented the humiliation of his defeats, when oppoſed to Solyman, or Barbaroſſa.

[58] Buſbeq. Epiſt. p. 98.
[59] Gibbon's Roman Emp. oct. edit. vol. ii. p. 94, 95.
[60] Buſbeq. Epiſt. p. 247, and p. 284.

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1566. He was reduced to ſupplicate the miniſters of the Porte for a truce; and he obtained it, at the expence of his pride and his intereſts. Ferdinand, king of Hungary, his brother, did not heſitate to deſcend to ſtill greater mortifications, and voluntarily purchaſed a precarious, or ignominious peace, by the payment of an annual tribute of thirty thouſand ducats [61]. We may juſtly regard the cloſe of Solyman's life, as the period at which the Ottoman power and greatneſs had attained its ſummit; and though, after his deceaſe, the empire received ſome acceſſions of territory, as that of Rome did ſubſequent to the reign of Auguſtus; yet, the foundations of its proſperity and ſtability were weakened. This change was not, however, apparent; and Europe long continued to regard, with anxious terror, every equipment or preparation for war, made at Conſtantinople.

Grandeur of the Ottoman empire, at his deceaſe.

1566—1569. Acceſſion, and character of Selim the Second.

Selim the Second, on whom devolved the vacant ſceptre, was ill calculated to ſuſtain its majeſty, or to augment the glory of the Turkiſh name and arms. Puſilanimous, indolent, and diſſolute, he neither put himſelf at the head of his forces, nor attended to the adminiſtration of public affairs. Equally unfit for the fatigues of a camp, or the occupations of the cabinet, he paſſed his time in the exceſſes of the table, and abandoned himſelf to the gratification of his paſſion for wine [62]. The victories, as well as the defeats, which have rendered his reign memorable, were performed by others; and though he was not inſenſible to the extenſion of his dominions, or the ſucceſs of his troops, he committed the toils of ſtate to delegates. Under a prince of ſuch a character, we might be led to imagine, that Europe, ſo long deſolated or invaded by Solyman, would begin to taſte repoſe; and that Selim, content to maintain his father's acquiſitions, would not have attempted to effect new conqueſts. But, however unwilling, himſelf, to quit the enjoyments of the ſeraglio, his ambition was eaſily inflamed; and the apparent facility of adding Cyprus

He projects the invaſion of Cyprus.

[61] La Croix, vol. i. p. 446. Buſbeq. Epiſt. p. 455, 456.

[62] Buſbeq. Epiſt. p. 236, and p. 275.

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1566—1569. State of the Republic of Venice.

to his numerous provinces, ſeems to have been the principal, or only reaſon, which induced him to commence hoſtilities on the Venetians, to whom that beautiful iſland belonged. The Republic, declining in her ſtrength, and conſcious, from experience, how ſlender was the aſſiſtance which ſhe had derived from Charles the Fifth, when engaged in former conteſts with the Turks; had little room to expect that Philip the Second would act with greater liberality, or ſincerity. The emperor, Maximilian the Second, averſe to war, and deſtitute of reſources to ſupport it againſt Selim, refuſed to take any part in the quarrel; and no other power could extend effectual aid.

1570. Convinced of the validity and force of theſe obvious reflexions, the Senate, anxious to avert the ſtorm, made every offer, calculated to appeaſe the ſultan; but, as the ceſſion of the iſland itſelf could alone mollify the Divan, or produce an accommodation, the Venetians prepared for a vigorous defence[63]. Attack of Cyprus. Nicoſia, one of the principal cities of Cyprus, was taken by the Turkiſh forces, after a ſiege of ſhort duration: but, Famagoſta ſuſtained a long and obſtinate attack, in defiance of every effort on the part of the Mahometans. The combined fleets of Philip, Venice, and the Holy See, were meanwhile aſſembled on the coaſt of Caramania; and only unanimity, or inclination were wanting, to have enabled them to obtain a deciſive advantage over the enemy, diſperſed through Cyprus, and occupied in reducing the capital. But, the king of Spain did not ſincerely deſire the elevation, or extrication of the Republic; and the Spaniſh commander, on pretexts the moſt futile, refuſed to hazard a general engagement[64]. Capture of Famagoſta, by the vizier. Encouraged by ſuch evident proofs of diſſenſion or incapacity among the allies, the vizier reſumed the enterprize on Famagoſta, with encreaſed alacrity; and notwithſtanding the intrepidity manifeſted by the Venetian commander, Bragadino, the place capitulated. 1571. The articles were violated by the Janizaries, and eluded

[63] Laugier, vol. x. p. 151—176.

[64] Laugier, vol. x. p. 177—186, and p. 194—197, and p. 198—204. La Croix, vol. i. p. 566—568. Knolles, p. 845—863.

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by Muſtapha, their general; who ſullied his acquiſition, by the moſt perfidious and inhuman treatment of the garriſon and inhabitants. They were maſſacred, or reduced to ſlavery; and Bragadino himſelf expired by a puniſhment equally cruel and ignominious [65].

Battle of Lepanto.

In theſe circumſtances, little more than two months after the reduction of Cyprus, took place the celebrated battle of Lepanto. Don John of Auſtria, impelled by his own paſſion for glory, and at the hazard of his brother's indignation, engaged the whole naval force of Selim, commanded by his ableſt officers. He obtained a ſignal victory; and only about thirty gallies, under Ulucciali, eſcaped the general deſtruction. If the advantage had been improved, the Turkiſh empire might, probably, have been ſhaken to its baſis, or even ſubverted. The ſultan poſſeſſed neither fortitude, courage, nor reſources of mind. In Conſtantinople, the alarm exceeded deſcription; and Selim, who was abſent at Adrianople when the intelligence arrived, hurried to the capital, overcome with terror and deſpondency. The paſſage of the Dardanelles, unfortified, or in a ſtate of neglect, the reſult of ſecurity, might have been forced, without difficulty; and no obſtacle, except the advanced ſeaſon of the year, preſented itſelf to impede the progreſs of the victorious confederates. But, internal jealouſies, and jarring intereſts, formed inſurmountable impediments to their joint operations. Inſtead of improving the victory, they were occupied in dividing the ſpoil. Far from approaching Conſtantinople, they ſeem only to have conquered, in order to retreat; and the Venetians alone remained at ſea during ſome time longer [66]. It can ſcarcely be believed, that a detachment of fifty veſſels, ſent by Don John, immediately after the action, to reduce the little iſland of Santa Maura, the Leucadia of the Greeks, was repulſed, and compelled to retire. Not the ſmalleſt advantage ſeems

Conſternation of the Turks.

Inaction of the allied powers.

[65] La Croix, vol. i. p. 562—566. Cantemir, p. 222. Vanel, vol. iii. p. 56—67. Knolles, p. 863—868. Laugier, vol. x. p. 236—244.

[66] Laugier, vol. x. p. 244—252. La Croix, vol. i. p. 574—580. Cantemir, p. 223—225. Knoles, p. 873—886.

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to have been derived from one of the moſt glorious victories, to be found in modern annals. No attempt was even made to recover Cyprus, or any part of the Morea [67]. 1571.

1572. Meaſures of Ulucciali to retrieve the Turkiſh affairs.

Ulucciali, who might have been cut off by Doria, the commander of the Genoeſe gallies in the ſervice of Spain, revived the courage of the ſultan, by his appearance at Conſtantinople: he was inſtantly declared captain baſhaw, and Selim committed to his ability the fate of the Ottoman empire. We cannot help conceiving a high idea of the reſources and energy, then poſſeſſed by the Turks, when we find that in leſs than eight months from the battle of Lepanto, a fleet more numerous, and equally well equipped with the former, was fitted out, and ſent againſt the Chriſtians [68]. Ulucciali, by his prudence, ſkill, and dexterity, proved himſelf deſerving of the important depoſit entruſted to him; and he ſucceſsfully eluded the attempts repeatedly made by the Venetians, to force him to a ſecond general engagement. It is, however, inconteſtable, that the Turkiſh gallies were conſtructed of materials deficient in the moſt eſſential requiſites; that they were ill provided with cannon; manned with unexperienced ſailors; and that the crews were dejected by their recent defeat [69]. Blocked up in the port of Modon, in the Morea, they muſt either have hazarded an action under manifeſt diſadvantages, or have ſurrendered at diſcretion to the combined fleets; if the Spaniſh admiral had not withdrawn his diviſion, and opened a paſſage for their eſcape [70]. The Venetian commander vainly implored of him the delay of a few days; and the Senate, indignant at ſuch treatment from their ally, haſtened to conclude a ſeparate accommodation with the Porte; which, far from relaxing its demands, in conſequence

Peace between Venice and Selim the Second.

[67] La Croix, vol. i. p. 578. Laugier, vol. x. p. 250, 251. Vanel, vol. iii. p. 80.

[68] Laugier, vol. x. p. 263. La Croix, vol. i. p. 582.

[69] Vanel, vol. iii. p. 84, 85.

[70] Ibid. p. 85—89. Cantemir, p. 225. La Croix, vol. i. p. 584. Knolles, p. 887—901. Laugier, vol. x. p. 263—271.

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of the late defeat, rather exacted greater conceſſions from the Republic [71].

1573. Capture of Tunis, by Don John of Auſtria.

Philip the Second continued the conteſt; and Don John of Auſtria transferred the theatre of the war to Africa. Landing near Tunis, he made himſelf maſter of that city, as well as of Biſerta; defeated the Moors, and placed upon the throne a prince, dependant on Spain. To enſure his conqueſt, he cauſed a new fortreſs to be conſtructed; left a conſiderable body of Spaniſh and Italian troops in garriſon; and returned to Sicily, to enjoy the acclamations which attended his arrival. But the triumph was tranſitory, and ſucceeded by the moſt humiliating reverſe. Ulucciali, and the baſhaw Sinan appearing on the coaſt of Barbary, with incredible celerity, not only recovered Tunis, and the fort recently built by the Spaniards; but, carried the Golletta itſelf by ſtorm, and put the forces, found in it, to the ſword. This citadel, taken by the emperor Charles the Fifth, near forty years before, from Barbaroſſa; preſerved, at an immenſe expence, and by the moſt watchful vigilance; dear to the pride of the Spaniſh ſovereign and nation; was immediately demoliſhed by the Turks, who returned victorious, to Conſtantinople [72]. Almoſt at the ſame period, Walachia, which had revolted, and under the conduct of its waivode or prince, had obtained numerous advantages over the Ottoman armies, was ſubjected; and the province experienced the ſevereſt treatment from their incenſed and implacable maſters [73]. In every quarter, the Turks acquired a decided ſuperiority, and increaſed the reſpect or terror of the European powers, for their arms. Under this blaze of glory, to which he had not, in any meaſure, contributed, Selim terminated his reign; carried off by a diſtemper, produced from his exceſſes, in the vigor of his age.

1574. Retaken by the Turks.

Death of Selim.

[71] Laugier, vol. x. p. 278—282. Vanel, vol. iii. p. 89—92. Knolles, p. 904, 905.

[72] La Croix, vol. i. p. 588—590, and p. 592—594. Knolles, p. 901, 902, and p. 914, 915. Cantemir, p. 226, 227. Vanel, vol. iii. p. 92—98.

[73] Knolles, p. 905—914. La Croix, vol. i. p. 590, and p. 594—596.

Few

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Few princes have experienced greater political viciſſitudes, in the courſe of only eight years; and none was ever more paſſive, amidſt the great events, which diſtinguiſh the time when he lived. Amurath the Third, his ſon, ſucceeded to the empire [74]. 1574.

Deſpotiſm of the Ottoman ſultans.

The Turkiſh government, during the period which we have reviewed, as well as at every other, can only be regarded as a deſpotiſm. In a country, deſtitute of hereditary nobility, or of any intermediate order, between the ſovereign and the people; whoſe inhabitants knew no reſpect for birth; where ſlaves, educated in the apartments of the ſeraglio, were ſelected to fill the higheſt offices; and which was unacquainted with the exiſtence of any legiſlative, or deliberative aſſembly; the will of the ſultan was the ſupreme law. But, indefinite as ſuch an authority may appear, it had limits, not to be tranſgreſſed with impunity. The precepts of the Alcoran; the uſages and cuſtoms, ſanctioned by preſcription; the very prejudices of the Turks, could not be violated by the moſt able, or tyrannical prince, without the hazard of depoſition and death, as the immediate conſequence. Like arbitrary power in every age, it was held by the moſt frail and precarious tenure; a military force. The Janizaries, who had ſignified to Bajazet the Second, their commands that he ſhould deſcend from the throne, on account of his inaptitude for war, and bodily infirmities; conferred the ſupreme authority on Selim the Firſt. That ſultan endeavoured ſyſtematically, to extinguiſh ſo powerful and dangerous a body of troops; but, his reign was not of ſufficient length, to carry into execution, the deſign which he meditated [75]. Under Solyman, they arrogated their antient right of naming, removing, or confirming the head of the empire. Notwithſtanding the great endowments which he poſſeſſed, the perpetual hoſtilities in which he was engaged, and the rigid diſcipline that he enforced;

Limits affixed to it.

The Janizaries.

Their mutinous diſpoſition.

[74] Knolles, p. 915. Cantemir, p. 227, 228. La Croix, vol. i. p. 596—598. Vanel, vol. iii. p. 98.

[75] La Croix, vol. i. p. 358. Buſbeq. Epiſt. p. 55—60.

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forced; Solyman was repeatedly on the point of experiencing the fatal effects of their indignation. In 1553, after the execution of his eldeſt ſon, Muſtapha, ſtrangled by his orders, in the camp, near Amaſia, on the Perſian expedition; the troops mutinied, and with loud cries, demanded vengeance on the authors of his death. The perſonal appearance, and exertions of the ſultan, aided by the diſtribution of money, with difficulty allayed, and averted the ſtorm from himſelf [76].

Donatives.

At the commencement of every reign, like the Prætorian guards, they expected, or exacted, a donative; and during the firſt days of the new government, it was cuſtomary to accord the demands or requeſts, which they thought proper to make, of every nature. On the acceſſion of Solyman, in 1520, they inſiſted that the ſultan ſhould iſſue a decree, prohibiting all Chriſtians in future to appear on horſeback, in the ſtreets of Conſtantinople [77]. It was not without difficulty, at theſe periods, when the ſupreme power was in ſome meaſure ſuſpended, during its tranſmiſſion from one prince to another; that the Janizaries were reſtrained from plundering the capital: particularly, the houſes, or ſhops of the Chriſtian and Jewiſh merchants [78]. Solyman, though he had no rival or competitor for the empire, as being the only ſon of Selim the Firſt; yet, did not venture to withhold the cuſtomary diſtribution of money, on his father's death [79]. The moſt alarming inſurrection took place among the troops, when Selim the Second, in 1566, preſumed to commence the functions of government, before he had ſatisfied their rapacious exactions. Not content with a prodigious largeſs, which he had divided among them; they aſſembled tumultuouſly, and demanded the confirmation of all their privileges, together with a larger donative, before they would permit the new ſultan to enter the ſeraglio. Their inſolence was ſo great, that Ma-

Inſurrections, and immunities of the Janizaries.

[76] La Croix, vol. i. p. 470—472. Knolles, p. 764. Vanel, vol. iii. p. 5, 6. Buſbeq. Epiſt. p. 58, 59.

[77] Vanel, vol. ii. p. 288.

[78] Knolles, p. 567.

[79] Ibid. p. 568.

homet

homet and Pertau, the two principal viziers, or baſhaws, attempting to mollify their reſentment, were nearly ſacrificed to their fury; and ſuffered ſeverely from the blows of the matchlocks, or harquebuſſes, with which the Turkiſh ſoldiery were armed. Selim, terrified, and unable to reſiſt, inſtantly made an ample diſtribution; after which they diſperſed [80]. Amurath the Third extended and augmented all their immunities, in 1574 [81]. CHAP. XIX. 1574.

Such was the apprehenſion entertained of their exceſſes during the vacancy of the throne, that the deaths of Solyman, and of Selim, were ſtudiouſly concealed by the viziers, till their reſpective ſucceſſors could arrive, and take poſſeſſion of the capital. In the former inſtance, as the army was engaged before Sigeth, and the place was reduced to extremity, it became, on every account, indiſpenſible to keep the ſoldiers in ignorance of ſo important an event; and in order to effect it, the grand vizier did not heſitate to ſtrangle the phyſician, who had attended Solyman in his dying moments [82]. The Janizaries having, notwithſtanding, entertained ſome ſuſpicions that the ſultan was no more, the body was placed in a horſe-litter, his cuſtomary mode of conveyance; the curtains of which being undrawn from time to time, the troops were permitted to ſee him at a diſtance; and as he appeared in a ſitting attitude, habited as uſual, the deception operated completely. It is ſcarcely credible, that his deceaſe ſhould have been thus concealed for more than ſix weeks, from the knowledge of the Janizaries. It was only divulged on Selim's arrival in the camp, forty-ſix days after his father had expired [83]. The great baſhaws contrived to keep all Conſtantinople in a ſimilar ignorance of Selim the Second's death, for twelve days, till his ſon, Amurath, then abſent in Aſia, could reach the ſeraglio [84]. Concealment of the deaths of the Ottoman emperors.

[80] La Croix, vol. i. p. 540. Knolles, p. 827, 828. Vanel, vol. iii. p. 15.
[81] Knolles, p. 919.
[82] Ibid. p. 823. La Croix, vol. i. p. 537. Sacy, vol. ii. p. 47.
[83] Knolles, p. 823, and p. 825. Sacy, vol. ii. p. 47, and p. 52.
[84] Vanel, vol. iii. p. 101.

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1574. Superiority of the Turkiſh troops, in the ſixteenth century.

Towards the cloſe of Solyman's reign, the Ottoman troops were juſtly regarded as ſuperior to thoſe of any chriſtian power, and they inſpired a degree of terror, of which we can ſcarcely form an exaggerated conception. From the banks of the Tygris and the Euphrates, to the weſtern extremity of Europe, every nation had experienced, in its turn, their intrepid valor, and their deſtructive ravages. If, after the deceaſe of Solyman, the Turkiſh ſceptre had devolved to a prince of activity, capable of maintaining in its utmoſt ſeverity, the eſtabliſhed diſcipline, and able to lead them in perſon againſt Germany, or Italy; it is difficult to ſay what adequate barriers could have been oppoſed to the Mahometan arms, and religion. The extended frontier of Hungary, feebly defended by a tumultuous and refractory army, could not long have delayed the inroads of ſuch invaders; and the Auſtrian princes vainly attempted to rouſe the German circles from their habitual apathy, and characteriſtic inaction. Venice, unable to defend Cyprus, alarmed for Candia and Corfu, unſuſtained by Philip the Second, and ſinking in her internal reſources; might have beheld a Turkiſh ſquadron riding triumphant in the Adriatic, and perhaps, have been neceſſitated to abandon the ſeat and capital of the Republic. The weakneſs and debility of the European ſtates, which bordered on the provinces of Turkey, were wonderfully contraſted with the vigor, energy, and reſources of the ſultans. We may ſee in the letters of Buſbequius, the Imperial embaſſador at the court of Solyman, the preciſe ſtate, condition, and number of the Ottoman ſoldiery, between 1554, and 1562. He had repeatedly, during the courſe of his humiliating and painful miſſion, been a ſpectator of their military ſkill; and he deſcribes in glowing language, the formidable aſpect which they preſented, when encamped on the frontiers of Perſia, as well as when drawn up, under the eye of their maſter, in the vicinity of Conſtantinople [85].

[85] Buſbeq. Epiſt. p. 102, and p. 266, 267.

The

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The Janizaries, ſtrictly ſo denominated, do not appear to have exceeded twelve thouſand, a part of whom were always retained near the perſon of the ſovereign: the others were ſtationed on the frontiers, or diſperſed through the vaſt extent of the Turkiſh dominions [86]. While employed on active ſervice in the field, they exhibited the moſt exemplary pattern of temperance, ſobriety, and ſubmiſſion. A profound tranquillity reigned in their camps, where gaming, intoxication, and quarrels were unknown [87]. Water was the only refreſhment of the Ottoman ſoldier, who was not more reſtrained from the uſe of wine, by the prohibitions of the Prophet, or by the orders of his general, than by habitual and conſtitutional abſtinence. Their food was equally ſimple; and ſeemed more adapted to aſcetics or hermits, than to nouriſh the hardy courage of veteran troops, accuſtomed to carnage, and familiarized to conqueſt. Vegetables conſtituted their principal nouriſhment; and ſo ſlender a proportion of animal food was conſumed among them, that Buſbequius declares, four or five ſheep to have been amply ſufficient for the daily conſumption of near four thouſand Janizaries [88]. The cleanlineſs of their camps, was ſtrikingly oppoſed to the filth of the chriſtian armies in the ſixteenth century, among whom, ſcarcely any precautions were taken, to prevent diſeaſes and infection [89]. Strict attention, and unremitting care were exerted by the Turkiſh officers, to preſerve the health of the troops; and, in a peculiar manner, to protect them from the inclemency of the weather, to which, as being moſtly natives of a warm, or ſultry climate, they were greatly ſenſible. Their clothing was adapted to enable them to ſupport the ſeverity of Hungarian campaigns, in which the cold was frequently intenſe. Every tent held from twenty-five, to thirty Janizaries. The ſtate ſupplied the materials of their dreſs, which was compoſed of cloth, and diſtributed with the moſt rigorous impartiality. In like manner, and with a view to prevent complaint, or impoſition,

The Janizaries.

Their ſobriety, and abſtinence.

Regulations.

[86] Buſbeq. Epiſt. p. 23, and p. 24.
[87] Ibid. p. 250.
[88] Buſbeq. Epiſt. p. 251, 252.
[89] Ibid. p. 250.

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the money in which they received their pay, was not counted, but, dealt out by weight, to each individual [90].

Arms.

The bow and arrow conſtituted the favourite weapon of the Turkiſh ſoldier. From the age of ſeven or eight years, the youth were taught its exerciſe; and they attained to a dexterity, celerity, and preciſion in the uſe of it, which could ſcarcely have been exceeded by the Parthians, ſo renowned in antiquity [91]. Nor were they leſs ſkilful with the ſpear. The cavalry, denominated Spahis, offered a ſuperb ſpectacle to the eye, mounted on beautiful Cappadocian, or Syrian horſes, whoſe trappings were covered with gold, and inlaid with gems. The men wore defenſive armour, and dreſſes of the moſt coſtly, or ſplendid kind [92]. Fire-arms were little uſed by the Turks, before the end of Solyman's reign. Ruſtan, one of the baſhaws of that prince, attempted, about the year 1550, to introduce matchlocks, or harquebuſſes, among the cavalry, during the Perſian war: but, the experiment did not ſucceed [93]. The infantry, however, ſubmitted to adopt them, though not without difficulty and reluctance.

Puniſhments.

Among the puniſhments common in the Ottoman armies, the moſt frequent was the ſcourge, from which the Janizaries themſelves were not exempted. Death was inflicted on the common ſoldiers, for crimes of magnitude; but, by a diſtinction, calculated to operate in the moſt powerful manner on the human mind, the Janizary could not, in any caſe, be deprived of life, or capitally puniſhed. They were ſuppoſed to act from higher principles, than the fear of death, or the love of life. A ſenſe of ſhame and of honor elevated them above both, and directed all their ſenſibility towards the preſervation of their military reputation, rank, and ſtation. In caſes of ſuch magnitude or atrocity, as to merit exemplary chaſtiſement, they were publickly degraded; deprived of their arms and military inſignia; and afterwards baniſhed to the diſtant garriſons,

[90] Buſbeq. Epiſt. p. 175, 176.
[91] Buſbeq. Epiſt. p. 20, and p. 245—247.
[92] Ibid. p. 210, 211.
[93] Ibid. p. 199, 200.

on the frontier of Perſia, Lybia, or Poland, there to drag out a miſerable and forgotten exiſtence, amid contumely and oblivion. Such a puniſhment, to the Janizary of the ſixteenth century, muſt have been far more ſevere than death [94]. 1574.

Mode of recruiting the Janizaries.

This formidable body of infantry was principally compoſed of, and recruited from, the chriſtian youth, ſcattered through the various provinces of the Turkiſh empire. They were annually brought in vaſt numbers, to Conſtantinople, from Hungary, Dalmatia, and Greece [95]. After being expoſed to ſale, they were educated with the utmoſt care; inured betimes to labor, fatigue, and the ſevereſt renunciations; inſtructed by maſters in all the exerciſes of the body, and in the practice of arms; till they were judged deſerving of incorporation in the ranks of the Janizaries, or Spahis. Some choſen youths, diſtinguiſhed by their perſonal beauty, or by the vivacity and pregnancy of their parts, were uſually reſerved for the ſultan, the viziers, and baſhaws. They often roſe in the Turkiſh court, to the higheſt honors, offices, and preferments, civil and military. Hungarians, Greeks, Sclavonians, and Germans, occupied places of truſt and reſponſibility, commanded expeditions by land and by ſea, deſolated the countries from whence they derived their origin, or diſpoſed with unlimited power, of the ſultan's authority and treaſures [96]. Charles the Fifth, and Ferdinand the Firſt, found no opponents more formidable than the chriſtians, thus naturalized and received into the Turkiſh armies, or councils.

Diſcipline of the ſoldiery.

The terror, inſpired by the Ottoman arms in the ſixteenth century, was principally due to the rigid military diſcipline, and exact temperance, enforced by Solyman; who gave in his own perſon, an example of the virtues, which he enjoined to his ſoldiers. But, his death was the term of their obſervance; and under Selim, univerſal relaxation took place. The ſultan, no longer preſent in the field,

[94] Buſbeq. Epiſt. p. 256, 257.
[95] Ibid. p. 108, 109.
[96] Buſbeq. Epiſt. p. 256, 257. Exclamatio de Re militari, p. 432—439.

with-

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withdrew the greateſt incitement to emulation and valor. Solyman would not have ſucceeded before Rhodes, if he had not repaired thither in perſon, and animated the operations [97]. To his incapacity of conducting the attack upon Malta, occaſioned by his age and infirmities, may, probably, in ſome meaſure, be attributed the ill ſucceſs of the enterprize. So devoted were the Janizaries to him, and ſo confident of victory under his auſpices, that they continued to believe themſelves invincible, while he led them againſt the enemy. The

Temperance.

abſtinence of Solyman from wine, in obedience to the Mahometan injunction, enabled him to compel the troops to practiſe the ſame

Severity of Solyman.

renunciation. Such was his ſeverity upon this point, that, in 1546, finding the inhabitants of Conſtantinople not only guilty of frequent intoxication, but, univerſally occupied in the culture of the grape; he iſſued the moſt rigorous edicts againſt the former practice; and to eradicate the latter, he cauſed all the vines in the vicinity of the capital, to be pulled up and deſtroyed [98]. Conſcious, nevertheleſs, that the uſe of the grape was not only in itſelf harmleſs, but, beneficial, he, at a ſubſequent period of his life and reign, encouraged, and even en-

Relaxation under Selim.

joined the cultivation of the vine [99]. Selim gave a very oppoſite example from that of his father, Solyman. He was accuſtomed to paſs whole days, in a balcony of the ſeraglio, which looked upon the ſea, engaged in exceſſes of wine; and at every glaſs that he ſwallowed, cannon were diſcharged [100]. The troops ſoon caught, and imitated ſo pernicious an infection: but, their reputation long ſurvived their diſcipline; and it was not till towards the concluſion of the laſt century, that the Germans and Hungarians began to aſſert a decided ſuperiority over the Ottoman armies.

Under the reigns of Solyman and Selim, the blood of the Turkiſh troops was prodigally ſhed on every occaſion. No account ſeems to

[97] La Croix, vol. i. p. 370, and p. 540.

[98] Ibid. p. 442.

[99] Buſbeq. Epiſt. p. 295, 296.

[100] Vanel, vol. iii. p. 98. Cantemir, p. 228. La Croix, vol. i. p. 598.

have

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have been made of the diminution of the human ſpecies; and the ranks were ſpeedily filled by new recruits from Europe and Aſia. The unſucceſsful expedition againſt Malta[101] coſt the lives of twenty-four thouſand of their choiceſt ſoldiers[101]. The conqueſt of Cyprus, which was only the triumph of brutal ſtrength, was not obtained without the ſacrifice of near ſixty thouſand men[102]. At Lepanto, it was calculated, that thirty thouſand Turks were killed, or made priſoners; and an equal number fell before Tunis and the Goletta, in 1574. Only the Ottoman empire could have ſuſtained, and replaced, ſuch vaſt and repeated loſſes[103]. The accuſation, laid to the charge of the Janizaries, that they violated all capitulations, and put to the ſword the enemy who had ſurrendered on terms, is, undoubtedly, too well founded, in many inſtances. The cruelties, exerciſed at Famagoſta, in 1571, may be more juſtly imputed to Muſtapha, the Turkiſh commander, than to the private ſoldiers; and admits neither of excuſe, nor extenuation[104]. But, that the Janizaries were capable of granting quarter, and even of extending protection to their enemies during the heat of action, is evident by their behaviour at the ſtorm of Sigeth, in 1566. Charmed with the valor of the Hungarian garriſon, they ſnatched many individuals from immediate death; and reſcued them from the ſcymetars of their comrades, by placing their caps or bonnets on the heads of ſuch, as they deſired to exempt from the indiſcriminate carnage[105].

1574. Loſs of men in war.

Behaviour of the Janizaries.

Solyman, in all his campaigns, brought into the field, a numerous artillery; but, the Turks were unſkilled in the art of attacking fortifications. They rarely captured any city, except by an incredible expenditure of human blood. In 1531, the army, commanded by the ſultan in perſon, entered Hungary, and ſat down before the caſtle of Ghinz, not diſtant from the memorable plain of Mohatz, where only

Ignorance of the Turks, in the art of attacking cities.

101 Knolles, p. 817.
102 La Croix, vol. i. p. 574.
103 La Croix, vol. i. p. 578. Vanel, vol. iii, p. 75, and p. 97. Knolles, p. 883.
104 La Croix, vol. i. p. 574.
105 Knolles, p. 823.

five

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five years before, he had vanquiſhed Louis the Second. After remaining twenty-three days before the place, which was in no reſpect provided for defence, and the walls of which were old and ruinous; he was compelled to decamp, with the loſs of his braveſt ſoldiers, and to retreat immediately into his own dominions [106]. Vienna, Corfu, and many other unſucceſsful ſieges, undertaken by the ſame prince, prove the ignorance of his officers and troops in the attack of cities.

Treatment of enemies.

In order to terrify, or to inſult the enemy, it was common among the Turkiſh commanders, to ſend the head of a general, ſlain in

Count Serini.

battle, to his ſurviving friends. When the intrepid count Serini was killed, in 1566, at the aſſault of Sigeth, Mahomet, the grand vizier, after cauſing the head to be placed on a pole, for the gratification of his troops; ordered it to be wrapped in a red ſcarf, covered with white linen, and in this ſtate to be tranſmitted to count Salm, the Imperial general, then encamped on the banks of the Danube, near Räab, in Hungary. He accompanied it with the following laconic note:—"In token of my love, I ſend thee the head of a moſt reſolute "and valiant captain, thy friend: the remainder of his body, I have "honorably interred, as became ſuch a man." We muſt allow, that there is, even in ſo barbarous a proceeding, a mixture of liberality; and that the antipathy of the Mahometan miniſter, had not extinguiſhed his veneration for Serini's valor and merit [107]. The baſhaw, Muſtapha, who commanded the expedition againſt Cyprus, was of a much more ſanguinary and ferocious diſpoſition. After having taken Nicoſia, he proceeded to inveſt Famagoſta; and with a view of intimidating the inhabitants, he had the inhumanity to put to death ſeveral of the principal perſons, found in the former city, whoſe heads, placed upon ſtaves, were carried round the walls

Dandolo.

of Famagoſta. That of Dandolo, the Venetian governor, was tranſmitted in a baſket, by a Cyprian peaſant, liberated expreſsly for the

[106] Vanel, vol. ii. p. 369, 370.
[107] Knolles, p. 823, 824. Vanel, vol. ii. p. 507. Sacy, vol. ii. p. 50.

purpoſe,

purpoſe, to Bragadino; as an earneſt of the treatment which he might in his turn expect, if he ventured to reſiſt. But, far from producing the effect intended, he ſent word to Muſtapha, that "he was "prepared for the ſame deſtiny, and determined to hold out the "place to the laſt extremity [108]." CHAP. XIX. 1574.

Naval force.

Formidable as were the military forces of the Turks, their navy, at this period, was equally calculated to inſpire apprehenſion. When Solyman ſent his fleet to beſiege Malta, in 1565, it conſiſted of one hundred and forty-two gallies, ſeventeen galliots, and about twenty-two victuallers, of various ſizes [109]. At Lepanto, ſix years afterwards, the baſhaw Ali had under his command, more than two hundred gallies, beſides veſſels of other denominations [110]. The chief reliance of the confederates was on their Galeaſſes, of which the fleet contained ſix. They were vaſt, unwieldy, floating caſtles, furniſhed with heavy artillery, and manned with ſoldiers. It was uſual to ſtation them, in front of the gallies, about a mile a-head, and at equal diſtances, as advanced forts, or redoubts. They do not, however, appear to have eminently contributed to the famous victory of Lepanto; and their conſtruction rendered them ſlow, as well as difficult to manage [111].

Numerous marine.

Notwithſtanding the ſevere blow given on that occaſion, to the Turkiſh marine, it immediately revived. Barbaro, the Venetian envoy, detained in confinement at Conſtantinople, wrote to the Senate, that he himſelf had reckoned two hundred and fifty gallies, which, under Ulucciali's command, ſailed out of the harbour; and he was to be joined by others, at Gallipoli [112]. If we reflect that the battle of Lepanto took place in October, 1571, and that in the month of June following, a naval force more conſiderable than ever was already equipped and ſent againſt the enemy; we may, perhaps, doubt whether any European ſtate in the preſent century, could make equal,

Gallies.

[108] Vanel, vol. iii. p. 46. Knolles, p. 852.
[109] Knolles, p. 795. Vanel, vol. ii. p. 499.
[110] Knolles, p. 889. La Croix, vol. i. p. 576.
[111] Laugier, vol. x. p. 245, 246. Knolles, p. 878.
[112] Knolles, p. 889.

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or greater exertions, by ſea. The admiral galley, commanded by Ali, who was killed at Lepanto, exceeded any other of the Turkiſh fleet, in magnificence, as well as dimenſions. Her deck was compoſed of black walnut wood, curiouſly inlaid; and the cabbin was hung with gold brocade, ornamented with devices [113]. Three thouſand, four hundred and eighty-ſix Chriſtian ſlaves were liberated from on board the gallies captured; and five thouſand Turks, taken priſoners, were ſubſtituted in their places [114]. No circumſtance attending that memorable day, could have been more grateful or exhilarating to the conquerors, than the reſtoration of liberty to their unfortunate countrymen. Three hundred and ſixty-ſeven pieces of cannon, of various ſizes, were taken in the Ottoman gallies [115].

Turkiſh commanders.

It is not a little remarkable, that almoſt all the illuſtrious commanders, naval and military, employed under the reigns of Solyman and Selim,

Ibrahim.

were originally chriſtians. Ibrahim, the grand vizier of the former ſultan, who long enjoyed unlimited authority, and to whoſe rare endowments, was principally due the ſucceſs which attended the arms of his maſter againſt Hungary, and in Aſia; was born in an obſcure village, near the town of Perga, in Epirus. During twelve years, he governed the Turkiſh empire with the moſt deſpotic power; but, his treaſonable correſpondence with the Venetians, which was intercepted; and the exhortations of Roxalana, induced Solyman, not without heſitation and reluctance, to put him to death, in 1536 [116].

Barbaroſſa.

The elevation of Barbaroſſa, was even greater and more ſingular. He, and his elder brother, Horuc, were the ſons of a renegado Greek, of Mytilene, in the iſland of Leſbos. Having ſtolen a little galliot, and being of an enterprizing diſpoſition, they betook themſelves to the ſea, and conquered the kingdom of Algiers, a few years afterwards. Horuc was killed by the Spaniards, and his head was

[113] Knolles, p. 883, 884.

[114] La Croix, vol. i. p. 578. Vanel, vol. iii. p. 76.

[115] Vanel. vol. iii. p. 75, 76.

[116] Knolles, p. 645—654. La Croix, vol. i. p. 408, 410.

carried

carried in triumph, through the principal maritime cities of Anda- CHAP. XIX.
luſia, on a lance: but Barbaroſſa ſucceeded him in his uſurped do- 1574.
minions; and his high reputation for ſkill, intrepidity, and knowledge of the Mediterranean coaſts, induced Solyman, in 1534, to offer him the ſupreme command of the Turkiſh fleets. He accepted it, and was declared captain baſhaw by the ſultan, who delivered him a ſceptre and a ſword, as the ſymbols of his regal dignity, and naval pre-eminence. Eight hundred thouſand ducats were preſented him out of the public treaſury, to commence his operations. He was the ſcourge of Italy, during many years. The cloſe of his active life was His death.
paſſed in repoſe, at Conſtantinople, near which city he expired, at an advanced age, in 1547. He was buried at Beſictas, four miles from Pera, on the European ſide of the Boſphorus; a place, in which he had, only a few years preceding, ſold near ſixteen thouſand chriſtians, captured by him, and principally natives of the iſland of Corfu [117].

Mahomet, who was grand vizier, during the concluſion of Soly- Mahomet.
man's reign, and through the whole of Selim's, was a Sclavonian by birth, and eighteen years old, when he was made a ſlave. He was not only a chriſtian; but, he had been a clerk in the church of St. Saba, in the province of Boſnia; and after his elevation, he beſtowed peculiar marks of favour and regard on his native place. The protection of Roxalana conducted him to the higheſt dignities and honors, though his talents were very moderate, and neither his perſonal courage, nor military ſkill were conſpicuous. His concealment of Solyman's death, in the camp before Sigeth, by ſecuring the throne to Selim, endeared Mahomet to that prince. He vainly, however, exerted his credit and endeavours to prevent the war with the Venetians, which produced the loſs of Cyprus. The baſhaw Sinan, and Piali, induced the ſultan to turn his arms againſt the Republic [118].

[117] Knolles, p. 635—639, and p. 751. Vanel, vol. ii. p. 391—396.
[118] Vanel, vol. iii. p. 26, 27.

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In no inſtance was the power of fortune more fully evinced, than in the perſon of Piali himſelf, who ſucceeded to Barbaroſſa, as captain baſhaw. He was a Hungarian by birth, of extraction ſo obſcure as to be unknown; and after the memorable defeat of Louis the Second, at Mohatz, in 1526, his mother, to conceal him from the fury of the Turkiſh ſoldiery, threw him into a ditch. He was taken out, preſented to Solyman, in a ſtate of nudity; and being well made, the ſultan ordered a nurſe to be provided for the infant. His valor and talents atchieved the reſt [119].

Piali. 1574.

Ulucciali.

Ulucciali, to whoſe ability was due, that any part of the Ottoman gallies eſcaped the defeat of Lepanto, and who merited the higheſt applauſes for his ſubſequent conduct, was born at a little village, in Calabria; and being deſtined to a monaſtic life, he embarked for Naples, in order to purſue his ſtudies. On his paſſage, he was captured by a Turkiſh veſſel, and chained to the oar, as a ſlave; but, having embraced the Mahometan faith, he commenced the profeſſion of a Corſair. It is aſſerted, that he always retained his original attachment to the Chriſtian religion; and it is certain, that he frequently, after his elevation in the ſervice of Solyman and Selim, viſited his relations in Calabria, and gave them marks of his affection and regard. His enterprize againſt Tunis and the Goletta, in 1574, covered him with glory [120]. The baſhaw Hali, who roſe to the higheſt point of power and conſideration, after the death of Ruſtan, towards the end of Solyman's reign, was, by birth, a Dalmatian. In elegance of manners, humanity, and courteſy, he had no equal in the Turkiſh court. His mind, liberal and enlarged, roſe above the prejudices of his age and nation. Capable of friendſhip, and diſpoſed to commiſerate and to relieve the unfortunate, he endeavoured to alleviate the ſeverity with which the embaſſador of Ferdinand the Firſt was treated at Conſtantinople [121]. Of all the miniſters, or celebrated

Hali.

[119] Vanel, vol. iii. p. 30, 31.

[120] Knolles, p. 889.

[121] Buſbeq. Epiſt. p. 103, and p. 307—316.

com-

commanders, who, during this period, diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the Turkiſh ſervice, Dragut alone was, by birth, a Mahometan, and an Aſiatic. He was a native of Anatolia, and the ſon of a peaſant. 1574. Dragut.

Commerce.

The Turkiſh commerce, before the reign of Amurath the Third, was almoſt excluſively carried on by the French and the Venetians. The other European ſtates had little ſhare in the trade of the Levant. Francis the Firſt, by the intimate connexions of policy, into which he had entered with the Porte, obtained very beneficial exemptions or privileges for his ſubjects, who navigated the eaſtern part of the Mediterranean; and the flag of France was particularly reſpected in all the Ottoman ports [122]. The Republic of Venice, always attentive to her commercial intereſts, even when engaged in hoſtilities with the Turks; reſumed her intercourſe immediately on the ceſſation of war, and derived from it prodigious advantages. England had no ſhare in this lucrative traffic before the year 1583, when Elizabeth ſent embaſſadors to Amurath the Third, to negotiate the terms of a treaty, which might open it to her ſubjects. Every impediment was thrown in the way of the negotiation, by the French and Venetian miniſters at Conſtantinople, who warmly remonſtrated with the grand vizier, and endeavoured to repreſent as an infraction of treaty, the permiſſion of the Engliſh nation to participate in the Levant trade. But, their oppoſition was ineffectual. Engliſh conſuls, for the protection of commerce, were ſoon afterwards ſent to Smyrna, Aleppo, Alexandria, and Conſtantinople itſelf. The Dutch, about the ſame period, began to appear in the Archipelago, and to ſhare in theſe benefits [123].

Treaty between Amurath the Third, and Elizabeth, queen of England.

Conſtantinople. Its ſtate.

Notwithſtanding the magnitude and reſources of the Turkiſh empire, the ſplendor of the ſultan on days of ceremony, and the local beauty of the ſituation of Conſtantinople; neither the capital, the court, nor the nation, could be regarded as other than barbarous.

Barbariſm.

[122] Vanel, vol. iii. p. 126, 127.

[123] Idem, ibid.

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The arts were either unknown in a great degree, or they were exerciſed by the Jews and Chriſtians only. Medicine and ſurgery were in the rudeſt and ſimpleſt ſtate. Inſurmountable prejudices, religious or habitual, impeded the progreſs of ſcience, extinguiſhed knowledge, and depreſſed the human mind. Printing, which had been ſo widely diffuſed among the European nations at the period under our review, was interdicted in Turkey [124]. Articles of luxury were imported from foreign countries; and the people, indolent, deſtitute of activity, and fettered by ignorance or preſcription, made no efforts to emancipate themſelves from poverty and ſervitude. The tyranny of the Baſhaws and Sangiacks deſtroyed induſtry, and compelled the opulent to conceal, or bury their wealth. The ſituation of Conſtantinople, on the extreme verge of Europe, between the Euxine and the Mediterranean ſeas, furniſhed from the neighbouring provinces of Aſia with every delicacy, fed with perpetual ſupplies of grain from Egypt, and defended towards Hungary, by the Danubé, and the defiles of Mount Hâmus, and Rhodopè; ſeemed to point it out as the fit reſidence of the ſultans, and as the capital of the world. But, its interior did not, in any degree, correſpond with theſe external, and local advantages. Except the ſuperb edifice of St. Sophia, which had been converted into a moſque, and ſome dilapidated remains of the Roman, or Byzantine grandeur, that ſtill ſurvived, no monuments of art, or taſte, were to be found in the antient capital of Conſtantine [125].

Situation.

The palace of the ſultans exhibited neither magnificence, nor regularity of ſtructure. It was only a vaſt and irregular building, the gardens of which extended to the ſea-ſhore, in that part of the city where was ſuppoſed to have ſtood the antient Byzantium [126]. Such were the ravages committed by the plague, that during the violence of the diſtemper, it was common for a thouſand, or twelve hundred per-

[124] Buſbeq. Epiſt. p. 23, and p. 213, 214.
[125] Ibid. p. 64—66.
[126] Ibid. p. 67.

1574. Conflagrations.

fons to be carried off daily in Conſtantinople [127]. The city was not leſs deſolated by fire; the frequency and ravages of which deſtructive element, never produced any precautions to avert its return. All the buildings, not only in the capital, but throughout the Ottoman dominions, were of the meaneſt kind, compoſed of wood, and ſcarcely to be regarded as other than frail and temporary ſheds, to exclude the inclemency of the elements [128]. In 1569, a conflagration took place at Conſtantinople, which laſted in all its violence, during ſeven days, and laid the greater part of the metropolis in aſhes [129]. Its effects were ſo calamitous, as to retard for ſome time, the expedition againſt Cyprus.

Ferocity and inſolence towards foreigners.

The ferocity of the Turks, and their deteſtation of Chriſtians, made Conſtantinople a reſidence equally inſecure and dangerous, for ſtrangers of every deſcription. Even the ſanctity of a public character formed no protection againſt the fury of a bigotted and inſolent populace. We may ſee in the epiſtles of Buſbequius, to what ſevere privations, as well as perſonal mortification, an embaſſador of the firſt crowned head among the Chriſtian Powers, was perpetually expoſed. Immured in his own houſe; denied the liberty to ſtir beyond its walls, except by a particular permiſſion from the vizier; capriciouſly menaced with mutilation, or death; and loaded with contumelious language, whenever he appeared in the ſtreets of Conſtantinople; his embaſſy was only a ſtate of conſtant humiliation and impriſonment. Buſbequius, during his repeated miſſions to the Porte, owed the few indulgencies which were ſhewn him, principally to the humanity and generoſity of the baſhaw Hali [130]. But, his ſucceſſor was not equally fortunate. In 1566, Albert de Viis, the Imperial miniſter at the court of Selim, being on horſeback, with intention to take the air, was met by the Mufti; and not alighting to ſhew his veneration for the chief of the Mahometan faith, the Janizaries fell upon him, and ſo ſeverely beat, or ill-treated him, that his death enſued. Yet, the vizier re-

Treatment of the Imperial embaſſadors.

[127] Buſbeq. Epiſt. p. 296—298, and p. 306.
[128] Ibid. p. 27, and p. 67.
[129] La Croix, vol. i. p. 554.
[130] Buſbeq. Epiſt. p. 149—152.

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fuſed to make any reparation, or to inflict any puniſhment on the ſoldiers, who had thus inſulted and degraded the repreſentative of the firſt prince in Europe; nor did Maximilian the Second think proper to reſent ſo cruel and atrocious an outrage. The ſtrength of the Ottoman empire, and the weakneſs of the houſe of Auſtria, compelled him to ſubmit to the indignity [131].

Series of victories, gained by the Turks.

The enthuſiaſtic confidence of the Turks in their ſuperior valor, diſcipline, and military ſkill, during the whole reign of Solyman, and even under his ſucceſſor, Selim, rendered them equal to atchieving the moſt arduous enterprizes. During above a hundred and twenty years, which had elapſed ſince the final ſubverſion of the eaſtern empire by Mahomet the Second, the ſultans had marched from one victory to another. If we except the unſucceſsful ſiege of Vienna, the repulſe before Malta, and the defeat ſuſtained at Lepanto; the whole period, from the depoſition of Bajazet the Second, in 1512, to the death of Selim, in 1574, was an almoſt uninterrupted ſeries of proſperity and triumphs. Correſponding dejection, terror, and diſunion, characteriſed the counſels of the Chriſtian princes. The memorable battles of Nicopolis and of Varna, gained by the predeceſſors of Solyman, in the fourteenth, and fifteenth century, ſtill impreſſed with dread. At Mohatz, where the unfortunate Louis, king of Hungary, periſhed, the plains were yet white with human bones [132]. The feeble efforts of Ferdinand the Firſt, and Maximilian the Second, to ſtem the torrent, were ineffectual. Solyman repeatedly paſſed the Danube, and covered the Upper Hungary with two hundred thouſand horſe. Ferdinand's forces hardly exceeded thirty thouſand infantry [133]. Strigonium, the frontier garriſon of the Turks, was not removed more than five days march from the gates of Vienna. Under Amurath the Third, before the concluſion of the ſixteenth century, they even made nearer

[131] Vanel, vol. iii. p. 16.

[132] Buſbeq. Epiſt. p. 380, 381.

[133] Buſbeq. Epiſt. p. 379, and p. 381.

approaches,

approaches, and became maſters of Räab, or Javarin, only a few leagues below Preſburg. Little more than the name of King of Hungary, remained to the Auſtrian princes. CHAP. XIX. 1574.

Danger of Germany, and Italy.

It muſt be owned, that the apprehenſions of the Germans were by no means imaginary; and that another reign ſuch as Solyman's, might have eſtabliſhed the Ottoman power in the centre of Germany, or Italy. Buſbequius ſeems to queſtion, whether the danger was not ſo imminent, inevitable, and unſurmountable, as to juſtify and to dictate the total dereliction of all the eaſtern provinces of the empire, bordering on Hungary and Sclavonia [134]. The language which he adopts, when he mentions Solyman, is ſuch as the Romans of the fifth century uſed, when ſpeaking of Attila; and he expreſsly aſſerts, that to hazard an action with the diſpirited and tumultuous troops of Ferdinand the Firſt, againſt the veteran and victorious bands of the ſultan, might not only be taxed with imprudence, but, muſt be regarded as partaking of inſanity [135]. It is hardly poſſible to make a more unequivocal confeſſion of the weakneſs of the chriſtians, or a more candid avowal of the Ottoman power.

Elevation of the ſultans.

Every circumſtance contributed, in that age, to intoxicate the Turks, and to confirm them in the opinion that they were deſtined by the Prophet, to ſubject the earth. It was not, perhaps, poſſible for human wiſdom to foreſee, during the ſplendid career of Solyman, that the Ottoman empire had reached its higheſt point of elevation, and already began to verge towards its decline. On every ſide, they beheld, like the Romans under Trajan, only proſtrate princes, or terrified and ſuppliant provinces. The wretched remains of the Byzantine ſovereigns, who had reigned over the eaſtern empire, were ſunk into the loweſt claſſes of Bulgarian peaſants. "I ſaw," ſays Buſbequius, "as I paſſed through that country, the ſurvivors of the "Imperial race of the Cantacuzeni, and the Palæologi, living among

[134] Buſbeq. Epiſt. p. 380.
[135] Ibid. p. 379, and p. 396—398. Ibid. Exclam. de Re milit. p. 416—418.

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"the Turks, in a ſtate of more contempt, than that of Dionyſius, at "Corinth [136]." Greece had ſubmitted to the ſultans; who no longer divided any part of Epirus, or of the Morea, with the Republic of Venice. Solyman, as if peculiarly flattered by his conqueſt of that celebrated part of Europe, aſſumed among his titles, the quality of "Lord of the Land of Ionia, and of the Athenian cities [137]." Conſtantinople, like antient Rome, continually ſaw within its walls, the moſt illuſtrious viſitors, whom a deſire of conciliating the favour of the court, or the chance of war, had induced, or compelled, to viſit the Turkiſh capital. Even from Mingrelia, and the banks of the Caſpian ſea, the kings of thoſe remote and almoſt unknown countries, haſtened in perſon to implore the aſſiſtance, or to deprecate the anger of Solyman [138]. The king of Algiers commanded the Turkiſh fleets; and the unfortunate defeat, ſuſtained by the duke of Medina Sidonia, on the coaſt of Barbary, in 1562, filled Conſtantinople with Spaniſh priſoners of the higheſt rank and quality [139].

Magnitude and ſplendor of the Ottoman empire, at this period.

If we contemplate the number of kingdoms, provinces and iſlands, over which Selim the Second reigned, we ſhall not wonder at the terror, inſpired by the Turks, during that period. The eaſtern empire of Rome, in its original ſplendor, as it deſcended to Arcadius, on the deceaſe of Theodoſius, in the year 395, was far inferior in extent and magnitude, to the dominions of the Ottoman princes. Africa, with the excluſion only of Egypt, fell to the ſhare of Honorius, in the diviſion, made by the Roman emperor, between his two ſons. Arabia was not conquered by the arms of Rome; but, retained its independence in every age. The "Cherſoneſus Taurica," the Crimea of the Moderns, lay beyond the limits of the empire; and was regarded as a barbarous portion of Scythia, little known, except by the expedition of the Argonauts, and the tragical amours of Jaſon and Medea. But, the coaſt of Barbary, Arabia, and the peninſula of Crim

[136] Buſbeq. Epiſt. p. 44.

[137] Ibid. Legatio Solimanni, p. 453, 454.

[138] Buſbeq. Epiſt. p. 202—207.

[139] Ibid. p. 283—285.

Tartary, were all included in the obedience of the ſultan. From the frontiers of Fez and Morocco, to Erivan and Teflis, the capitals of Armenia and Georgia: from the kingdom of Yemen, beyond the entrance of the Red Sea, and from the deſerts which divide the Upper Egypt from Nubia; to the borders of Iſtria, Poland, and Muſcovy; Selim reigned either by his delegates, or in perſon. His power was ſuſtained by the Mahometan religion; by the veneration of his ſubjects for the Ottoman family; by an army, which had vanquiſhed under Solyman; and by a fleet, which had only riſen with ſuperior luſtre, from its recent defeat. We muſt confeſs, that the greateſt of the Chriſtian Powers were feeble, in compariſon with ſo vaſt a monarchy; and that the dread of Europe being ſubjected to a Turkiſh yoke, was neither abſurd, nor groundleſs. Happily for mankind, that empire had already paſſed its meridian; and the imbecility, or vices of the ſucceſſors of Solyman, by introducing a relaxation of military diſcipline, diſſolved the only ſupport, upon which reſted its grandeur and ſtability [140].

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Reflexions.

[140] Buſbeq. Epiſt. p. 174; and Excl. de Re Mil. p. 396—398.

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